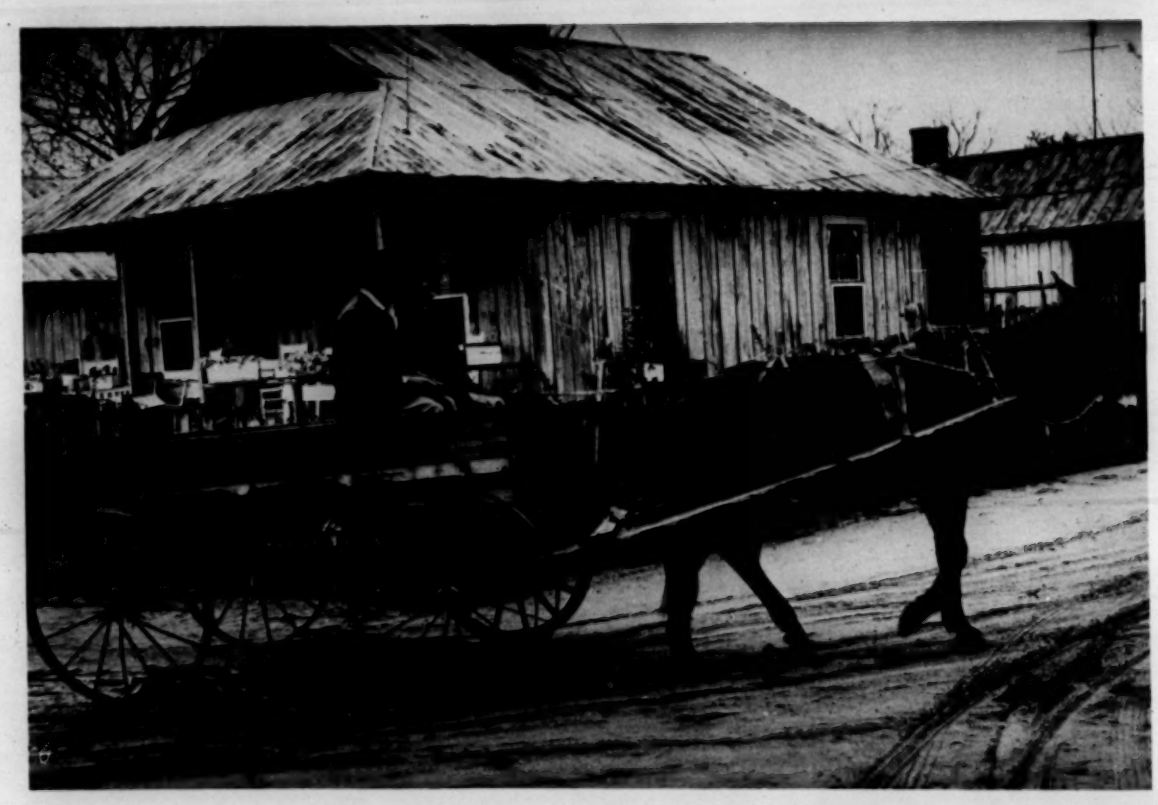
[1962, August]

THE RIGHT TO VOTE



by James T. McCain, CORE Director of Organization





I have seen Sumter grow in population to approximately 24,000 people and spread out over a wide area. I have watched its acorns grow into mighty oaks which have become a source of local pride.





As a Negro boy, I knew there were differences.



But as I grew up, I increasingly became aware that day-to-day living for a Negro in Sumter was not only different, but separate and unequal.

After graduation, I became a teacher and, eventually, a school principal. I was dismissed on suspicion of having gotten parents' signatures in initiating a petition to desegregate the Mullins, South Carolina, public schools. Blacklisted as a teacher, I was unable to find another position in the county.

I had been working on voter registration even before Negroes legally won the right to vote in the state primaries. In 1958, the year after passage of the first federal civil rights law in 87 years, I took a position with CORE, heading a statewide voter registration campaign. That drive has been stepped-up recently under the direction of Frank Robinson, a longtime friend and also a native of Sumter.

These photos show Frank performing the important first step of house-to-house canvassing. It is necessary to explain to each person why it is important for them to register.



Next comes instruction on how to fill out registration blanks. CORE registration instruction headquarters is open daily. In the center of the next page, Frank's daughter is demonstrating how to complete the blanks.



Here, Frank accompanies three persons to the registration office in the Sumter County courthouse.





Most persons register without major difficulty.







Applicants rejected because of an error on their blank are given further instruction and are taken back to the registration office to re-apply. Within a month, 750 persons visited our registration instruction headquarters for advice or help in qualifying to register.





The task of registration is completed.



In my first annual report after going to work for CORE, I pointed out that in counties where we had established voter registration committees, the percentage of Negroes registered was higher than in counties where no such group had been functioning. For the first time, during the year's primary runoffs, candidates invited Negroes to meet with them and discuss community problems. In a number of communities, candidates who stressed segregation were defeated. Negroes ran for public office in larger numbers than in any year since winning the right to vote in the formerly all-white state primaries.

For example, in that year Negroes for the first time took over all Democratic Party offices in Sumter's Precinct 3-B and elected 16 of the 17 delegates to the Democratic County Convention. Rev. Fred C. James, a Negro and a leader of Sumter CORE, set a precedent by running for city council. In Columbia, according to "The State," a daily newspaper, "the predominantly Negro Ward 9—was more than enough to

make the difference" of 14 votes by which Lester Bates nosed out his ultra-segregationist opponent in the mayoralty election.

These types of advances were augmented in subsequent years, as the South Carolina voter registration campaign continued.

In Sumter County, registrars have begun using technicalities to bar Negroes from registering. This has long been the practice in Clarendon County where, in 1958, an applicant reported to me that she had been refused a certificate because she mispronounced the word "indict" in reading a portion of the state constitution. And in Williamsburg County, Negroes – some of them teachers and college graduates – were summarily refused registration certificates because in the registrar's opinion, they could not read or write.

It is this kind of technicality which is used today throughout rural areas of the deep south to deny Negroes their constitutional right to vote. Reports of the United States Civil Rights Commission give detailed descriptions of these devices. In one case brought by the federal government, a Louisiana registrar was revealed as unable to pass the test which she gave to prospective Negro voters. Negroes frequently are threatened with loss of job and even with physical violence, if they dare to exercise their voting rights.

Where such a situation prevails, there is need for the type of nonviolent action on voting which Martin Luther King has advocated. This would consist of Negroes assembling nonviolently at registration offices and remaining until registered. In such areas, voting rights must first be won before they can be exercised.



For every United States citizen, voting is a democratic duty. For us, who are Negroes in the south, it is more than that. It is an essential step toward winning equality and ending our second class citizenship. When we win the right to vote in those parts of the south where it is still denied us and when we exercise our voting rights throughout the south, we can put the ultra-segregationist politicians out of business. We can make the south a part of the United States.

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[1964, March 18]

file under summer

This is a report submitted to the Mississippi Advisory Committe to the United States Commission on Civil Rights at a meeting held March 18, 1964. It is filed on behalf of the state's 950,000 Negroes. It is written from the view point of those who are workers for the end of racial discrimination and segregation in Mississippi, for the encouragement of the excercise by Negroes in Mississippi, of their right to vote and to register to vote, and for the excercise and preservation of civil rights generally in Mississippi, whether such persons are paid or not paid to act as such workers.

The purpose of this report is:

1) To indicate to the Advisory Committee, (a) that there is a need for greater public awareness in regard to denial of civil rights and civil liberties for Negroes and for persons who are working to end racial discrimination in Mississippi, and (b) that the Advisory Committee could fulfil a vital need by issuing frequently reports, for nationwide distribution, informing the nation at large of these denials.

2. To submit to the Advisory Committee material which will give it a substantial basis for petitioning the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold hearings in Mississippi, and

3. To indicate to the Advisory Committee the overwhelming need for greater federal government activity in Mississippi, if the rights and lives of Negroes are to be insured.

This report has been prepared by:

The COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS(COFO)
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

COFO Publication #10

labor donated

THE MANIA FOR INTIMIDATING

Southwestern Mississippi:

Acts of intimidation take many forms: For example, the coming of the New Year marked the reorganization of the Klu Klux Klan in Southwestern Mississippi; in addition, Negroes have been beaten, shot, and murdered and noassailants have as yet been discovered or brought to justice.

McComb

On the evening of January 9, 1964 there were several instances of shooting in the McComb area. The places shot into included:

H.C. Wells' Grocery (hole in window)
Carter's Shoe Shop (hole in window)
Mrs. Alyene Quinn's home in Summit,
Also: Mr. Isadore Carter's home was shot into on Wednesday evening (January 8, 1964) (two large holes in a picture window.)

Speculations about the cause, or the occasion, of the shootings conclude that the general program of voter registration had disturbed the unruly white population. The immediate occasion was apparently the televised addresses of President Johnson (State of the Union Speech) and Charles Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary for the NAACP which were televised into the area on Wednesday evening. Mr. Evers was speaking in rebuttal of Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson's earlier speech about consumer's boycott in Jackson. The purpose of the shooting was apparently to discourage Negro people from paying poll taxes and registering. About fifty or sixty have tried since November.

Mr. Carter, whose home and shoe shop were fired into, reported that the sheriff (Pike County sheriff Warren) came into his business Friday morning (January 10) and said that he had caught four white men; but would not give their names. Mr. H.C. Wells, whose grocery store was shot into said, that he saw a white Corvair go by at the time of the shooting, and it was going so fast that he was unable to tell anything more.

Notes on conversation with H.C. Wells:

"Shooting happened about 5:15 P.M.---heard no sound from the car, a white Corvair--it was travelling fast...my store front, glass window, fell in, sending glass fragments as far as five feet. The shot came from the back of the car going uphill." When asked as to why anyone would want to shoot up his place of business, Mr. Wells said that he believed that "someone just wanted something to do and shooting up a colored neighborhood was something to do."

Natchez

On February 18, 1964 Archie Curtis of Natchez received a phone call at 12:45 A.M. He was told to go out to Palestine Road and go "two miles past the black top" where "a man with a lantern will be waiting to show you the way to Henry Goodman's house." (He was told that Mrs. Goodman had had a heart attack and needed an ambulance)

Curtis went out to Palestine Road as requested, accompanied by Willie Jackson After going two miles past the black top, they did not see anyone with a light. Curtis blew his horn. A car pulled up behind the ambulance. Two white men got out of the left side and two white men got out of the right side. All four had white hoods over their heads. One had a gun in his hand. Curtis and Jackson were told to get out of the ambulance. Curtis told them to go away because he had no time for foolishness. Curtis told them he was looking for a Mr. Goodman. One of the four white men said, "I'm Henry Goodman. I am the one who called you for an ambulance--and damn it, I want you to get out." Another of the four men walked over to the driver's side of the vehicle and asked Curtis, while pointing a gun at him. "didn't you hear him say get out?" Curtis turned to get out --they caught his hand and hit his hand pit. Curtis got out of the ambulance, he was told to take off his glasses. Curtis was slow getting them off; one of the men grabbed them and threw them away. Next Curtis and Jackson were blindfolded and carried to the white men's car, pushed in the car. Both Curtis and Jackson were put in the front of the car and driven down to a field called Duck Pond. They were told to get out of the car in Duck Pond, which they did; they were told to remove their clothes. They refused. After being hit "two or three times," they dropped their pants. Curtiss was told to hand over his NAACP card. Curtis replied by saying he didn't have a NAACP card. He was told "yes, you have and that damn West has a NAACP card too." Curtis said "I don't think West has one" Curtis and Jackson were told to lie on their stomachs and then they were beaten. One of the four men suggested killing them--but another said no "lets just leave them here." Curtis and Jackson went to a freinds' house and got a ride into town.

In General

There have been at least five Negroes murdered in Southwestern Mississippi since the year's (1964) beginning. None of them have been solved and all seem to have racial overtones:

Lewis Allen was killed on February 1, 1964. He was shot in the face with a shot gun at night as he departed from his motor vehicle.

Three people were found dead in their automobile. Carbon Monoxided to death, however, they also had bullet holes in them.

A Mr. Walker was also found dead in Southwestern Mississippi, an obvious murder, the case still remains "unsolved."

There have been a countless number of cross burnings in Amite, Walthall and Pike counties. Many feel this is the result of the re-emergence of the KLU KLUX KLAN in Southwestern Mississippi.

In Franklin County barricades have been put in the middle of the street and Negroes have not been permitted to pass.

JACKSON MISSISSIPPI:

Intimidation takes a different form in sophisticated metropolitan Jackson. In Jackson the city's mayor is largely the intimidating force and he does it underthe pretext of waging a war against those who he prefers to refer to as "agitators from outside."

What is causing apprhension in the minds of civil rights workers presently in the state is that during the summer of 1964 hundreds of college students are planning to come to Mississippi and most will probably pass through Jackson. The mayor seems to manifest the attitude of a mayor whose city is about to be invaded by an alien armored division whose purpose is total destructi rather than college students who have a desire to work on voter registration, educational, and re-training programs. His words as follows:

"We're ready for them...We've got the stuff...I'm going to use every force necessary to keep them from getting out of hand. I don't want to do it. My purpose is to maintain law and order in this city. Anything they bring in we can handle."

The mayor will no doublt be able to handle everything that is brought in, seeing as he has prepared for a small war and the only thing those students who do come to Mississippi will be bringing with them are knowledge and skills, that they desire to impart to unskilled, uneducated, poverty stricken Negroes.

Mayor Thompson can rely on a strong police force-city policemen, city employees who can be pressed into duty as officers, sheriff's deputies and a cordon of state highway patrolmen.

The pride of his force is a special riot control car known locally as "Thompson's Tank." It can carry 10 policemen and two drivers into a crowd--shot guns bristling out of gun ports, tear gas and other weapons inside.

Jackson has 400 policemen mostly tough young recruits who have joined the force in the last year or so, and is adding 35 more!

Last year Mayor Thompson bought 200 shot guns. Fifty more are ordered. Shotguns loaded with buckshot are mounted on motorcycle officers' vehicles and carried in patrol cars. Riot helmets and gas masks have been acquired for every officer.

Two city trucks have been equipped with searchlights and converted into troop carriers. Three flat-bed trailer trucks are now wire-enclosed paddy wagons for hauling away demonstrators in wholesale lots.

And the Mayor delightedly declares, "there's no way for them to win"---he has reference to the summer "invaders."

THE FREEDOM VOTE

From the "freedom vote" campaign which was held during October and November of 1963 ample evidence is offered to substantiate the assertion that any person who is engaged in any activity, regardless of how harmless it seems on the surface, that attempts to organize Negroes politically, runs the risk of being imprisoned on even killed.

POLICE BRUTALITY

Negroes who are arrested whether civil rights workers or not are vulnerable to acts of police brutality. At times however, it becomes naked and open as incidents last summer (1963) indicated.

The following was reported in Newsweek Magazine, June 24, 1963. It is in reference to Jackson city policemen during a demonstration by Negroes:

> "Once more, police started making arrests. From porches along Rose street, spectators took up the chant: Freedom! Freedom! Freedom! Police ordered them to keep quiet, then charged the porches, kicking up swirls of dust in the yards, dragging Negroes to the ground, choking and clubbing them with billies. This is my house! one woman screamed from her doorway, but police dragged her out and beat her. Two cops seized John Salter, a white Tougaloo Christian College sociologist who had been slugged during a sit-in three weeks earlier. "Here he is, here he is," one shouted. A third cop clubbed Salter on the head and knocked him sprawling. blood running into the dust."

The New York Times carried a front page article on June 14, 1963 whose lead read: JACKSON NEGROES CLUBBED AS POLICE QUELL MARCHES.

From the June 14, 1963 editon of the New Orleans Times-Picayune: "A fifteen year old Negro girl was hit with a police club when she started to cry "they got my brother."

"An officer surged into the house when the girl went down and a relative of hers, Mrs. Margaret Ann Porter, pulled her inside the front door."

".....One of those on the porch was Rev. Edwin King, white Methodist Chaplin at Tougaloo College. One officer cursed him when he asked police if they would call an ambulance for the Negro woman owner of the house who had fainted because of hysteria."

ACTS OF INTIMIDATION

The instances of police brutality and acts of intimidation occur in an atmosphere of official condonence. An examination of a few acts passed this year (1964) by the state Legislature will attest to the fact that the Negro can obtain no redress from state officials.

UMMARY OF EVENTS, October 22 through October 28

. Between October 22 and October 25, 22 election workers were arrested in Indianola for distributing leaflets without a permit. (Four SNCC workers were arrested, convicted, and appealed on the same charge in September of 1962. The charges were dropped and the bond returned when the Justice Department intervened; there was a consent agreement that no more arrests would be made under the ordinance.) The 22 were sentenced to $25 fines and 30 days in jail (suspendable upon payment of fines).

I. In Clarksdale on October 24, after attending a meeting in the home of the candidate for governor, the chairman of the Campaign Advisory Committee and 2 Yale students were arrested while crossing the street from their parked car to enter the hotel where they had planned to spend the night. They were charged with violating a curfew and put in jail.

The next day another Yale student was arrested and charged with distributing leaflets without a permit. He has been fined $50. Yesterday, four Yale students were stopped by police and told they could not stay in the Negro section of town. "Either you stay in the white section or get out," they were told. The students spent the night in two Negro homes, and today one was arrested. The other was taken by police from Henry Headquarters and told the police would no longer "protect" him from the wrath of the Negro community. The Chief of Police predicted that the student would be "stabbed in the back". This conversation occurred while the student was in the back seat of a police car and with guns displayed conspicuously.

[I. A Yale student and 2 SNCC workers arrived in Yazoo City at 4:00 PM, October 23. At 4:30 PM the police phoned the office where they were meeting with local Negro leaders. Presently it was "suggested" that they let the police escort them out of the city to "protect them from injury. Otherwise, the Negro leaders warned, there was no telling what might happen to them. A rally scheduled for Yazoo City for the following evening was subsequently cancelled after similar warnings.

V. The mayor of Columbus refused requests for permits to distribute leaflets for Aaron Henry because it would "cause racial disturbance." Requests for permission to use a sound truck in Columbus were also denied. Distribution of Mississippi Free Press has been prohibited. Similar refusals of permits for the distribution of pro-Henry material have been reported from many places throughout Mississippi.

. Two white Methodist ministers were arrested in Jackson on Sunday, October 27, after they had attempted to enter the Capitol Street Methodist Church with a Negro student. There have been approximately 15 convictions in Jackson in the last 2 weeks for similar activity. The standard punishment for attempting to attend church services in an integrated group is 1 year in jail and $1,000 fine.

/I. It is commonplace for campaign workers throughout Mississippi, with the exception of the city of Greenville, to be taken into custody on a variety of traffic charges. (On one occasion the candidate for Lt. Gov. was fined for four separate traffic "violations" while in Jackso for an afternoon.) Perhaps the most difficult of these to cope with

is "suspicion of auto theft," a charge which has been levelled even at people driving their own cars and carrying the registration papers on their person. Persons driving cars owned by relatives or borrowed from friends have found themselves detained for long periods, and have had their cars impounded for long periods by the police.

I. In Jackson it is the habit of the police to apprehend campaign workers especially en route to and from campaign offices during the evening hours. The custom to date seems to be to trail cars, quiz drivers and passengers and search interiors. Every third or fourth such incident ends with driver and passengers being taken to the police station for "questioning". These procedures produce a substantial number of traffic fines.

I. In Hattiesburg, the chief of police has announced that any white "agitators" found in the city limits will be sentenced to 6 months in jail and a $500 fine. Four Yale students who had arrived there at 1:0 A.M. on October 28 were taken from their beds to the police station for "questioning at 8:00 A.M. They were released after 3 hours, and after the intervention of an FBI agent had obtained the release of one of the four who did not have his draft with him. Subsequently, however, a Yale divinity student was picked up on "suspicion of auto theft" and convicted of "interfering with a police officer" after he had asked if the police, who were searching his car, had a warrant to do so. There were 3 other arrests in Hattiesburg yesterday, including that of a cafe owner who had served a meal to two Yale students. She is out on $100 bond on charges of "illegal possession of alcohol," but before "finding" the half-pint of whiskey which formed the basis of the arrest, the police had "searched" the premises in such a fashion that the garbage had been dumped all over the floor, along with a considerable part of the food in stock.

. The daughter of SCLC field secretary in Ruleville was arrested for "shoplifting" while shopping yesterday. In Greenwood today a white lady who has been working in the campaign was arrested on a number of traffic charges and is now in jail on $1000 bond.

. During the last two days we have received a succession of calls rescinding permission to use church and store facilities for meetings or balloting. Many of these calls have included bitter or pathetic descriptions of threats.

. Last week a white worker in the Literacy Project at Tougaloo College was arrested while driving back to the college, charged with "obstructing the flow of traffic," grilled by detectives for half an hour ("What are you doing here?" "Who are you sleeping with?" etc.) and fined. Such interrogations by officials occurs constantly, often without any charges being lodged either before or after interrogation.

. Responsible persons, including some senior members of the journalistic corps and the Chaplain of a Negro college near Jackson, have what they consider incontrovertable evidence that their phones are tapped. There is also some evidence of tampering with mail addressed to people active in the civil rights movement.

II. Threats and violence by non-official persons have added to the atmosphere and required such measures as the posting of guards near the homes of whites who have been active in desegregation efforts, etc.

Statement of Events in Natchez, Miss. -- November 1 and 2, 1963

November 1. Bruce Payne of Oakland, California, a 21-year-old University of California graduate now studying political science at Yale University, was forced out of a "Freedom Vote" Votemobile in Port Gibson, and beaten by four men. He and the two Freedom Vote workers accompanying him were followed by the four men all the way from Natchez, 42 miles away. They had been organizing polling places for the Freedom Vote election which takes place November 2, 3, and 4. Payne and the two other workers were warned to stay out of Natchez.

November 2. (Event occurred app. 11:45 a.m.)

George Greene, a 20-year-old SNCC worker from Greenwood, Miss. was driving a Votemobile with Bruce Payne on the way from Natchez to Fayette, a distance of 23 miles, to work with balloting for the Freedom Vote campaign. The balloting takes place on November 2, 3, and 4.

Three miles out of Natchez, Greene realized that they were being followed by two of the four men who had beaten Payne the day before. During the 25 ensuing minutes, Greene tried to evade or lose the pursuing car by turning around, and out-racing it, but the top speed of 105 m.p.h. on the 1963 Chevrolet was no match for the 1964 Impala driven by the prusuers. Finally the workers were forced off the road against a bridge and one of the men walked up to Greene, pulled out a pistol and told him to get out. Greene, whose door was locked and window rolled up, shifted into low, swerved sharply, and escaped back on to the highway. As the car

left, the assailant shot three times at the left rear tire, hoping, it is believed, to disable the vehicle in order that the two workers could be forced into the Impala and taken somewhere more isolated than the highway.

With a slow leak in the tire, Greene once again tried to lose his pursuers, going through three red lights, crossing double lines and driving in oncoming traffic lanes. Finally he managed to get three cars ahead of the Impala and turned out of sight on to a backwoods road where the tire was changed. Payne and Greene then proceeded to Jackson to report the incident to the highway patrol, Department of Justice, Henry headquarters and the press.

Payne stated that about all that saved the two workers was Greene's excellent driving. (Greene had raced in high school.)

Freedom Vote for Governor Headquarters
1072 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss. tel: 948-0690

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN YAZOO CITY, OCTOBER 24-PRESENT (NOVEMBER 10), 1963

OCTOBER 24. Three campaign workers, accompanied by local ministers, visited the office of a local Negro citizen. While they visited him, he was telephoned by the police and intimidated. A scheduled campaign rally was thereupon cancelled. (See Nelson Soltman statement of Oct.24)

OCTOBER 30, NOVEMBER 1, 2, 3. George Raymond, campaign worker and CORE Task Force worker, returned to work in Yazoo City. Each day he was followed by police everywhere he went. His campaigning was generally unsuccessful. On Sunday, Nov. 3, he was followed into a Negro church, where the police spoke against him to the congretation.

NOVEMBER 4. Several campaign workers (George Raymond, Lenore Thurman, Bob Gore, Claude Weaver, Jesse Morris and Doris Erskine) accompanied by an NBC camera crew came to Yazoo City to solicit votes. There were several incidents of minor harassment, e.g. the police would not allow a sign to be posted on the trunk of the campaign car, forcing the campaign workers to stand on the sidewalk holding the sign; Police Officer Moody, according to George Raymond, wrote "aggitators" (sic) indelibly across Raymond's driver's license. Lenore Thurman was arrested when, police alleged, she handed a ballot to a man in public. George Raymond later, at the trial, testified that he had given the man the ballot, but the judge did not believe him.

NOVEMBER 7. Lenore Thurman, George Raymond, George Greene, Jesse Morris and Claude Weaver came back to Yazoo City for Miss Thurman's trial. She was convicted of distributing literature without a permit; the case is being appealed. After the trial, George Raymond went to a Negro restaurant to make a phone call; as he entered, he was kicked and curse

by a police officer he believes to be Assistant Captain Otis. When the others in the group joined Raymond at the restaurant, they left to return to Jackson, followed by the police escort. Just inside the city limits of Flora, Miss. (in Madison County), the car was stopped and Raymond was arrested by a highway patrolman and Yazoo City police. He was arrested for reckless driving (the charge was discovered the next day by Jesse Harris, who went up to bail him out), handcuffed so tightly that the circulation was cut off in his hands, kicked while entering and leaving the car, and cuffed around in front of the police station as he was being led to his cell, in Yazoo City. Back on the highway, the others in the group were ordered out of the car. The police asked who in the group had a driver's license. When George Green said that he had, they arrested him also, taking him into custody on an unspecified charge (later revealed as "disobeying an officer"). None of the others would volunteer the information that he or she had a driver's license, so the police sent them walking along the highway after dark. The police called a wrecker to take the car back to Yazoo City, where it is still impounded.

NOVEMBER 8. Jesse Harris, Claude Weaver, Carl Arnold, and Jesse Morris arrived in Yazoo City to pay fines or post bond for the two who had bee arrested. George Raymond was released, on an appearance bond of $250, but the police refused to release George Greene, claiming that he had been arrested in Madison County, not Yazoo County. As of Sunday, November 10, negotiations to secure his release have been fruitless.

Freedom Vote Headquarters
1017 Lynch Street,
Jackson, Mississippi
tel: 352-9605

Freedom Vote for Governor
1072 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss.
tel: 948-0690

Events of November 1 and 2, general

November 2, 1960--Henry Headquarters in Jackson

Campaign workers in Belzoni, Leland, Tupelo and other communities reported incidents of arrest, detention and questioning all day.

November 1, 1960--Tate County

Hugh Smith, a senior philosophy student at Stanford University, resident of Menlo Park, California, was shot at three times while in his car in Tate County, Miss. Earlier in the day Smith had delivered a carload of Rust College (in Holly Springs), Negro Freedom Vote Campaign workers to Tate County, near Senatobia. When he returned, at about 1:00 p.m., to pick them up,he was recognized by a group of people at a market. Two shots were fired over his head, and one into the dirt as he drove away.

Vote for Freedom Headquarters
AARON HENRY for Governor
1072 Lynch Street, Room 10
Jackson, Mississippi 39203

EVENTS IN MISSISSIPPI NOVEMBER 1 and 2:

November 1--JACKSON--Nicolas Bosanquet, British subject and Yale University student, and Robert Honeysucker, Negro senior at Tougaloo College (Negro) here, were arrested while attempting to enter a London Royal Philharmonic Symphony concert at a Jackson public auditorium. While they had bought tickets on public sale, they were told that only Jackson Music Association members were being admitted. The next day they were released on $500 bond each. They are to appear for trial Monday, November 4 on charges of disturbing the peace.

November 1--NATCHEZ--Bruce Payne, Oakland, Calif.,Yale University undergraduate student, was forced out of a "Freedom Vote-mobile" and beaten by four white men here. The four followed Payne and two other "Freedom Vote" workers from Port Gibson where the beating occured, for 42 miles to Natchez. They were warned to stay out of Natchez.

November 1--TATE COUNTY--Hugh Smith, Menlo Park, Calif., Stanford University student, was shot at three times in his car here. Recognized by onlookers after an earlier trip to deliver "Freedom Vote" workers, two shots were fired over his head and one into the ground as he drove away.

November 2--JACKSON--Four SNCC workers were stopped by three Rankin County patrol cars and told to leave the airport. They went there to pick up rented cars and see Bob Moses, Campaign Manager for the "Freedom Vote" drive, off to Memphis. Moses was questioned and released, the other four were told to leave or go to jail, despite their insistence that car rental papers were being delivered to them. The four included Charlie Cobb, Springfield, Mass.; Langston Mitchell, New Orleans, La.; Jesse Harris, Jackson, Miss., and Ivanhoe Donaldson of New York City.

November 2--JACKSON--David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary here and Michael Sayer, SNCC worker of Atlanta, were stopped by airport police and interrogated while bringing car rental papers to SNCC workers at the airport. Telling them "The Federal government doesn't have jurisdiction over this airport," the patrolmen threatened the two with jail and charges of trespa Meanwhile, four SNCC workers were forced to keep their hands on their car for more than an hour during interrogation by police. One officer twice rapped Ivanhoe Donaldson on the knuckles. The officer also placed his pistol at Donaldson's head and threatened to kill him. All were finally released after threats.

November 2--NATCHEZ--George Greene, SNCC worker from Greenwood, Miss., and Bruce Payne were on the way from Natchez to Fayette to work with their "Freedom Votemobile." Near Natchez the four men who beat Payne the day before were observed following. Greene tried to out-race them unsuccessfully and was forced off the road where Greene was ordered out of the car at pistol point. Swiftly moving the car onto the highway, Greene escaped only after the car was shot at three times. One bullet entered the rear, one grazed the side, the other hit the left rear tire causing a slow leak. Skillfully manipulating through traffic, Greene managed to enter a side street unnoticed and fixed the tire.

November 2--JACKSON--Jesse Davis, SNCC worker from here was canvassing for "Freedom Votes" on a corner near a cafe when a policeman told him he was blocking traffic and subject to arrest and then left. Several minutes lat he returned with an additional policeman who said Davis was under arrest, charged with snatching a purse. He was placed in the patrol car, told he was being taken to be identified by the woman whose purse was alledgedly stolen. Instead, he was taken to a white residential district and put out of the car. After a 3-block walk, Davis noticed the policeman gathering a crowd of white men around him, apparently attempting to create a hostile mob. A Negro motorist came by and fortunately offered him a life to town.

November 2--JACKSON--Fred Goff, white Stanford University (Calif.) student was ordered out of a Negro cafe by police. They told him "It's okay to bu a coke in a negger cafe but not to sit in one. If you want to live with niggers, do it outside of Mississippi."

November 2--MORTON--Two female CORE workers, Lenora Thurmond and Doris Erskine, were canvassing for votes in the unofficial "Freedom Vote" campa here when they were ordered out of town by local police.

November 2--YAZOO CITY--George Raymond, Tehodus Hewitt and John Lee Watt, CORE and SNCC workers planning to canvass for votes here were tailed by police officers each place they went. This made their work impossible an they left town with police following for some distance.

November 2--ROSEDALE--John Lewis, Chairman of SNCC, Bruce Gordon and Lawr DiBivort were canvassing here when police stopped them and escorted them of town. They left here for Cleveland, Miss. where they were stopped by police and told not to be in town after sundown. They were escorted by po to Mound Bayou, Miss. where they contacted a local vote worker and return to Cleveland unmolested.

November 2--BELZONE--Willie Shaw was arrested for "parking too close to a fire hydrant" during his canvassing for "Freedom Votes." His bond was se at $100 and released.

November 2--JACKSON--A "Freedom Vote" worker here canvassing at a footbal game at the Jackson State College (Negro) was told by police to either st his activities and sit down or be arrested.

November 2--GREENWOOD--Five "Freedom Vote" workers were arrested here tod by local police. Jane Stembridge, Dorothy Higgins, Dick Fry, Willie Earl James and Frank Hirsch had set up a sidewalk voting booth to collect ballo When they began singing Freedom Songs to attract attention to the booth, police ordered them to move on because they were on private property and disturbing the peace. Fry told the officer they were on public property, whereon the five were arrested for blocking the sidewalk and for refusing to obey an officer. Their bond was set at $100 each and they are now in

November 2--PICAYUNE-----Three Hattiesburg Negroes and two white Yale University students were canvassing for "Freedom Votes" at a federal housing project here. When they left the housing development, police were waiting for them. The five were taken to the police station for two hours of interrogation. When they returned to their car in the court house parking lot they found it difficult to start. It was discovered that there was water in the gas tank. The car was pushed to the nearest service station where work was done to rectify the damage.

November 2--GENERAL MISSISSIPPI--Campaign workers in the unofficial balloting listing Aaron Henry, Negro pharmacist as candidate for Governor ofrMississippi and the Rev. Edwin King, a white Methodist minister as candidate for Lieutenant Governor, reported incidents of arrest, detention harrassment and questioning throughout the day and night. Communities reporting such incidents included Belzoni, Leland, Tupelo, Hattiesburg, and many others.

Freedom Vote for Governor
1072 Lynch St.,
Jackson Miss.
tel: 948-0690

Statement on Events in Jackson, Miss. -- November 1 and 2, 1963

November 1. Nicolas Bosanquet, Claire Fellow at Yale University, Graduate of Cambridge University in England, and a British subject, along with Robert Honeysucker, a Negro senior music major at Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Miss. were arrested when they attempted to enter a public auditorium in Jackson to hear a concert given by the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London, England. They were told that the concert performance was open only to members of the Jackson Music Association: The two had bought tickets on public sale.

The next day, November 2, the two were released on $500 bond apiece. They are to appear for trial on Monday, on charges of disturbing the peace.

November 2. (app. 12:30 a.m.) While driving to the airport to pick up some rented cars and to see Bob Moses, Campaign manager for the Freedom Vote Campaign, off to Memphis, Tenn., four SNCC workers were stopped by Rankin County police in three patrol cars. After questioning and releasing Moses, the police told the four Negro campaign workers to leave. The four were: Charlie Cobb of Springfield, Mass., Langston Mitchell of New Orleans, La., Jesse Harris of Jackson, Miss., and Ivanhoe Donaldson of New York. When the SNCC workers told the police that they were waiting for some rental papers that had been left in Jackson (necessary to rent the cars), the police told them they could either go to jail or leave.

David Dennis, 23-year-old CORE Field Secretary in Jackson, and Michael Sayer, a 22-year-old SNCC worker were bringing the papers out to the airport. They were stopped by the airport police, interrogated for about 20 minutes and threatendd with 72 hours in the Brandon jail with charges of trespassing. "The federal government doesn't have any jurisdiction over this airport," the police said. On the way back to Jackson, Dennis and Sayer spotted the other four SNCC wokkers in a Billups gas station. Cobb and Mitchell and Harris were being forced by police to stand outside the car with their hands on the car for 1 hour and 15 minutes while the police interrogated, harassed and threatened Ivanhoe Donaldson. Donaldson was asked if whites were better than Negroes, and when he replied "no", the interrogating officer took out his pistol and rapped him on the knuckles with the butt of the gun. On answering another question, he was again rapped. Finally the officer placed the muzzle of the pistol against Donaldson's temple, cocked it, and said, "Nigger, I think I'm going to kill you right now." At this point another officer interrupted and said "No, you can't kill than nigger now; it's not time." The four were finally released after threats and "warnings."

Returning from Memphis at 4:30 a.m. Bob Moses attempted to call campaign headquarters on four different pay telephones, hearing in the background all four times: "you'd better not call that number again." His return to town was otherwise without incident.

Anti-Negro laws which are undeniably unconstitutional have been passed this year. Some instances of the legislatures activities this year are:

JANUARY 15, 1964...

House adopted and sent to the Senate a resolution memorializing Congress to defeat the pending civil rights bill.

Rep. C.C. Bullock of Harrison County offered the resolution and said members of the Congress were "bombarded by the insistent voice of the minority" and the state should make its feelings known.

The resolution was requested by Ross Barnett in his farewell address. The resolution said: "The passage of this bill further invading the rights of the states to govern themselves and solve their own problems would do irreparable damage to the already critical race relations, would widen the breech already brought about by efforts to force a social merger of incompatible elements of society, and would give untold impetus to the strife and turmoil that has torn our nation asunder..." The resolution was passed unanimously.

JANUARY 22, 1964....

Senators approved a bill by Senator Ed Henry of Canton which would allow Madison County to increase its county patrolmen from one to three in the face of expected racial troubles there.

The Senate went into a committee of the whole gave a swift approval to the bill presented by Senator Henry which would permit Madison County to increase its county patrol force from one to three men.

Henry said that the new patrolmen would be deputed and used to help control expected racial demonstrations in Canton, Mississippi, where Negro intergration leaders recently called for a boycott of white merchants.

JANUARY 23, 1964....

Senate gave final approval to House resolution memorializing Congress to defeat the pending civil rights legislation.

FEBRUARY 6, 1964

Senators argued over whether cities should be allowed to impose stiffer penalties on persons who violate their ordinances. Senator Bill Caraway of Leland, had the measure tabled when controversy arose in order to give senators time to prepare amendments.

The bill would allow increasing maximum fines from $100.00 to $300 and jail sentences from 30 to 90 days. Caraway said the present limits have "proven inadequate in the difficulties we have had over the state," An apparent reference to racial demonstrations. He said the present system is especially in effective when judges are dealing with repeat offenders.

Several senators questioned him about the right to a trial by jury with the stiffer penalties. Caraway said the cities would object to jury trials in city court because of increased expenses. "They could get a jury trial by appealing to county court," he said.

As more amendments were suggested, Caraway moved to lay the bill on the table subject to call.

FEBRUARY 12, 1964....

The Mississippi Senate rammed through a bill Wednesday. 4-44 making it unlawful for any persons to willfully or maliciously distribute literature calling for trade boycotts.

Senator Ed. Henry of Canton and others offered the measure with Henry terming it the offspring of meeting with four attorney generals and the judiciary committee.

Henry's area of Canton has been hit by civil rights groups calling on Negroes to boycott merchants and businessmen that do not afford Negroes equal opportunity of service and employment.

Senator W.V. Jones of Waynesboro said he felt the bill was unconstitutional on its face and termed it a "with burning bill." Jones said the bill was an infringement on a person's right to freedom of speech. He said, "we can't be putting a bill on the books which will be knocked out on constitutional grounds."

Jones said he was a segregationist, but the boycott bill was, "ambiguous and should not be passed." It was sent to the senate.

FEBRUARY 25, 1964...

Senator Edwin Pittman of Hattiesburg told his upper house colleques Tuesday they should demand investigation of the presence of five Negroes last week at a University of Mississippi program.

"I hope to find out why the five people were admitted," Pittman said.

He later said he might introduce a resolution calling an investigation or question University officials when they appear with money requests for the next biennium before the Appropiations Committee.

The senate adjourned until after hearing a report from the Municipalities Committee recommending passage of a bill to give cities the right to enforce any needed police regulations "to restrain movements of individuals under certain circumstances."

Backers of the proposal said it would permit enforcement of curfews in racilly troubled times.

FEBRUARY 27, 1964....

The Mississippi House of Representatives approved a Senate bill fixing heavy penalties against persons who print or circulate, willfully or maliciously literature designed to interfere with free trade. It passed 74-32 but not before it became involved in a heated debate over proposed amendments to excuse labor activities from the measure. The bill calls for punishment in prison for not more than six months in the county jail or fining not more than $500.00 Or both.

Rep. Joe Moss of Hinds County introduced bills Thursday to permit state Penitentiary facilities to be used for municipal prisoners. The two-package bill by Moss and other members of the Hinds County delegation came amid reports that civil rights groups would step up activities in Mississippi.

MARCH 4, 1964....

Rep. Thompson of Clay, had SB1545, a measure making it unlawful to print literature for boycotts, called up and a motion to reconsider it tabled. The act now goes to the governor for his signature.

MARCH 11, 1964....

A bill authored by Rep. Buck Meek of Webster County was approved by the House 72 to 37. Under the bill parents of illegitimate children on second offense may be sterilized in liew of prison. In calling up this bill Meek cited that there were 8,647 illegtima non-white births. The bill was held for reconsideration.

A resolution introduced Wednesday in the senate commended Dr. William D. McCain president of the University of Southern Mississippi for upholding the established regulations of the University.

McCain Monday, for the fifth time, refused to allow John Frazier a Negro, to enroll at the Hattisburg institution on the grounds that he had failed to submit his application on time.

APR 24 1964

Dear Sir:

This is one of a continuing series of reports we are issuing on Mississippi. The situation in Mississippi is serious, and we feel these reports require your careful attention. We also need your help. Whenever possible, these reports should be duplicated for distribution to local press, radio and television stations, government officials, church groups, businessmen's organizations, college political groups, and even personal friends. In certain instances, more specific help will be needed. Many of these reports will deal with particular situations, sometimes emergency situations, in which specific aid will be needed -- requesting action from government officials, contacting legal firms, helping arrange for bail money, or even for food and clothing. Sometimes it will be apparent what actions are needed. Sometimes it will be advisable to contact our office directly. Hopefully, through these reports, the realization will grow that poverty and danger are the constant factors in Mississippi -- and that FREEDOM cannot come without your help.

The Council of Federated Organizations
COFO
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
352-9605

NB: This report requires especially careful attention. The program of the Freedom Democratic Party has many parts, and it is important to understand how these various activities fit together. It is even more important to realize that these campaigns are not simply four more political campaigns in a year of politics. They are the focus for what is in fact a revolution -- the struggle for political and economic freedom by the Negroes of Mississippi, and by extension of Negroes throughout the South. These candidates are running not only for national office, but to lead their people in a difficult and lengthy struggle on the local and regional level. As the report on harrassment of Rev. Cameron indicates, this program will not be easy to accomplish and will not be free from actual physical danger for the individuals involved.

The needs of these candidates are almost unlimited. They need first and foremost national publicity, so that the effort they are undertaking will not go unnoticed. COFO will be happy to supply more detailed information concerning the candidates, to arrange interviews, or to help members of the press, radio, and television to accompany the candidates in their campaigns. The campaigns, as well as all other phases of the COFO political program, need material support from national church, civil rights, and political affairs organizations. But beyond all this there is a more basic need. The candidates, and those who work with them, need Freedom -- Freedom to live and work and campaign as people live and work and campaign in other parts of the country. Ultimately, this is the responsibility of the entire nation. Only through the concern and actions of national political and judicial officials can Freedom be ensured.

FREEDOM CANDIDATES MISSISSIPPI

For the first time in this century, four Negroes are candidates for national office from Mississippi. One is a candidate for the Senate and three for the House of Representatives.

The four campaigns are being coordinated under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella civil rights organization in Mississippi comprising the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP.

All four candidates are entered in the regular Democratic primary in Mississippi to be held June 2. They are running on what is be called the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY. If they are defeated in the Democratic party, they will be able to continue their campaigns as Independents in the General Election in November.

The candidacy of the Freedom Candidates is a direct challenge to the lily-white one-party political structure of the state. Only 28,000 or 6.6% of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote. 525,000 whites are registered voters.

All the Freedom Candidates will make Negro voting rights one of the basic issues of their campaigns. The campaigns themselves will serve as the focus for Voter Registration activities by COFO during the coming months.

For those not allowed to register on the official books, there will be a separate program: FREEDOM REGISTRATION. The Freedom Democratic Party has set up its own unofficial voter registration books for the purpose of registering as many as possible of Mississippi's 400,000 disenfranchised Negroes. These books, known as Freedom Registration Books, will be managed by Freedom Registrars appointed by COFO in every county. The Freedom Registrars will have the power to appoint deputy registrars to aid them in covering the county to provide every Negro with the opportunity to register to vote.

Freedom Registration has several purposes. First, it will serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can organize across the state. Secondly, it will be the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official county books.

Thirdly, Freedom Registration will form the basis for FREEDOM ELECTIONS to be held at the same time as the official

elections in June and November. In the Freedom Elections, the only qualifications will be that voters are 21 or over, residents of the state, and registered on the Freedom Registration Books before the election. Whites as well as Negroes will be allowed to vote. Democratic and Republican candidates will be listed together with Freedom Democratic Candidates.

Through Freedom Registration and the Freedom Elections, it will be made clear that thousands of Negroes who are denied the right to vote in the official elections would do so if they could. On this basis, the seating of successful Republican and Democratic candidates will be challenged in Congress and in the Federal Courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

Thus, the Freedom Candidates will serve not only to bring the issues to the people of Mississippi, dramatize voter discrimination, and the atmosphere of harrassment and resistance by the official state apparatus, but will serve as a basis for challenging the rights of the incumbents to assume their seats in Congress.

As a further part of its political program, the Freedom Democratic Party will send a FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC DELEGATION to the National Democratic Convention at Atlantic City in August.

The Freedom Candidates will serve as the titular heads of the Freedom Democratic Delegation. Other delegates will be chosen through a series of meetings on the precinct, county, district, and state levels just as in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party. Unlike the regular party machinery, however, which is all-white, exclusive, and often dominated by White Citizens Council members, Freedom Delegates will be chosen in open meetings in which all registered voters (whether official or Freedom registered), Negores and whites alike, will be allowed to participate.

At the National Convention, the Freedom Democratic Delegation will attempt to have the Regular Democratic Delegation unseated and the Freedom Delegation seated in its place. It will do this on the grounds that the Regular Democratic Delegation was chosen by undemocratic means and that the Democratic Party of Mississippi has been disloyal to the National Democratic Party.

The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party split with the National Democratic Party in 1960. It did not support the National Democratic Ticket selected by the National Convention: John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It also refused to support the platform adopted by the National

Convention. The Regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates in the gubernatorial race of 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi Democratic Party stands for white supremacy and against Negro voting power. The principles of the National Democratic Party make it clear that a State party which behaves in the manner of the Mississippi Democratic Party stands in violation of National Party policy. This is sufficient grounds, according to National Democratic Party rules, to withdraw recognition of the State party.

The Freedom Democratic Delegation will be pledged to support the National Democratic Ticket and the National Democratic Platform chosen at the National Democratic Convention -- as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

FREEDOM CANDIDATES: Below are brief biographical sketches and campaigning programs for the four Freedom Candidates.

MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER --- running in the 2nd Congressional District against Rep. Jamie Whitten, Chairman of the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture.

Mrs. Hamer, 47, comes from Sunflower County, the home of James Eastland, where Negroes are 69% of the population. She is the wife of Perry Hamer, a cotton gin worker in Ruleville. Until 1962, the Hamers had lived for 16 years on a plantation four miles from Ruleville. On August 31 of that year, the day Mrs. Hamer registered to vote, they were told they would have to leave the plantation immediately.

Mrs. Hamer began working with the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in December 1962 and has been one of the most active workers in the state on Voter Registration. On June 9, 1963, while returning from a SNCC workshop, she was arrested in Winona, Miss., and brutally beaten with a blackjack while in jail. Mrs. Hamer opened her campaign in Ruleville on March 21. She hopes to use her campaign to articulate the grievances of Mississippi's Negroes, particularly in the cotton-rich Delta, the 2nd Congressional District, where Negroes are a clear majority (59%) of the population. Mrs. Hamer constantly tells her audiences that she is only saying "what you have been thinking all along."

But Mrs. Hamer plans to direct her campaign to whites as well as Negroes. It is her thesis that all Mississippians, white and Negro alike, are victims of the all-white, one-party power structure of the state. In her campaign, she explains how Jamie Whitten, from his position on the House Appropriations Sub-Committee on Agriculture, killed a bill to train 2400 tractor drivers. Six hundred of those to be trained were white.

Mrs. Hamer is presently ill in Ruleville (the nearest doctor is 10 miles away). Her condition is provoked and made more serious by after effects of the 1963 beating, from which she has never fully recovered.

JAMES MONROE HOUSTON --- candidate from the 3rd Congressional District against Robert Bell Williams, second in command on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Mr. Houston, 74 years old, is a retired machinist from Vicksburg, member of the NAACP for over 20 years. He was arrested in 1934 for participation in a rural district meeting called to discuss the new Roosevelt programs. He was arrested again in Jackson in 1963 while attempting to march from a Methodist church to City Hall. In his opening campaign speech in Vicksburg on April 5, Mr. Houston told a crowd of 200-300 people that he would use his campaign to show what conditions for Negroes in Mississippi are really like. He claimed active support in all fourteen of the 3rd District's counties and said that he would represent all the people in the District if elected. For this reason, he said, his election would restore honor and dignity to the state of Mississippi.

REV. JOHN E. CAMERON --- candidate for the seat of William Meyers Colmer, second in command of the House Rules Committee, from the 5th Congressional District.

Rev. Cameron, 31, opened his campaign in Hattiesburg on March 26, addressing an audience of approximately 200 from the back of an open truck. His campaign will stres jobs, education, and citizenship rights for Negroes. In Biloxi, on April 4, Rev. Cameron called on both state and federal governments to provide training for unskilled laborers so that they may qualify for fulltime and rewarding employment. He stressed the importance of a candidate running in the 5th Congressional District who would represent the entire population of the district, rather than only one racial group.

Rev. Cameron is a former President of the National Baptist Student Union (1954-55), and holds a B.S. degree from Rust College and a Bachelor of Theology from American Baptist Theologica Seminary. He is a member of the NAACP and a Friend of SNCC.

On April 4, Rev. Cameron was refused entrance to a public forum in Hattiesburg unless he agreed to sit in a section reserv for Negroes. A white minister with Rev. Cameron was threatened with arrest for attempting to discuss the matter with the Chairman of the forum. At present, Rev. Cameron is in jail, one of 66 people arrested in Hattiesburg April 9-10 under Mississippi's new anti-picketing law.

MRS. VICTORIA JACKSON GRAY --- candidate for Senate agains John Stennis. Mrs. Gray, 37, of Hattiesburg, is the mother of three children. She was one of the first Negroes to register in Forrest County, where Registrar Theron C. Lynn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes on an equal basis wi whites.

In an opening campaign statement given to the press April Mrs. Gray stressed that "Unemployment, Automation, Inadequate Housing, Health Care, Education, and Rural Development are the real issues in Mississippi, not 'States Rights' or 'Federal Encroachment'." Mrs. Gray's own emphasis during the campaign wil be on the problems of education faced by Negroes in the state.

April 12, 1964

SEGREGATION, HARRASSMENT, AND ARREST FOR NEGRO CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE

Rev. John E. Cameron is the first Negro to run for Congress in Mississipp 5th Congressional District since Reconstruction. In attempting to play a full civic role in his own community of Hattiesburg, Rev. Cameron has had to face:

SEGREGATION:

On April 4, Rev. Cameron tried to attend a public legislative forum. The forum was originally scheduled for an unsegregated courtroom in the annex of the Forrest County Courthouse. After Rev. Cameron and a secretary and two white ministers accompanying him were seated, however, the chairman of the forum entered and said that the forum was too crowded and would be moved to the main courtroom in the Courthouse. The main courtroom is segregated.

When Rev. Cameron and his party attempted to enter the second hall, they were barred from the floor of the courtroom and told that they must sit in the balcony. Rev. Cameron refused to accept this segregated seating, and asked to see the chairman of the forum. The chairman refused to come out to see Rev. Cameron or to allow the latter to come in to see him. When one of the white ministers went in to talk with the chairman, he was threatened with arrest if he did not either sid down immediately or leave.

Rev. Cameron said: "I refuse to go upstairs and segregate myself from the other members of this public legislative forum," and left the Courthouse.

HARRASSMENT:

Rev. Cameron is constantly followed by police cars as he moves arou Hattiesburg. This harrassment intimidates Negroes whom Rev. Cameron tri to approach in his Congressional campaign.

On the night of April 3, Rev. Cameron was stopped by Officer Hill of the Hattiesburg Police Department. The first thing the officer said was, "I hope you don't have your license." Rev. Cameron replied that he was sure the officer hoped for this, but that he was not so foolish as to be that careless in Hattiesburg. The officer let him go.

ARREST:

Since January 22, 1964, Hattiesburg Negroes had maintained a picket line at the Forrest County Courthouse as part of a campaign for voting rights. Late in the afternoon on April 9th they were told they could no longer picket, and when they returned on the morning of April 10 police arrested 43 picketers. Rev. C meron and 7 white ministers from various Northern states were among those arrested.

The picketers were arrested under a new anti-picketing law pushed through the Mississippi legislature to combat picketing activities in such places as Hattiesburg. The picketers have been peaceful and they have accepted a limited area at the Courthouse in which to picket. Moreover, their cause is just -- Forrest County Registrar, Theron C. Lyn is under Federal indictment for refusing to register Negroes. Though th Constitution guarantees the right to peaceful demonstration and the righ of all citizens to vote, even a candidate for Congress can be arrested for asserting these rights if he is a Negro in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

norm

file under summer project

Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
13 April 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: Marvin Rich, Norman Hill, Gordon Carey, Jim McCain, Val Coleman, Bob Gore

FROM: Carl Rachlin

Re: "Mississippi Freedom Summer"

1) It is advisable, as the memorandum suggests, that President Johnson, if he will, put Governor Johnson of Mississippi on notice of Federal Government action to protect demonstrators et al. 2) It is also advisable that specific suggestions be given to the President as to what may be done as to the use of Federal Marshalls and so forth. 3) In a large sense, we know from experience that Mississippi will not heed any request of this kind, and we are thrown back upon a) what the President will do and b) our own resources, in all likelihood the latter.

It took Birmingham and the related matters to convince President Kennedy to oppose legislation. Although requested, he did not and has not authorized Federal Marshalls except as in the Meredith case or the University of Alabama case to uphold a court order. 4) The main leverage point that we have rests in the fact that an election will be held this fall. A second leverage point is not as Moses suggests implicit in his memorandum, the meeting with the President or the letters to the President by the substantial number of demonstrations that actually occur in Mississippi. In other words the President is not likely to take the big step unless XHXX he is faced with no other alternative. 5) I think a meeting with Johnson prior to demonstrations and activities being conducted in Mississippi would be tactically unwise, since we come to that point in a sense no matter what our attitude asking for assistance. Also that being the situation, he is in a position to extract, and his is very talented at this, a counter-promise of some sort from us which could seriously hamper activities in Mississippi this summer. If we turn down any such request, we may find ourselves

(continued)

in a vulnerable position. Therefore, while we may ask the President for a meeting it should come at a time when he needs us and when he is forced to take a stand to protect demonstrators. In other words suchaa meeting with the Presidnet should not come until after activities have started. 6) Superimposed upon all this is the major dispute brewing between the Legal Defense on the one hand and Cofo and the National Lawyers' Guild on the other. The other day Greenberg flatly told Moses that under no circumstance would the Legal Defense cooperate with the National Lawyers' Guild attorneys. Anticipating this we are at this moment engaged in a major effort, under my instigation with the cooperation of ACLU, National Council of Churches, Father Drinan, A. J. Committee and A. J. Commerce and the Legal Defense to coopt lawyers from all over the country to spend their vacation time trouble spoting in the South. It is inevitable that this situation may develop into a very troublesome matter because of SNCC's insistance on using the National Lawyers' Guild. In SNCC's defense it should be noted that there has been a legal vacuum in Mississippi as well as other areas. Until our major effort, none of the organizations did anyting but utter concern on including Legal Defense, despite the fact that I had a conference and telephone conversations with Jack Greenberg.

It has only been the fear of CP influence which has finally galvanized the Bar Association into action in cooperation with our efforts. This is similarly true of Legal Defense.

I mention all this because it is tangentially related to Moses memorandum and must be considered in light of the fact that the mass presence of the National Lawyers' Guild in Mississippi will unfortunately ~~xxxxx~~ cause political hysteria. I have to persuade the Lawyers' Guild, in view of the impending to issue an anti-communist statement.

David Dennis, COFO Office
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

POLITICS

I. We would like to put five workers in each county of the Fourth District, there are fifteen counties. Their work would be:

1. To hold voter registration workshops
2. To organize precint and county meetings in preparation for Convention Challenge
3. To get people to register in freedom registration books
4. To organize for protest vote

Expense for project would be approximately as follows per county:

Freedom Registration Books - $10.00 each - 15 books	$ 150.00
Mimeo material - $25.00per mo. per center - 3 mos-15 cos.	1,125.00
TOTAL	$1,275.00

CORE would then be responsible for recruiting at least 250 volunteer workers who would come under the banner of CORE and give us a wider area for publicity. (Every home town newspaper would run the names of their people or worker for CORE in Mississippi, which would aid us in future fund-raising).

II. National Convention - The Challenge at the National Convention is, I feel, one of the most important projects to be undertaken by Civil Rights groups this summer. Louisiana (CORE), Mississippi (COFO), and Alabama (SCLC) intend to send delegations to challenge seating of delegates from these states.

In Mississippi, we have organized a Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. Under this banner we intend to elect delegates beginning from precints on to a state convention at which delegates will be elected to represent the people at the National Democratic Convention.

We intend to send a total of 68 elected delegates from Mississippi who will attempt to have the Mississippi Democratic Party delegates un-seated on the grounds that they do not represent the people and to seat the Freedom Democratic Party. At the present time there are only two civil rights groups who are really supporting this program--CORE and SNCC. My concern is to what extent this support will be. On the state level I'm asking CORE to do the following:

1. Be responsible for sending 34 of the 68 delegates to the National Convention.

2. This would mean money for transportation, food, and housing

3. Put another Field Secretary in Mississippi for CORE project.

On the National level Miss Ella Baker has agreed to work on the program from a New York office. The duties of this office would be to impress upon delegates across the country of what we are attempting to do and why. It will also attempt to get allies who will bring the issues to the floor at the convention. It will do research in co-operation with the SNCC office in Atlanta on convention procedures. It will be responsible for organizing demonstrations at the Convention. Also to raise funds for the project. Miss Baker, alone, cannot do this. There is a necessity to organizie a National co-ordinating Committee made up of the following people: Miss Ella Baker, Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph, Norman Hill, and maybe several other people.

In support of this project on the national level I would like for CORE to do the following:

1. Take care of one half of the expense of the New York office until they can begin raising money for the project.

2. Encourage CORE Chapters to begin setting up meeting with key delegates in their area and visiting committee meetings in an effort to gain support for the challenge.

3. Ask Philadelphia CORE to do the following:

   (a) begin making housing arrangements for delegates from three states.

   (b) to locate an office in Atlantic City and find equipment for office.

   (c) to begin attempting to get friends hired as "pages"

4. That CORE permit Norman Hill to give the Convention Challenge priority in regard to summer programs.

5. That efforts be made to set up a committee between CORE and SNCC national offices to handle publicity and fund-raising.

help for Dave --

action - city - committee

votes

political

policy level

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20425



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SPECIAL BULLETIN—AUGUST 1964

A SUMMARY OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964

This summary of the 1964 Civil Rights Act was prepared in response to questions about the Act which have come to the Commission from citizens in every section of the country. It is designed to provide a clearer understanding of the major provisions of the new statute.

Some of the questions raised about any new law cannot be fully answered until the policies and programs necessary for carrying out the law have been developed by the appropriate Government agencies. Other questions will be further clarified as the courts deal with cases brought under the law.

This summary was prepared by the staff of the Commission and is available for distribution as a service under the national clearinghouse function assigned the Commission by the new Civil Rights Act.

Title I

VOTING

The purpose of this section is to provide more effective enforcement of the right to vote in Federal elections (for President, Vice President, presidential electors or members of Congress) without regard to race or color. It also speeds up the procedure by which voting rights suits may be decided.

The Act:

a. requires that the same standards be applied to all individuals seeking to register and vote;

b. forbids denial of the right to vote because of some minor mistake or omission;

c. requires that only literacy tests that are written may be used as a qualification for voting; and that the tests and answers be available on request;

d. establishes that in voting rights law suits the court must presume that anyone who completed the sixth grade is literate, unless the State can prove otherwise.

In any voting suit brought by the Government charging that there is a "pattern or practice" of voting discrimination, either the Attorney General or the defendant may ask that a three-judge Federal court be appointed to hear the case. Appeals from the decisions of such a court may be taken directly to the Supreme Court.

Title II

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin is specifically forbidden in the following places of public accommodation:

a. hotels and motels, restaurants, lunch counters, movie houses, gasoline stations, theaters and stadiums;

b. any other establishment which offers its services to patrons of the covered establishment; for example,

–a barbershop or tavern located in a hotel, or

–a department store in which there is a restaurant:

so long as the covered facilities either affect interstate commerce in their operations, or are supported in their discriminatory practices by State action.

In addition, discrimination is forbidden in any other place of public accommodation that is required to segregate by State or local laws.

If there are no State or local laws requiring segregation, the Federal law does not cover:

a. barbershops, beauty parlors and other service establishments unless they are located in a hotel and offer these services to hotel guests;

b. retail stores that do not serve food, or places of recreation (except as listed above) which do not serve food;

c. lodging houses, hotels or similar places which take temporary guests if they have fewer than six rooms for rent in a building occupied by the owner.

Places that are actually owned and operated as private clubs are exempted from coverage of this title except to the extent that they offer their facilities to patrons of a covered establishment, such as a country club that customarily allows guests of a hotel to use its golf course.

No person may intimidate, threaten or coerce anyone for the purpose of interfering with the rights created by this title.

The provisions of this title may be enforced in two ways:

1. By *individual action* in a civil suit filed by the persons discriminated against, or
2. By *Government action* in a civil suit filed by the Attorney General.

In public accommodations suits filed by individuals:

—the court hearing the suit may appoint a lawyer for the person bringing the complaint and exempt the complainant from the payment of certain costs;

—the court may permit the Attorney General to enter the case;

—if there is a State law or local ordinance that prohibits discrimination, the complaint must first be taken to the State or local authorities, allowing them 30 days to begin a proceeding before suit can be filed in a Federal court;

—once the case is in court, the court can postpone action until the State or local proceeding is completed;

—if there are no State or local anti-discrimination provisions, the court may refer the matter to the Community Relations Service (see Title X) so that it may seek to secure voluntary compliance within no more than 120 days.

The Attorney General may file a public accommodations suit when he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance. As in Title I voting suits, he may request a three-judge court for this action.

In public accommodations suits brought either by individuals or the Attorney General, the court may issue temporary or permanent injunctions or restraining orders against those found to be violating the law. A person or persons failing to obey such court decrees may be punished by contempt proceedings under the jury trials provision of the law (see Title XI).

Title III

PUBLIC FACILITIES

The Attorney General is authorized to bring a civil suit to compel desegregation of any publicly-owned or operated facility whenever he receives a written complaint of discrimination. He must believe that the complaint merits action and must certify that the individual or individuals making the complaint are themselves unable to take the necessary legal action. State or municipally owned or operated parks, libraries and hospitals are among the facilities covered.

Title IV

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Under this title the U.S. Office of Education is authorized to:

a. conduct a national survey to determine the availability of equal educational opportunity;

b. provide technical assistance, upon request, to help States, political subdivisions or school districts carry out school desegregation plans;

c. arrange training institutes to prepare teachers and other school personnel to deal with desegregation problems;

Title IX

INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

The Attorney General is authorized to intervene in any Federal court action seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin. If a Federal court refuses to accept a civil rights case and sends it back to a State court, this action may be reviewed on appeal.

Title X

COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A Community Relations Service is established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities requiring help with civil rights problems where discriminatory practices impair constitutional rights or affect interstate commerce. The Service is authorized to cooperate with both public and private agencies, either on its own initiative or upon request from local officials or interested persons in situations where disputes threaten peaceful relations among the citizens of a community.

In addition, the Service is authorized to seek a voluntary settlement of public accommodation complaints which may be referred to it by a Federal Court. The Act directs that all activities of the Service in providing conciliation assistance shall be conducted in confidence and without publicity.

Title XI

MISCELLANEOUS

This title gives a right to jury trial in criminal contempt cases arising out of Titles II, III, IV, V, VI and VII. Title I retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act.

Appropriations are authorized to carry out the Act, and a separability clause provides that the rest of the Act will be unaffected if any portion is invalidated. Another section preserves existing remedies under Federal law. This title also preserves the rights of the States to legislate in the same areas covered by this Act, so long as such legislation is not inconsistent with the purposes of the Act.

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

John A. Hannah, Chairman
Eugene Patterson, Vice Chairman
Frankie M. Freeman
Erwin N. Griswold
Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
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The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging that citizens are being deprived of their right to vote by reason of their race, color, religion, or national origin;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to equal protection of the laws;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;
- Investigate allegations of vote fraud; and
- Submit interim reports and a final and comprehensive report of its activities, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

GSA WASH DC 65-1579

d. make grants enabling school boards to employ specialists for in-service training programs.

In addition, the Attorney General is authorized to file civil suits seeking to compel desegregation of public schools, including public colleges.

Before filing such a suit the Attorney General must have received a signed complaint from a pupil or parent and must have determined that the complainant, according to standards set forth in the Act, is unable to bring the action. The Attorney General is also required to notify the school board and give it a reasonable period of time to correct the alleged condition before filing suit.

Title V

COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The life of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is extended until January 31, 1968. Since 1957 the Commission's functions have included investigating denials of the right to vote, studying legal developments and appraising Federal policies relating to equal protection of the laws, and making recommendations for corrective action to the President and the Congress.

Title V gives the Commission added authority to:

a. serve as a national clearinghouse for civil rights information;

b. investigate allegations of vote fraud.

Commission hearing procedures are amended to further protect the rights of individuals who may be affected by Commission proceedings.

As a national clearinghouse, the Commission will provide civil rights information in such areas as voting, housing, education, employment and the use of public facilities to Federal, State and local government agencies and officials, organizations and businesses, and the general public.

Title VI

FEDERALLY ASSISTED PROGRAMS

Under this title every Federal agency which provides financial assistance through grants, loans or contracts is required to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race, color or national origin in these programs.

For example, this title would require the following:

a. hospitals constructed with Federal funds would have to serve all patients without regard to race, color or national origin;

b. elementary and secondary schools constructed, maintained and operated with Federal funds would have to admit children without regard to race, color or national origin;

c. State employment services financed by Federal funds would have to refer qualified job applicants for employment without discrimination;

d. schools for the deaf and the blind operated with Federal funds would have to serve the deaf and blind of any color;

e. colleges and universities receiving funds for their general operation or for the construction of special facilities, such as research centers, would have to admit students without discrimination;

f. construction contractors receiving funds under Federal public works programs would have to hire employees without discrimination.

Action by a Federal agency to carry out the requirements of this title may include the terminating of programs where discrimination is taking place or refusal to grant assistance to such a program.

Each agency is required to publish rules or regulations to carry out the purposes of the title. These rules and regulations are subject to the approval of the President.

Compliance actions are subject to the following conditions:

a. notice must be given of alleged failure to comply and an opportunity for a hearing must be provided;

b. in the event assistance is to be cut off, a written report must be submitted to Congress 30 days before the cut-off date;

c. compliance action may be appealed to the courts.

Social security and veteran's benefits, and other Federal benefits distributed directly to individuals are not affected by this law.

Federal assistance in the form of insurance or guaranty—for example, FHA insured loans—are not covered by this title (however, the President's Executive Order prohibiting discrimination in Federally aided housing remains in effect).

Title VII

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

This title establishes a Federal right to equal opportunity in employment. It creates an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to assist in implementing this right.

Employers, labor unions and employment agencies are required to treat all persons without regard to their race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. This treatment must be given in all phases of employment, including hiring, promotion, firing, apprenticeship and other training programs, and job assignments.

When this title goes into full effect employers will be subject to its provisions if they have 25 or more regular employees in an industry that affects interstate commerce. Generally speaking, labor unions will be subject to the Act if they either operate a hiring hall for covered employers, or if they have 25 or more members who are employed by a covered employer. Employment agencies are also included if they regularly undertake to supply employees for a covered employer.

(Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements for employers and unions is postponed for one year. Employers and unions with 100 or more workers will be covered beginning July 2, 1965 and coverage will be extended each year until July 2, 1968 when employers and unions with 25 workers will be covered.)

Not covered by this title are (1) public employers, (2) bona fide private clubs, (3) educational institutions with regard to employees working in educational activities and all employment in religious educational institutions, (4) employers on or near an Indian reservation with regard to preferential treatment of Indians; and (5) religious corporations, institutions, etc., with regard to employees working in connection with religious activities.

When someone believes he has been discriminated against because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in any phase of job placement or employment, he may bring his complaint within 90 days to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission or to the Attorney General.

The Commission will handle his complaint directly, unless the State or locality where the alleged discrimination occurred has fair employment laws. If so, the person complaining must allow the State or local officials no more than 120 days to resolve the matter. If there is no satisfactory conclusion within this time or if the State or locality rejects the complaint before the time is up, the complainant may then go to the Commission, which is authorized to settle valid complaints by conciliation and persuasion. Nothing said during the conciliation proceedings may be made public or used as evidence without the consent of the parties.

If the Commission fails to secure compliance within a period of no more than 60 days, the individual may take his case to a Federal court. This court may appoint an attorney and may exempt the complainant from payment of certain costs. The court, in its discretion, may allow the Attorney General to enter the case.

A worker who thinks he has been discriminated against may take his complaint directly to the Attorney General, who may bring the case before a three-judge court if he believes there is a pattern or practice of resistance to this title.

If the court in either action finds discrimination, it will order the employer, employment agency or union to take corrective action, which may include hiring or reinstating employees with or without back pay.

Title VIII

VOTING STATISTICS

The Secretary of Commerce is required to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color, and national origin and to determine the extent to which such persons have registered and voted in such geographic areas as the Commission on Civil Rights recommends.

A similar survey must also be conducted on a nationwide basis in connection with the 1970 Census. No person questioned during such surveys may be compelled to disclose his race, color, religion or national origin and everyone must be advised of his right to refuse to give this information.

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GSA WASH DC 65-1579

1 [1964]

In MISSISSIPPI
in 1964

a NEGRO FARMER
was elected CHAIRMAN
of an ASCS Community
Committee!!

If it can be done in
MISSISSIPPI, it can be
done in LOUISIANA

ooo

Do You Plant Crops?

ARE YOU A: ▱ FULL OWNER

▱ PART OWNER

▱ TENANT

▱ OR SHARE IN THE CROP ? ... /

If you are, the ASC elections affect you!

WHAT IS ASC??

- It is set up by the Federal Government
- It tells you how many acres of cotton, peanuts, rice, and some other crops you can plant.
- It decides if you are eligible for price support payments
- It gives loans for conservation and storage
- It hires people to measure your land and charges a penalty if you exceed your acreage allotment

HOW IS IT SET UP??

1. A PARISH IS DIVIDED INTO ONE OR MORE COMMUNITIES.
2. EACH COMMUNITY HAS A 3-MAN COMMITTEE:
   - 1 Chairman
   - 1 Vice-Chairman
   - 1 Regular Member

   ---

   2 Alternates
3. EACH COUNTY (PARISH) HAS A 3-MAN COMMITTEE:
   - 1 Chairman
   - 1 Vice-Chairman
   - 1 Regular Member

   ---

   2 Alternates
4. THE COUNTY (PARISH) ALSO HAS A COUNTY OFFICE MANAGER WHO RUNS THE PARISH ASC OFFICE
5. THE COUNTY EXTENSION AGENT IS PRESENT, BUT DOESN'T VOTE

HOW ARE THEY ELECTED ??

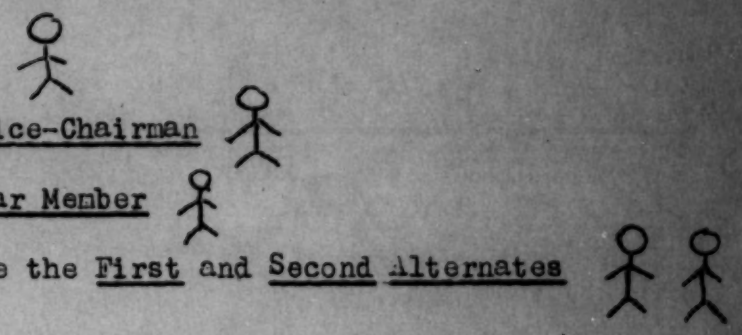
0 COMMUNITY COMMITTEE

1. Any qualified voter - Anyone who is a farm owner, tenant, or shares in the crop - can be nominated
2. The nominating petition, signed by at least six (6) farmers in the community, is given to the office manager
3. Ballots are sent out to all Qualified Voters ... by mail
4. In Louisiana, elections take place every August
5. You vote either by mail or at a polling place. You will be told which.
6. Your wife can vote too.
7. You vote for 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 men
8. The man with the most votes is Chairman

   The man with the second most votes is Vice-Chairman

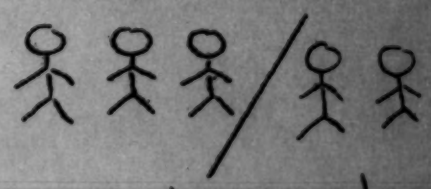
   The man who comes in thisr is the Regular Member

   The men who come in fourth and fifth are the First and Second Alternates



0 COUNTY COMMITTEE

1. The chairman of each community committee goes to the ASC County Convention
2. The Chairmen vote to elect the ASC County Committee
3. The ASC County Committeemen are elected for one year



WHY Should You Vote?

1. The committees are made of white farmers who do not seem to care about small farmers.
2. If there are enough Negroes on the county committees, Negroes can be hired to survey the fields and other jobs.
3. You will be sure that you get your proper crop allotment
4. You will be sure that you get your proper price support payment
5. You will know you will be treated fairly.

How ?

1. Find out the community bounderies
2. Get together by community
3. Select a man to nominate for the ASC Community Committee
4. Nominate him
5. VOTE for that man only
6. Tell your wife and all your neighbors to vote ! !

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For more information go to the CORE office at:

or write to: CORE Research
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

[1964]

What You Should Know About:

(1) Surplus Food Programs

(2) Farmer Cooperatives

(3) Farmers Home Administration

(4) Acreage Allotment Programs

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What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local public welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it (sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program—or continue in it—if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part or continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials of the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent-teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

(over)

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groups in helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

3. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.D. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

4. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally-donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

The Food Stamp Program

This is an experimental program operating on a limited budget, and it is not now being expanded to new communities. It permits low-income families to spend thier food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If you think that your community has a great need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that you be included in it.

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If you find that any federally-assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York 3, N.Y.

What you should know about

HOW FARMER COOPERATIVES CAN HELP YOU

A cooperative is a business owned and operated by the people who use the goods and services it supplies. It is one way that people can pool cash and some of their other resources to work together for a better life for each of them.

Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives. They get their electricity through their local rural electric cooperatives, and their seed, fertilizer, feed, and other supplies through purchasing co-ops; sell the products they grow through marketing co-ops; and borrow the money they need to carry on their operations through cooperative land banks and credit unions. Even the smallest farmer--and the farm worker, too -- may find that cooperatives can help him save money in his farming and in supplying his family's needs.

An Example of a Need - Credit Unions

One of the easiest ways to save money is not to borrow it from the landlord, the supply merchant, the ginner, the loan shark. Yet almost all farmers and sharecroppers must borrow during the growing season, and farmworkers often must borrow during the off season. A study showed that Negro small farmers in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, were really paying their landlords 11.7% and their supply merchants 14.8% interest (even though it was reported at a lower rate). Those who could borrow from the Production Credit Association or from a bank paid 6% to 6.8% interest (with no extra hidden charges). Most of the loans were from $50 up to $500.

A credit union is one kind of cooperative. It could have lent this money cheaper and might have worked out a better schedule for repayment. It might have beenable to help those that the Production Credit Association and the banks would not help, including farmworkers and non-farmers.

How a cooperative operates

A cooperative is organized to save money for all its member-users and to bring them needed services, not to make a profit for just a few stockholders. Most cooperatives operate on these basic principles.

1. Open membership. Anyone can join who can use its services and pay its membership fee. (You have to be a farmer to belong to many farmer co-ops. The fee depends upon the kind of business, usually ranging from $5.00 to $100.00)

2. Democratic control. The business is controlled by the members, every member can vote, and each member usually has only one vote no matter how much stock he owns.

3. Limited interest on capital invested. Members buy shares in the cooperative so that it will have enough money to operate, but it is set up to serve its members, not to make a profit, so the members limit the amount of interest they pay themselves on their invested capital.

4. Service at as near to cost as possible. After cooperatives have paid their operating expenses and put something in reserve for the future, they pay the interest owed to the members on their invested capital. The money left over is paid to the member-users as patronage refunds. This means that it is divided up on the basis of goods bought or services used during the year. The more you use your co-op the larger refund you will get.

(OVER)

Types of cooperatives

There are almost as many kinds of cooperatives as there are needs for goods and services. Here are a few that have been most useful for rural people:

Purchasing co-ops - to buy at wholesale and to sell to their members such products as seed, fertilizers, machinery, gasoline, home appliances, and groceries.

Marketing co-ops - to gin, pack or prepare their members' products for market; and to sell them locally or ship them to market.

Credit unions - to lend money to its members at reasonable rates. Usually, all members must belong to the same organization, such as a church or civic group.

Other Service co-ops - to own and operate expensive machinery; to develop water, forestry, and conservation districts; to build and operate housing for older persons, and health clinics; to reduce insurance and funeral costs.

How to use a cooperative or start a new one

First, visit the cooperative nearest you. Get its literature on how it operates and how to join. If it can meet some of your needs, join it, take part in its meetings, vote in its elections, and use its services. If there is no co-op nearby, try to get the one that best meets your needs to open a branch in your area.

Many co-ops have failed. Before starting one, learn if a cooperative will meet your local needs and if you have the resources to make it successful. (This is called a feasibility study; experts on cooperatives can help you with this.)

Some of the causes of co-op failures have been: (1) Not enough persons in the area had enough need for it; (2) The members did not understand how cooperatives really operate; (3) There was no convenient source of supply for a pruchasing co-op or a reasonable market for the products of a marketing one; (4) The manager was not qualified to run the business; (5) The members could not raise enough capital (although loans may have been available if the plans were really feasible).

No matter how big some cooperatives now are, most of them started with just a few persons sitting down and planning together how to get the things and services they need cheaper and better. But expert help is needed; get it from the start.

How to get help

Private organizations and the federal government are ready to help you learn about cooperatives, and to form one if a feasibility study shows you can use one successfully. For further information on cooperatives and the nearest cooperative association that may help you, write to: The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Ill. 60605

For information and help on credit unions write to: Credit Union National Assn. 1617 Sherman Avenue, P.O. Box 431, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

The Farmers Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D is set up to advise and help farmers organize and operate cooperatives successfully. Write to it for information and help as you go along.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

What you should know about

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOANS

If you are a farmer and need additional funds at reasonable terms and rates to consolidate debts, for operating expenses, to improve your crop, stock, house, or buildings, or to buy a farm or equipment, Farmers Home Administration may be able to help you. You may have been turned down for an FHA loan in the past—or have been told that it is useless for you to apply. But if your farm experience makes you believe that with enough credit you can manage a farm successfully as either an owner or a tenant, you should apply again. Be sure to apply in writing, as only written applications can be considered.

Floyd F. Higbee, FHA Deputy Administrator, instructed all FHA offices:

"We must concentrate on helping farmers improve their conditions... rather than to use their problems and shortcomings as a basis for rejecting their applications for assistance....The best efforts of this agency are now directed specifically to assisting family farmers through loans and guidance to the end that no deserving family farmer will have to give up the struggle of remaining on the farm because of factors that have come about through reasons beyond his control." (FHA Bulletin No. 691, February 15, 1961.)

Kinds of loans available

If you think any of the FHA loans listed here might help you, ask your FHA county office for the special leaflets that will tell you much more about them.

Operating loans: To help make your farm and home operations successful. Loans for livestock, feed, fertilizer, and farm equipment; for food, clothing, medical care, and other household expenses; to refinance debts; to produce trees, and to do other things to make your farm more productive. Terms: Loans up to seven years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry operations.

Farm Ownership loans: To buy, enlarge, and improve family farms. Loans for farm homes and buildings, to drill wells, to develop and improve forest or recreational enterprises. They are for larger, longer-range projects that operating loans. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry.

Rural Housing loans: To build or improve farm homes or buildings, or non-farm homes in rural areas or communities of less than 2500. Loans to install heating or water, or to modernize; or to buy a house or homesite for persons over 62 years. Terms: Loans up to 33 years at 4% interest. Owners unable to repay a loan may be able to get a grant of up to $1000 for minor safety or health improvements.

Water Development and Soil Conservation loans: To improve your water supply and your land; for wells, farmstead water, irrigation and drainage, grading, fertilizing and seeding; to develop permanent pastures and improve forestry practices; to join a water district; and to pay for engineering plans and legal fees. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% for forestry.

(CON'T)

Emergency loans: To help farmers who need special credit to carry on their normal operations because of widespread losses caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters. They are usually made only in area specially designated by Secretary of Agriculture but sometimes can be made when only one or a few farmers are affected. Terms: Loans up to 7 years for livestock and equipment, up to 20 years for buildings and land improvement, at 3% interest.

Loans to groups: These are available for watershed improvement, water systems irrigation, soil conservation, the development of grasslands, and forestry and recreation enterprises, and for the building of housing for older persons. Ask the FHA county office for infomation about these programs.

Who is eligible for FHA loans

The special requirements for the different types of loans are given in the FHA leaflets. All of the loans (except for rural housing) require the following:

1. that you are unable to get credit for the loan you need at reasonable rates and terms for private or cooperative lending agencies;

2. that you have a farm background and the farm experience or training necessary to be successful in carring out the planned farm operation;

3. that you work out a plan with the FHA county supervisor that will make it possible to carry through the operation and pay off the loan;

4. that after the loan is made you actually will be managing or operating a farm either as owner, or tenant under a written lease, and that you be of legal age (and, in some cases, a U. S. citizen);

5. that you have the character, industry, and ability to carry out the farming operation for which you obtain the loan.

How to apply -- Who determines whether or not you are eligible

Consider your own farm operation very carefully. If you think that with a loan you can increase your cash income enough to both live better and pay off the loan, ask the FHA county supervisor to help you plan your operations and help you prepare your application. Your application will be reviewed by the FHA county committee which will decide whether or not you get the loan. The FHA committee is made up of three local farmers appointed by the FHA state director. The committee may ask you and your family to meet with it. Try to have other farmers who know you tell the committee about your background and ability. The local committee should decide in about two weeks. Appeals may be taken to the state director. Even if you don't qualify for an FHA loan at this time, the FHA office can help you plan for farm improvements.

What to do if you think you are not being treated fairly on an FHA loan

You have the right to have the FHA county office help you review your farm operations and plan your improvements. You are entitled to be treated with courtesy at the FHA county office and to receive help in preparing your loan application. If other debts are keeping you from qualifying, the FHA office may be able to help you try to work out new arrangements with your other creditors. The FHA county committee must consider your application fairly regardless of your color, the smallness of your farm, or any bad credit or operating experiences in the past.

(CON'T)

Keep a careful written record of all your contacts with the FHA office and a copy of your applications. Keep every letter or notice that is sent to you, and keep the envelope it came in. If you think that you are not being treated fairly, write a letter telling everything that happened to: The Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112, E. 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

What you should know about

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT PROGRAMS
(for cotton, rice, and peanuts)

This fact sheet tells how the acreage that you can plant in cotton, rice, and peanuts is determined, when it is determined, and what you can do if you think that you are not being fairly treated. It does not try to tell everything about how acreage allotments, along with marketing quotas, operate as a part of the overall price support program.

Market quota, referendum, and acreage allotment

Your local or county ASC committee* each year holds a referendum called by the Secretary of Agriculture to approve the marketing quota for each of these crops for the coming year. This referendum is held not later than December 15 (except for rice, which maybe held in the following January). Before the referendum is conducted, your ASC county committee has made the acreage allotment for each farm in your county, and the notice of your allotment (if you are entitled to one) should have been mailed to you. If you hear that a marketing quota referendum is going to be conducted and you have not yet received your notice of acreage allotment, check at once with your county agent or at your local ASC office.

Who takes part in the referendum, the ASC committees, and the acreage allotments

You are entitled to participate in the referendum (and in the election of your ASC committee) if you operate a farm as a sharecropper, tenant, or owner and are entitled to an acreage allotment. You must have an acreage allotment if you produce cotton, rice, or peanuts for market (if two-thirds of the producers of the country who vote in the referendum approve the marketing quota for the crop).

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to the county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (Abnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the ASC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are entitled to some allotment for the crop. Ask the ASC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you.

What to do if you don't get your notice on time or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum, inquire at once at your local ASC office and write a letter to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, 25, D. C. telling him what happened.

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* The ASC committees are committees elected by the local farmers to help carry out the programs of the Agricultural Stabilization and conservation Service of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture. (More information on ASCS on pages 23-29)

(OVER)

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you do not understand it, ask your local ASC office or your county agent to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied with the acreage allotted to you (or your farm marketing quota upon which it is based), file a written application for review with your local ASC committee within fifteen days of the postmark on your notice. Keep a copy of th application for yourself.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the alloted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your farm is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. Regularly -- at least once every three years -- the local ASC committee is supposed to measure all the lands you cultivate without cost to you and can, at any time, check by measuring to be sure you are not planting an excess of the crop. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segrates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared by National Sharecroppers Fund

NH
from Ed Hollands
Rm 203 2211 Arcade Bldg
New Orleans 70113

[1964]

OUTLINE OF MISSISSIPPI SUMMER

RESEARCH PROJECT

file under summer project

There will be a research director for the Mississippi Summer Project who will have outlined several broad areas on which there is vital need for authoritative research. People will be designated to special research areas. Areas currently being programmed are:

1. The Mississippi educational system -- this would be school and curriculum observation, interviewing white and Negro teachers & students, review of teaching materials, library evaluation, etc.

2. Information on the whiskey industry -- a black market economic boon functioning here which has questionable tie-ins with the powers-that-be.

3. The tax structure of Mississippi -- this is part of a lengthy SNCC research project already underway and for which federal grants have been applied.

4. Implementation of federal programs -- a tremendous area of possibility, about which there is next to no information. Agriculture, labor, ARA, FHA, etc.: all are non-existent for the Mississippi Negro because of the local implementation written into each bill. This needs to be carefully studied in order to plan "attack."

5. State welfare program and social security systems -- the plantation owner takes out social security and the share cropper never becomes eligible for it. Why?

6. Income distribution.

7. Emperical studies of local health facilities.

8. Democratic party structure -- i.e. patronage and nepotism, the secret precinct meetings, etc.; political scientists to interview whites.

for Lorraine

[1964]

Draft Program to clear up slums, retrain unemployed and raise the standards of minority groups in New York

I Public Works Program

We demand a declaration of an emergency——to fix broken down Sub-standard Housing in N.Y.C., required to avoid legal litegation that would tie up effective operation of this program. Hit on three fronts Mayor, Gov., State Leg.

II Mobilization of unemployed workmen for the task of training or retraining to repair housing.

III All unskilled workers employed under this program shall be given schooling in the crafts under qualified building trades mechanics in public school buildings. Other part of the day working on broken down buildings. This is somewhat similar to on the job training for veterans after W.W.II.

A. All work to be done at trade union wages to prevent the undermining of union standards.

IV Utilize rents of slum dwellings to bring properties back to legally accepted standards.

V Supplimentary repair funds to be provided by City, State and Federal allotments for this program.

A. This can help start a revival of a building boom in N.Y. providing jobs for Negro, White and other groups.

VI Funds for schooling the unemployed to be provided by the City, State and Federal allotments for this project. MT+DA.

Proposals for realizing this program

I Mobilize preasure on all community organizations to put maximum force on all political parties and all government agencies and people who have power to make decisions. Ask for resolutions of support to be directed to government agencies and ask for contributions for the campign.

II Attempt to have as many Negro and other trade unionists raise this in their unions and support this drive and cooperate with C.O.R.E. for the success of the project

III Attempt to have all members from churchs, social organizations, local clubs of all political parties support this Programe.

MR. ROBERT DAVIS

215 W 98 St. #22

TR4-7872

before 9:30

Member of Pub. Depts.

for year or 2 for program

Summer

M I S S I S S I P P I F R E E D O M S U M M E R

Thousands of Americans from all over the country are interested in joining our Struggle for Freedom. Some are Teachers, some are college students, some are law students, some are doctors. They are both Negro and white. They want to come to Mississippi this summer to work with us to make our state a true democracy. They want to work with us in our Struggle for what is right.

There are Three kinds of things they can do:

1. Voter Registration - They can canvass to find people to register to vote.
   They can hold citizenship classes.
   They can take people to the courthouse.

2. Freedom Schools - A Freedom School would be for high school students, but not like a regular school.
   It would teach about our government, and about Negro history, and about Freedom.
   It would teach arts and crafts, music, etc.
   It would show movies, put on student plays and hold talent shows.
   Students in a Freedom School would have their own government and newspaper.

3. Community Centers - A community center would be a place where everyone would go to feel at home. It would be a place where someone could come to bring his problems.

   Community centers would have the following program:
   games and story-telling for children
   classes in reading and writing, arts and crafts, typing and other skills, Negro history
   classes to help farmers, mothers who are expecting, and mothers with little babies.
   Music, movies, plays.

If you would like, we could have these programs in your community, but only with your support. There would be a job for everyone to do to make these things work.

Things you can do:

1. Find housing for workers who you like to come to your community this summer.
2. Find a building to hold the Freedom School or community center.
3. Send us the names of high school students who would like to attend a Freedom School.

Write to us at the following address, or call us up.

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch Street,
Jackson, Miss.
telephone: 352-9605

[1964]



Council Of Federated Organizations



MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM SUMMER

Freedom Schools



FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be during the summer. They are schools where high school students will be able to talk about things they can't talk about in regular school. They will learn about civil rights.

There will be classes for students who:

1. have trouble with their lessons in regular school and want to do better,

2. like to read and want to learn more than they are taught in regular school.

There will be singing, dancing, sports, hikes and many other things for <u>all</u> students.

Some of the FREEDOM SCHOOLS will be for people who spend 6 weeks away from home to live at them.

ALL OF THE FREEDOM SCHOOLS WILL BE <u>FREE</u>.

Voter Registration

ARE YOU A REGISTERED VOTER?

If we were all voting then things would be better in Mississippi.

We would have:
- enough food
- more jobs
- better schools
- better houses
- paved sidewalks

People coming here this summer can work with you on VOTER REGISTRATION. They can knock on doors, teach the registration forms and drive people to the courthouse. They can help in any way you want them to.



Community Centers



A COMMUNITY CENTER is a place where <u>everyone</u> can do many <u>different things</u>. It will be mostly for adults and will offer many chances for them to learn things to help them live better.

COMMUNITY CENTERS will have:
- job training programs
- classes for people who cannot read or write
- classes on child care
- health programs
- adult education and Negro history classes
- music, drama, and arts and crafts workshops

If you have small children, they will be taken care of while you enjoy the COMMUNITY CENTER.

EVERYTHING AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER WILL BE <u>FREE</u>.

What You Can Do:

This is your FREEDOM SUMMER. It will not work without your help.

COFO is asking you to:
- provide housing for the people who are coming to work here.
- look for buildings which can be used for Freedom Schools and Community Centers.
- get names of students who want to go to Freedom Schools.
- let us know when you have meetings or arrange meetings so we can come answer questions about the FREEDOM SUMMER.

Many people are coming here to work during our FREEDOM SUMMER. They want to learn about Mississippi. They feel that the problems here are the problems of people all over the country. Most of them will be college students, both Negro and white.

COFO is your organization. The things it is trying to do should be done by the state. The people who have been elected to run the state say that they do not have to do things for Negroes.

IT IS THE FAULT OF THE STATE that you cannot:
- find work
- read and write
- send your children to better schools.

If you work with COFO you will be working to get yourself the better conditions you deserve.

What Is COFO?

COFO is an organization made up of all the civil rights and local citizenship groups in Mississippi which decided they must work together to improve conditions in Mississippi.

For more information:

Write to - COFO STATE OFFICE
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

Or call - 352-9605

Other offices near you:

CLARKSDALE - 213 4th Street
phone - 624-2913

COLUMBUS - 1323 6th Ave. North
phone - 328-8916

GREENWOOD - 708 Avenue N
phone - 453-1282

HATTIESBURG - 507 Mobile Street
phone - 584-7670

MERIDIAN - 2505 1/2 5th Street
phone - 485-9286

[1964]

FARMERS, ATTENTION!!!

For your benefit and to acquaint all rural people in Miss. with the laws the U.S. Congress has enacted to raise the income levels in poor rural areas the National Sharecroppers Fund is sponsoring:

A Conference On

A BETTER LIFE FOR MISSISSIPPI FARM FAMILIES
Sponsored by National Sharecroppers Fund
Feb. 29 - March 1, 1964
Mt. Beulah Christian Center
Edwards, Mississippi

The conference will last two days, the Sharecroppers Fund WILL PAY FOR YOUR ROOM AND BOARD FOR THE TWO DAYS.

On the reverse of this page is a tentative agenda. Examine it closely in order to see what will take place at this extremely important conference.

Attached to this page is an envelope and an application blank. If you desire COFO to place a reservation for you, please fill out this application and mail it to COFO.

I

A TENTATIVE PROGRAM

Purpose: To acquaint leaders of low-income farm and rural families with the opportunities offered by governmental agencies to improve their economic position.

Saturday, February 29

10:00 a.m.	Registration
11:00 a.m.	Informal get-together and discussion of needs and questions that need answering.
12:30 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 p.m.	Rural Areas Development Building for a Better Future--Jac Wasserman, Project Director, National Sharecroppers Fund What RAD Can Mean to the Small Farmer--L.A. Potts, Special Ass't to the Secretary, U.S. Dept. of Agricu Role of Technical Action Panels in Bringing Together Available USDA Resources--T.B. Fatheree, State Director, Farmers Home Administration Role of State Extension Service in Aiding Low-Income Farmers--W.M.Bost, Director, Miss. Extension Service
4:00 p.m.	Questions and Discussion
6:00 p.m.	Dinner
7:30 p.m.	Address: "How Small Farme s Fit into Today's Agricultur Economy"--A.L. Edwards, Dep. Ass't Sec'y, USDA
8:30 p.m.	Workshops with RAD Panel and Resource Specialists

Sunday, March 1

7:30 a.m.	Breakfast
9:00 a.m.	Credit Programs for Farm and Rural People -Through Farmers Home Administration--T.B. Fatheree -Through Credit Unions--Donald R. Slatton, Managing Director, Miss. Credit Union League -Through Farm Credit Banks--Neal Pendleton, President, New Orleans Bank for Cooperatives
12:30 p.m.	Lunch
2:00 p.m.	The Role of Farmer Cooperatives Job K. Savage, Director, Management Services Division, Farmer Cooperative Service, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture E.G. Spivey, General Manager, Miss. Federated Coops
3:00 p.m.	Questions and Discussion
4:00 p.m.	Adjournment

2

MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM REGISTRATION TO VOTE

I. Why have a Freedom Registration?

We are having a Freedom Registration in Mississippi because:
We do not believe that apathy is the reason Negroes in Mississippi do not vote.
We believe that fear keeps them from trying to register to vote. They are afraid of losing their jobs, having their property destroyed, being harassed by the police.
Those who are brave enough to try are kept from registering by unconstitutional voting requirements and discriminatory practices. We want to show Mississippi and the country by means of the "Freedom Registration to Vote" that Negroes would register to vote if they could.
There are some 425,000 Negroes who are eligible to vote in Mississipp Less than 20,000 of them are registered. The Freedom Registration is a plan to show how most of these 425,000 Negroes can be registered.

II. How will the Freedom Registration be run?

Each county will have a registration board. The board will keep official books for its county and appoint registrars who will have the authority to register people in the precincts of that county. Registration will be conducted every day, including Sunday. Registrars will be permitted to travel in "mobile units" to register people in their meetings, at their churches and in their homes. Every effort will be made to make the registration easy for the applicant. Registrars will be asked to assist the applicants, including reading and filling in forms for illiterate people who want to register.

III. Who can register?

In order to register in the Freedom Registration to Vote, a person must:

1. Be a citizen of the United States.
2. Have lived in Mississippi for two years.
3. Have lived in the county where you are trying to register for one year. (If you are a minister or a minister's wife, you only have to have lived there for six months.)
4. Be 21 years old or older. (You can register at 20 if you will be 21 before the next election.)
5. Never have been convicted of : bribery, burglary, stealing, setting fires, telling a lie under oath, forgery, having more than one wife, obtaining money or goods under false pretenses, or taking money trusted to your care.

These are the only requirements to register in the Freedom Registrati

IV. What can C.O.F.O. delegates do?

1. Help establish a board of registrars in your county.
2. Recruit people to serve as volunteer registrars.
3. Find churches, stores, and meeting places where registration may be held.

COFO, 1017 Lynch St. - P.O. Box 2896, Jackson.

Proposal to the Council of Federated Organizations to Challenge the Seating of the Mississippi Democratic Pabty at the National Democratic Convention.

The Mississippi Democratic party has 24 votes at the National Democratic Convention to be held August 30, 1964, in Atlantic City, N.J. Since this party does nto represent any significant number of Negro Democrats in Mississippi, we think it should not be seated.

To challenge the seating of the Miss. delegation, we will have to carry through three levels of action:

1. We will have to send people to the meetings of the Mississippi Democratic party.
2. We will have to organize our own meetings to have duly elected persons to send to the National Convention.
3. We will have to make every contact we can with Democrats around the nation to prepare them for the challenge at the Convention.

Point number one: We should select as many delegates as possible to attend the precinct meetings. These meetings are being held during February, March and April. They usually are held on Tuedday mornings at the voting place of the precinct. They must be announced at least 10 days in advance; we should call the local newspapers to find out the exact date. We should follow this up by attending the county, Congressional district, and statewide meetings.

Point number two: We must organize our own precinct, county, Congressional district and state conventions.

a. Precinct Conventions--We suggest these be held Sunday afternoons during the months of March and April. Each precinct should elect from one to six votes to the county convention. (Each vote can represent four delegates, two half votes and two alternates.)

b, County Convention--We suggest that these be held Sunday afternoons during the months of May and June. Each county elects twice as many voters to the State Convention as it has representatives to the Miss. House of Representatives.

At the County Convention we select the County Democratic Executive Committee, which has 15 members. (Again each vote sent to the State convention can represent four delegates, two half votes and two alternates.)

c. Congressional District Caucus--We suggest that these be held Sunday afternoons during the month of July. Each district elects six regular and three alternate delegates (3 votes) to the National Democratic Convention; three members to the State Democratic Executive Committee; one candidate for Democratic Presidential elector.

d. State Convention--We suggest this be held the first Sunday in August. It ratifies the election of the delegates who were selected by the Congressional District Caucuses. It elects the rest of the delegates to the National Convention, 16 delegates and 7 alternates.

Point number three: COFO should write to Bill Higgs in Washington and ask him to lobby for this program in Washington and at the Convention.

2(a)

M I S S I S S I P P I F R E E D O M S U M M E R

Thousands of Americans from all over the country are interested in joining our Struggle for Freedom. Some are Teachers, some are college students, some are law students, some are doctors. They are both Negro and white. They want to come to Mississippi this summer to work with us to make our state a true democracy. They want to work with us in our Struggle for what is right.

There are Three kinds of things they can do:

1. Voter Registration - They can canvass to find people to register to vote.
   They can hold citizenship classes.
   They can take people to the courthouse.

2. Freedom Schools - A Freedom School would be for high school students, but not like a regular school.
   It would teach about our government, and about Negro history, and about Freedom.
   It would teach arts and crafts, music, etc.
   It would show movies, put on student plays and hold talent shows.
   Students in a Freedom School would have their own government and newspaper.

3. Community Centers - A community center would be a place where everyone would go to feel at home. It would be a place where someone could come to bring his problems.

   Community centers would have the following programs:

   games and story-telling for children
   classes in reading and writing, arts and crafts, typing and other skills, Negro history
   classes to help farmers, mothers who are expecting, and mothers with little babies.
   Music, movies, plays.

If you would like, we could have these programs in your community, but only with your support. There would be a job for everyone to do to make these things work.

<u>Things you can do</u>:

1. Find housing for workers who you like to come to your community this summer.
2. Find a building to hold the Freedom School or community center.
3. Send us the names of high school students who would like to attend a Freedom School.

Write to us at the following address, or call us up.

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch Street,
Jackson, Miss.
telephone: 352-9605

4

Proposal for an Employment and Training Division of COFO

The federal government is opening up an increasing number of jobs in Mississippi.

1. There will be federal jobs with the space testing center near Bay St. Louis. An estimated 3,000 jobs will be made availabel in the next three years.
2. There will be federal jobs made available through increased public works projects. Congress has just approved twelve new public works projects in Mississippi.
3. There are federal jobs in many agencies such as the post office, veteran's administration, etc.

The federal government is committed to equal employment. Every branch of the federag government is obligated to be a fair employer. The federal government has guaranteed us that it will not permit any discrimination in any employment over which it has any say.

Our state government is opposed to equal employment. It has refused to sup;ort training programs open to all people.

It is urgent that we of the Council of Federated Organizations make certain that Negroes of Mississippi obtain the greatest possible advantage from these new job opportunities.

To do this we propose:

1. That we set up an Employment and Training Committee of COFO.
2. That a director be named to head this Committee.
3. That the Committee be responsible for:
   a. Compiling a list of available jobs around the state.
   b. Compiling a list of people who need jobs.
   c. Finding out what specific training people would need to qualify for available jobs.
   d. Helping to organize training programs.
4. That local conferences on employment and training be set up in communities around the state.
5. That local people begin to gather lists of available jobs by:
   a. Seeing the guidance counsellor at the local high school.
   b. Going to the local state employment agencies. (Tell us how you are treated, because these agencies are financed by the federal government.)
   c. Checking daily the employment section of local newspapers.
   d. Checking with the doctors, gas station owners, farmers in the area to see if they need trained nurses, mechanics, tractor drivers.

For further information write to us or call us pu.

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch Street or
P.O. Box 2896
Jackson, Mississippi
telephone: 352-9605

5

COFO Welfare and Relief Program

We believe that the Negro should stay in Mississippi and work our his future. To do this, Negroes may have to stay on welfare and relief until they win the right to get training and jobs. During the transition period there will be a greater and greater need for food and clothing for all ages of Negroes. Things are going to get worse before they get better.

C.O.F.O. has a program with a National agency to ease the problem of receiving clothing for all Negroes in need. The program works as follow

1. Whenever a local group knows of clothing drives for Negroes in Mississippi it should get in touch with the Jackson office. (COFO, 1017 Lynch St. or P.O. Box 2896, Jackson, Mississippi)

2. We then contact the group running the clothing drive and direct them to send the clothing to a nearby warehouse of the National agency.

3. When the National agency receives the clothing, it will release and ship to us an equal number of pounds of clothing <u>of whatever kind we tell them</u>.

For this program to work we need to do three things:

1. Get people around the country to run clothing drives for Mississippi. Very often personal contact is the key to motivation for a drive.

2. Coordinate through the Jackson office with the group running the clothing drive and the National agency.

3. Establish in your local community a clothing committee to do the following things:

a. Interview people and locate those who need assistance.
b. Keep records of interviews and times aid was given.
c. Make decisions on who needs help most.
d. Distribute clothing in a businesslike way.
e. Send letters of thanks.
f. Find places of storage and/or distribution.

7

Outline of Public Food Distribution Programs in Mississippi

I. Programs open to all needy persons throughout the year:

County	Number of people receiving food
Adams	5,586
Alcorn	7,202
Hancock	1,606
Harrison	10,611
Hinds	32,512
Jackson	4,631
Jones	10,621
Lamar	2,148
Perry	2,190
Pike	3,940
Warren	5,085
Wayne	4,172

II. Programs open only to these on public assistance (welfare grant-in-aids, such as aid to dependent children, aid to aged, aid to blind)--except during the winter months when they are open to all needy persons. (The winter months are usually considered December to March or April. Exceptions are Yazoo, Coahoma, Tunica)

Coahoma (Jan. to March)	6,143
Issaquena	1,511
Prentiss	3,576
Tunica (Jan. to March)	1,066
Yazoo (Dec. to Feb.)	8,977

III. Program operating during the winter months only. All begin in December, except Quitman, which goes Jan. to March. Termination dates are tentative, depending on local needs.

Bolivar (Dec. to April)	24,217
Humphreys (Dec. to April)	10,951
Quitman (Jan. to March)	
Sharkey (Dec. to Feb.)	6,418
Sunflower (Dec. to March)	20,107
Washington (Dec. to March)	21,612

IV. All other counties with programs give food only to those on public assistance, and the food is distributed all-year-round.

Attala	2,844
Benton	881
Calhoun	2,883
Chicasaw	2,505
Choctaw	1,577
Clark	2,479
Covington	2,747
Franklin	894
George	1,612
Greene	1,381
Grenada	1,907
Holmes	6,562
Ittawamba	1,490
Jasper	2,720
Jefferson	2,290

over

Counties with programs for those on public assistance only, continued.

County	Number of people receiving food
Lafayette	1,370
Lauderdale	5,882
Leake	2,923
Lee	4,222
Leflore	5,101
Lowndes	4,091
Marshall	1,700
Montgomery	1,684
Neshoba	2,507
Newton	2,259
Oktibbeha	2,682
Panola	1,480
Pearl River	1,548
Pontotoc	2,520
Rankin	1,450
Scott	2,109
Simpson	2,124
Stone	560
Tallahatchie	2,903
Tate	1,316
Tippah	2,175
Tishomingo	1,813
Union	2,308
Webster	1,388
Wilkinson	1,483
Yalobusha	2,104

V. The following counties in Mississippi do not distribute surplus food to needy families. (They may be on the school-lunch program.)

County	County
Amite	Lawrence
Carrol	Lincoln
Claiborne	Madison
Clay	Monroe
Copiah	Marian
Desoto	Noxubee
Forrest	Smith
Jefferson Davis	Walthall
Kemper	

a national organization with affiliated local groups working

CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY
CORE

to abolish racial discrimination by direct, nonviolent methods

38 PARK ROW
NEW YORK 38, NEW YORK
COrtlandt 7-6270

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national director
Dr. George A. Wiley
associate national director

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fund raising director
James Peck
CORElator editor

September 30, 1965

Beverley Lee
Research Dept.
Southern Regional Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

Dear Beverley:

One of the New York Chapters is very interested in knowing the offices of Crown Zellbach in the Northeast. I understand that this information is in the Southern Office in a Bogalusa file that was sent by the Baton Rouge office.

It is quite urgent that we have this information as soon as possible. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Maxine

Maxine Skurka
Department of Organization

October 5, 1965

Maxine Skurka
Department of Organization
CORE
38 Park Row
New York, New York

Dear Maxine,

In regard to your letter of September 30, I am sending you what information we have here in the Southern Office. Check also with Judi Nusbaum. She can be reached in New York at KI. 8-3122.

Sincerely,

Dodie Smith

Enclosure

[1965]

CORE SCHOLARSHIP, EDUCATION AND DEFENSE FUND
150 Nassau Street
New York 38, New York

From: Ronnie M. Moore
Director of Leadership Training

To: Social Action Groups
Friends of Freedom

Re: Prospectus on Leadership Development

For some time we have been trying to develop a leadership training program based on the field experience of civil rights workers, community leaders and experts in areas of law, economics, community organizatior and other studies dealing with social action.

We realize that we have more to learn, but we think we have made the first step toward meeting the demand of civil rights workers for technical knowledge and practical know-how.

Each Roman numeral represents a weekend workshop (Saturday and Sunday). We look upon the subject outline as a course consisting of a series of four workshops. We shall ask participants to take the full course. Workshops will be repeated in four cities which have not yet been selected.

We present this memorandum on field staff training for your consideration and evaluation. We would appreciate suggestions on improving and/or revising the attached memo.

Suggestions on methods and procedures for implementing the proposal are very essential.

We have discussed this proposal widely with staff, community people and professionals. However, it is subject to modification and revision. We sincerely request suggestions and criticisms.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING WORKSHOPS

Subject Matter Outline

I. Legal View of Civil Rights and Liberties

A. The Constitution as a Source of Strength
1st, 5th, 14th, 15th amendments - limitations

B. The Voting Laws of '57, '60, '64, and '65
After reviewing a legal analyis of each law, the group will discuss techniques of using the law's provisions.

C. The Civil Rights Law of 1964
Emphasis will be placed on not only the formal provisions of the law, but also the practical application of the legislations to the everyday needs of the local community. Particular attention will be given to both specific federal programs covered under Title VI and legal procedural requirements involved in the application of Title VII.

D. Presidential Executive Orders (11063, 10925, etc.)
An explanation of the meaning and practical uses of the orders in laymen's terms.

E. U.S. Department of Justice
This study will cover the structure, objectives, uses, personnel, and attitudes of the department.

F. The Law and Civil Disobedience
A discussion of the role of the protest, jail without bail, and a review on where the U.S. Supreme Court stands on non-violent civil disobedience.

II. Economic Dimensions of Civil Rights

A. Trade Unions
An understanding of the structure, purpose, functions, methods of operation, relationship to civil rights and poverty programs will be sought.
Labor Laws (including FICA, FLSA, the Minimum Wage Law, the Kennedy, Landrum, Griffin Act) and how these laws wil help and/or hinder the working man.
Ways and means of ending discrimination in union membership and work apprenticeship. Additional discussion will be centered around workmen's compensation, social security, and other benefits for the employed and unemployed.

B. Anti-poverty Program
Case studies of projects involved in the program, application of the law to the needs of communities and the use of and personnel attitudes in the Office of Economic Opportunity.

C. Employment
A presentation on how to deal with the problems of unemployment, training the unemployed in skills applicable to industry's needs, meeting the challenge of automation, dealing with the unemployable, and developing a stable and balanced employment picture.

D. Housing
Description of housing problems, including the failure of the government to accept responsibility for housing low income groups. New solutions will be discussed, such as: vast increases in public housing , local ownership and control of slums, subsidies for rehabilitation at rents people can afford, local control of renewal, rehabilitation and enforcement programs.

E. Education
This discussion will cover the education situation in general; including the failure of efforts to integrate, the bureaucracy of the school systems, the inadequacies in staff and equipment of Negro schools, and new solutions to such problems. Pre-school enrichment programs, new teaching aides, etc, will be examined.

F. Health and Welfare
Problems of Negroes with Welfare, public health and similar problems. A review of inadequacies of current programs, new solutions (revised welfare provisions, increased services to the poor, changing attitudes and use use of indigenous community people in the programs).
Possibilities of coalitions on health problems with some institutions and some social, health, and welfare personnel.

G. Police and Crime
Statistics and their meaning, the typical approach of police to Negroes and the Poor. The relation of crime to poverty, both in terms of poverty breeding crime, and also breeding brutality; operations of the police bureaucracy, crime and the courts, bail, legal aid, sentencing and other problems.
New solutions, such as the Police Review Board, overhaul of the bail system, overhaul of police training and procedures, possibility of local police commissioners, expanded use of Negro policemen, etc.

III. Community Organization
A. Community Analysis
1. Geographic Boundaries - Demographic Studies
2. Economic Base
3. Leadership Patterns and Sources
4. Centers of Powers (Religious, Business, Political,
5. Class, Cultural, and Ethnic Groupings Racial)
6. Role of the Police: Sheriff, Deputies
7. Resistance Forces: KKK, Sheriffs, White Power Structure
8. Cooperative Forces: NAACP, CORE, COFO, MFDP, Federal Government, Courts, O.E.O.
9. Specific Function of Each Cooperating Force

B. Citizen Involvement
1. Causes for ignorance, illiteracy and fear - which combine to symbolize apathy?
2. Rewards for remaining apathetic?
3. Rewards for Becoming active?
4. Identification of block, neighborhood, or area leaders; Focus on people who can influence others, not on everybody or on followers?
5. Opportunities for assuming increasing responsibility?
6. Opportunities for receiving continuing training?
7. Possibility of developing a continuing program and/or service - complaint bureau, credit union, etc.?
8. Possibility for economic, social or political growth?

C. Involving the Middle Class - Teachers, Ministers, Civil Servants, etc.
1. What are the rewards for involvement?
2. What sanctions does the Negro community provide?
3. How do you involve the middle class?

D. The Management of Conflict
1. Delineation of a target - and documentation of rationale
2. Selection of vulnerable targets
3. Sustaining the crisis
4. Use of the press, TV, and public opinion

E. Self-Advancement Activities
1. Cooperatives
2. Local Development Corporation
3. Single Purchase Cooperatives
4. Joint Banking - Credit Unions
5. Development of Businesses
6. Exploitation of OEO program, research and governmental grants
7. Adult Basic Education Programs
8. Training Programs
9. Control over curriculum in schools
10. Legal Action on Every Possible Level
11. Boycotting
12. Community construction of facilities
13. Dues Payments on a regular basis

F. Operational Strategies
1. Regular Caucuses of Leaders
2. Regular Meetings of all Organizations
3. Newsletters, announcements from pulpits
4. Fund-raising
5. Time and Timeliness
6. Clearing House of Information

IV. Developing Community Work Skills
- A. Evaluating Current Ideas in the Movement
  1. Non-violence vs Aroused Self-defense Tactic or philosophy?
  2. Integrative vs Separative
     a. Black Nationalism
     b. Movement vs Organization
     c. Role of Whites and Negroes
  3. Role of the Negro Churches
  4. Role of the Negro Colleges
  5. Political Concentration vs Economic Concentration
  6. Opposing Local White Power Structure vs Focus on Bringing Federal Government Power to Bear
  7. Civil Rights and Peace
- B. Leadership Techniques
  1. Working with Unions
  2. Working with Government Agencies
  3. Public Relations
  4. Use of Resources (collecting information, community surveys, uses of public and private resources and consultants)
  5. Organizational Skills
     a. Chairing Meetings
     b. Developing an Organized Structure
     c. Providing Leadership
     d. Sharing Responsibility
- C. Citizenship Education
- D. Educating the voter by using adult education, Negro history, and political science as techniques.
- E. Organizational Affiliation
  1. Survey of Other Social Action Groups
  2. Are members participating in all organizations - Operation Headstart, NAACP, MFDP, etc.?
  3. Are they aware of the possibilities in the War on Poverty, etc?
  4. Are they involved in union activities?
  5. Are they involved on college campuses?
  6. Are they active church members?
  7. Are they establishing an income-producing business which employs and attracts local people?
  8. Are they helping to set up new organizations - cultural, artistic, etc.?
  9. Are they developing a stock pile of resources and available information?
- F. Fund Raising
- G. Reports, Compalints, Affidavits, and Documentation



December 26, 1963

Hazel Hopkins
InformationService
Meals for Millions
215 W. 7th St.
Los Angeles 14, Cal.

Dear Miss Hopkins:

I have sent copies of some of the literature that you sent me to two of our field secretaries in the South. I was wondering if you could send them the complete packet, and also a couple of cans of the MPF.

These two field secretaries are:

Dave Dennis
1129 Maple St., #8D
Jackson, Mississippi

Ronnie Moore
10185 Avenue B
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Thank you; we do appreciate your interest, and hope that we can utilize your organization.

Sincerely,

Marcia McKenna
Staff Associate
Dept. of Organization

December 26, 1963

Dear Dave and Ronnie:

Enclosed you will find some information on an organization called "Meals for Millions" which I thought you might be interested in. I am writing them and telling them to contact you directly and they will send more literature.

Briefly, this organization sends out an all-purpose food for very little money, and have indicated that they would be interested in sending free grants to CORE. This food can be used as a dietary supplement, and when used imaginatively and properly, can be highly valuable. So -- do you think you would be interested.

Read the enclosed, and then let me know.

Thanks.

Happy New Year!

Marcia McKenna

NON-PROFIT FOUNDATION DEDICATED TO THE RELIEF AND PREVENTION OF STARVATION

Meals for Millions

INCORPORATED

215 WEST SEVENTH STREET • LOS ANGELES 14, CALIFORNIA

MAdison 7-2545

CABLE: MEALFOMIL

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December 4, 1963

Miss Marcia McKenna
Dept of Organization
CORE
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York

Dear Miss McKenna:

We are happy to have your letter and to tell you something about Meals for Millions and its famine relief and prevention program.

The very first thing I want to correct is the idea that we have surplus food available to us or that we could get surplus food upon request. This is not possible for us to do. Meals for Millions is engaged in the promotion of an Idea that there is available in the world, products unused for human food that would if properly used provide nourishing and low cost food for people that now suffer from malnutrition and in time of famine or disaster actually starve to death. Multi-Purpose Food is the American example of such a food.

We have wondered in what way we could be of service to organizations such as CORE and we are making tentative inquiries through Dr. Howard Thurman, Harry Belafonte and others to see whether Multi-Purpose Food could be of value to such organizations.

We do not believe that it would be helpful to just pass out tins of this food to individuals because they would in all probability not know what to do with it. However, if you had in your organization, nutritionists or Home Economists who would undertake to find ways in which the food could be prepared to be of value to your groups in the field who might be living on very little and who would welcome such a food, I am certain that Meals for Millions would make available an introductary grant of MPF.

In regard to the MPF that was sent to Louisiana, this food was sent directly to a minister who was conducting a feeding program through a church to people who had been cut off the relief rolls. The food was prepared and served at the church. We find that when MPF is used in this fashion that effort goes into preparing it in ways that are acceptable to Americans while if given to someone who has nothing with which to supplement it and is ignorant of its values, it will usually go to waste.

After you have an opportunity to look over the material and try the two tins of MPF that I am sending you under separate cover, we would like to hear from you again. You may have some suggestions on how Meals for Millions can be of assistance to CORE.

Sincerely,

Hazel Hopkins

Hazel Hopkins
Information Service

HH:ds
Encs.

ACCEPTED BY THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON VOLUNTARY FOREIGN AID OF THE AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
AS A VOLUNTARY AGENCY COOPERATING IN THE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Meals-for-Millions
215 W. 7th St.
Los Angeles

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(Philippines)
Mrs. Aung San (Burma)
D (Mexico)
Schweitzer, M.D., D.D.
public)

answered

November 26, 1963

Meals-for-Millions
215 W. 7th St.
Los Angeles 14, Cal.

Dear Sirs:

I happened to come across the name of your organization in a letter we got about Thanksgiving dollars for food, and by chance, again saw your name mentioned in a letter from a girl in Los Angeles, stating that you had been instrumental in getting several hundred pounds of food to Louisiana about a year ago.

I would be interested in knowing more about your program, as last year we searched in vain for an organization which can release surplus foods in the United States. Can you send us information?

Thank you for your prompt attention.

Sincerely,

Marcia McKenna
Dept of Organization

Louisiana Food Plan "Clicks" In Hilda Emergency

USDA-donated foods help feed 100,000





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Agricultural Marketing Service

Picture Story 173
December, 1964

Magazines and newspapers may obtain glossy prints of these photographs in any size up to 8 x 10 from the Photography Division, Office of Information, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250. Others may purchase prints in any size from the same address. Prints in 8 x 10 are $1.15 each. Specify title and number of this publication.



AMS officials keep trace of Hilda as she churns northward. Storehouses of USDA-donated foods and strategic locations for conducting operations are pinpointed. BN–23516

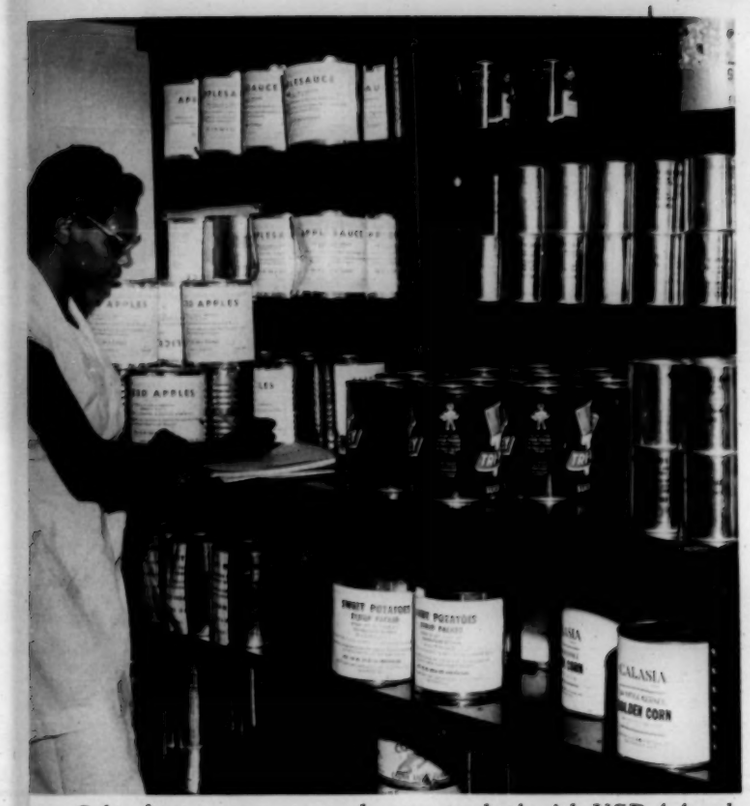
On October 3, 1964, Hurricane Hilda smashed into Southern Louisiana, then blew furiously inland. More than 100,000 fled from their homes to high ground and large areas of the State were decimated. Food and shelter were crucial.

Evacuees from stricken areas ate meals prepared from foods provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Storm victims were housed and fed in 191 shelters, mostly schools, after fleeing the hurricane. The American Red Cross, the Salvation Army, and other emergency relief organizations assisted in the overall operation.

How are thousands fed during natural disasters like Hilda? Tons of food are needed, kitchens must be provided, and depleted storerooms or pantries must be restocked. The logistics of mass feeding are enormous. How are these operations handled? Through planning and preparedness.

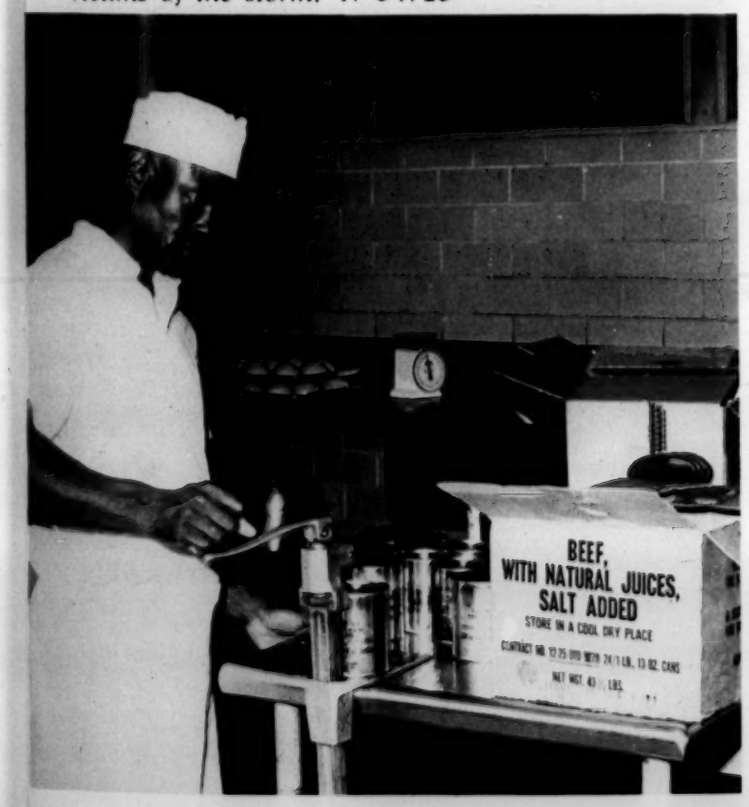
After heavy losses to hurricanes in 1957, Louisianans were determined to cope with future calamities. The State office of Emergency Planning, State and parish Civil Defense agencies, the Louisiana Departments of Education and Welfare, and the food distribution offices of USDA's Agricultural Marketing Service (AMS) put

Donated commodities were rushed from State warehouses to school storerooms, ready to serve to hurricane victims. N–18105



School storerooms are always stocked with USDA foods immediately replaceable at no cost to schools serving as shelters in natural disasters. N–51804

Louisiana school lunch personnel, skilled in mass feeding operations, prepared and served meals to 100,000 victims of the storm. N–54725



together a plan for sheltering and feeding victims of natural disasters like Hilda.

These officials implemented the plan when the storm broke, and it "clicked".

Planning - - This Is The Key

Previous experience with hurricanes taught Louisianans the importance of pre-planning and pinpointing mass feeding responsibilities. Authority for the distribution of donated commodities from price-support and surplus-removal stocks falls to AMS. State responsibility for the distribution of food to schools and charitable institutions is that of the Louisiana Department of Education, while the Louisiana Department of Public Welfare is responsible for distributing food to needy families. Appropriate agencies handle donated foods in the parishes.

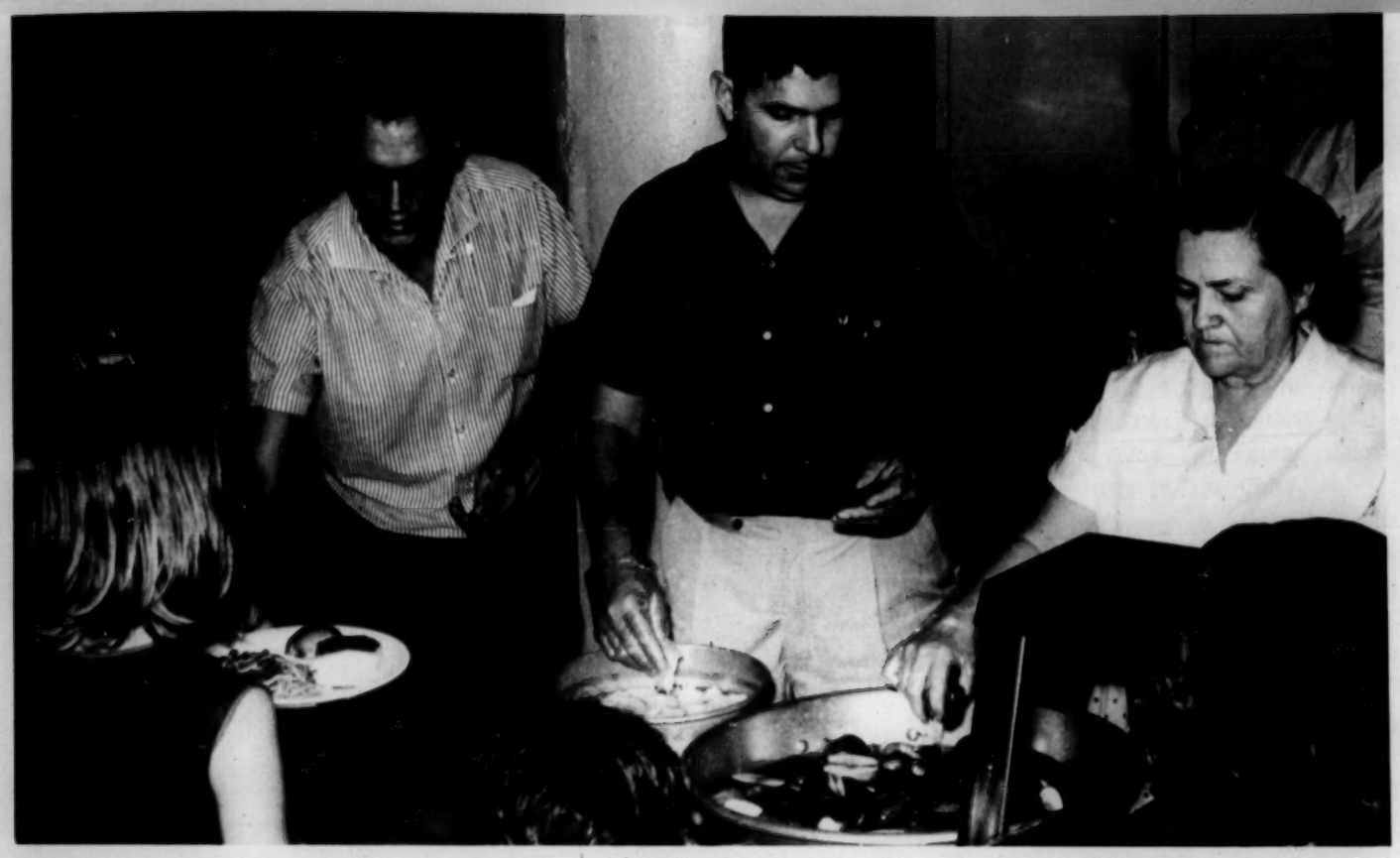
School buildings are designated as emergency shelters. These structures are most likely to withstand the furies of Nature and are landmarks easily located, even in storms. Good roads and parking spaces are available, and sanitation facilities in schools can handle large crowds. Sleeping space is available in gymnasiums.

But most important—school cafeterias are equipped to feed large numbers of people. And in Louisiana, almost every school in the State participates in the National School Lunch Program. Storerooms are stocked at all times. Professional employees, trained in institutional feeding and use of specialized equipment, staff school cafeterias. They are accustomed to teamwork.

How Plan Works

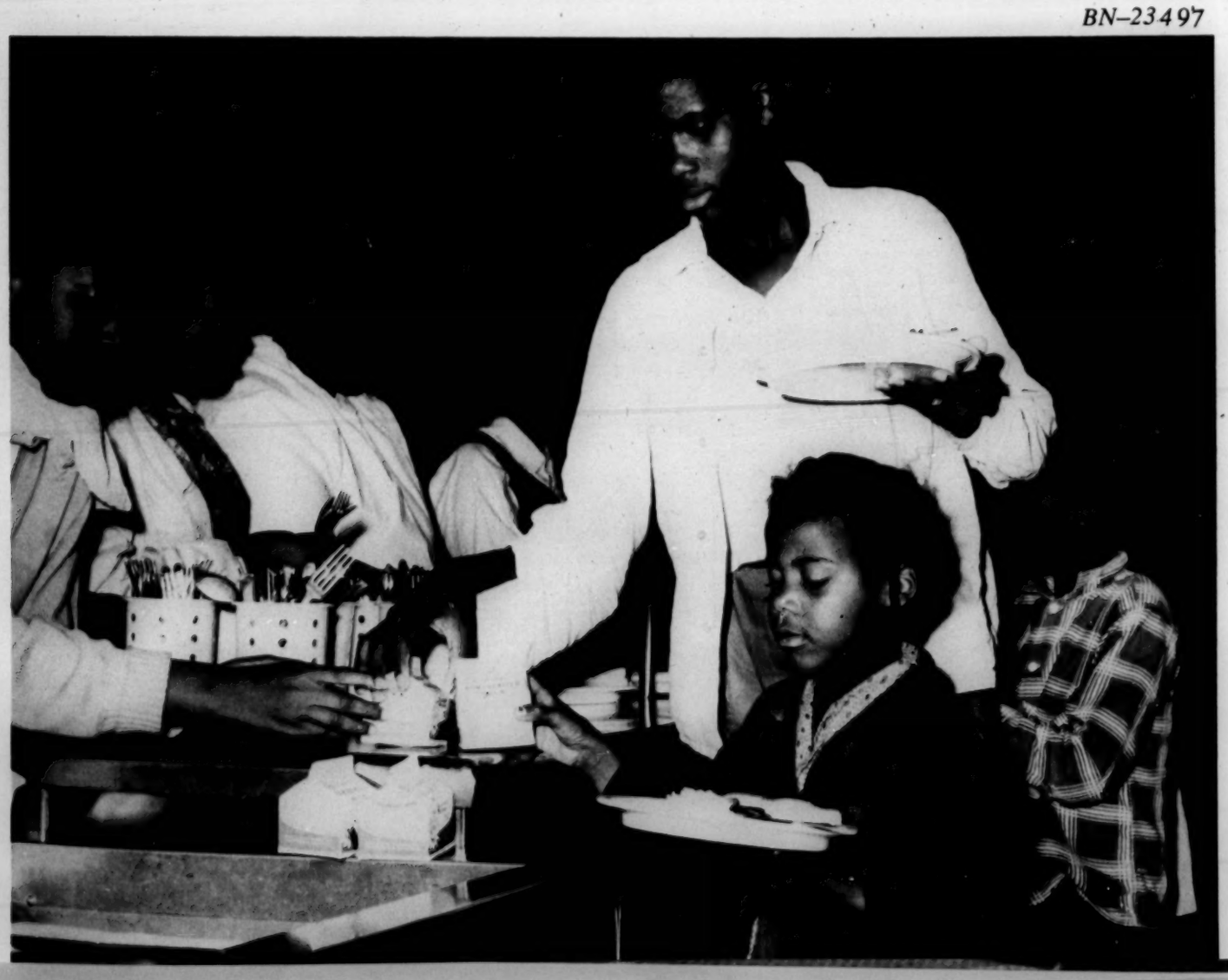
The Louisiana emergency food plan proceeds in this manner:

- The State Department of Education alerts parish school superintendents and school lunch managers to use USDA-donated foods.
- Local school officials alert principals and local school lunch managers to gear the kitchens for mass feeding.



Three levels of government are represented in this picture. On the left, an AMS official dishes out food, assisted by a State food distribution agent and the local school lunch manager. N–54727

BN–23497



• The State Department of Public Welfare alerts parish welfare offices to ready USDA commodities for distribution to emergency shelters and needy families.

• State officials maintain contact with the southwest area Food Distribution Division of USDA's Marketing Service in Dallas, Texas, to keep the Department posted on emergency developments. Donated commodities in transit or from nearby States can be diverted to disaster areas.

• Additionally, the plan includes services from the Salvation Army, the American Red Cross, the American School Food Service Association, and other similar organizations.

Before the storm broke on October 3, key people in this emergency plan were ready to act. And they did.

Two days ahead of Hilda, families along the Gulf Coast were warned to move inland.

"Head For a Schoolhouse," Was the Advice

While telephone lines and highways were still open, State officials alerted their parish counterparts.

"Put school lunch workers on a standby basis," was the word passed by the State Department of Education.

"Stock the shelters with commodities," advised the State Department of Public Welfare.

The early alert was important. "It gave us plenty of time to get ready before the first evacuees arrived," reports a local school lunch manager. Nearly 100,000 people were fed without confusion, because the plan clicked.

The early alert gave school lunch managers time to

A large crowd of people is sheltered and fed in a Louisiana school. Schools have sanitary facilities for handling large numbers, gymnasiums for bedding them down, and most important, cafeterias and kitchens for feeding them. N–54722



fill out their storeroom needs with USDA foods. These foods were used first when feeding began, since they are replaceable at no cost to the schools.

School lunch managers kept a running inventory of their food stocks, so that quantities of donated foods and locations of replacement stocks were always under control.

Storm victims were fed free of charge, and experienced Federal and State distribution officials kept the feeding operation rolling. No schools suffered from a lack of donated foods.

Properly identified disaster victims were certified to receive USDA foods, if necessary, to help re-establish themselves. Post-emergency food distribution may last 30 to 90 days in such cases.

Preparedness and planning, Federal, State and local cooperation, and immediate action helped see to it that no storm victims went hungry when Hilda struck.

Donated foods—such as canned meats, cheese, peanut butter, dry beans, cereal products, and flour—are available in the 50 States and the District of Columbia, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, American Samoa, and the Trust Territories. Pre-established authority makes donated foods immediately available for emergency use, and eliminates the necessity of authorizing a disaster declaration in each individual instance.

Officials wishing to receive additional information on planning for disaster feeding can write for a free copy of the pamphlet "U.S. Department of Agriculture's Donated Foods for Disasters, A Guide for State and Local Officials," (PA–557), Office of Information, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.



Because of advance planning and early alerts, this family was fed and sheltered quickly and efficiently after the storm broke. BN–23518

These men are receiving post-emergency donated foods to help re-establish themselves and their families. In some cases, this type of distribution lasts 30 to 90 days. BN–23519



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
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COMMODITIES

The Hattiesburg American, 4-3-65 carries the heading "Supervisors Enter Into Agreement on Welfare; Distribution of surplus commodities to affect some 7000 persons in county."

Perhaps you can get a similar item in the Selma paper in a few months. The way it came about in Forrest County, Miss., may be instructive for any effort to get Commodities in Dallas County, though there's no guarantee that exactly the same procedure will do it.

In Forrest Co. it came about (i.e. the Commodities program was set up) after two or three months of efforts by Rev. B and others of the NCC. What it took was (1) NSA raised $30,000. Why?, what for? → (2) NCC submitted a letter to U.S. Ag. Dept with a proposal for Commodities distribution in Forrest County. In the letter NCC offered to be the contracting body to administer the program: would transport the food to the county, provide storage, ~~and~~ process applications and distribute the food. (That's where cost comes in — U.S. Gov't will not pay for this). Of course before all this, research into the situation was done, and the letter included a statement that there's no Commodities distribution in Forrest Co., and some more factual information.

(3) Some lobbying behind the letter, without public fanfare but with contacts in gov't (federal).

(4) The next step was made by U.S. Ag Dept. What exactly I don't know, and probably Rev. B doesn't know exactly. But he indicates that U.S. Agriculture Dept. is (a) eager to unload that food, i.e. get a program started, (b) embarassed by one bad experience with a private agency administering ~~food~~ Commodities in one county. Anyway the Ag Dept. did something or other that led to the County Supervisors' decision to run a program themselves. I.e. Ag. Dept. used NCC's proposal to run program themselves as a lever to get the county authorities to do the job.

(5) Next step will be to see that County will administer the distribution of Commodities properly & fairly: in case of malpractice report it to U.S. Ag Dept. which will probably step in pretty fast.

If you want to get commodities in Dallas Co., it will be necessary first to find out whether Alabama ~~has~~ has Commodities administered by Counties, townships or some other unit (each State Govt decides this for itself), and find out ~~that~~ for sure ~~=~~ that Selma doesn't have Commodities (even for whites). Second is the question of finding the organization to put in the proposal as sponsor which might conceivably be stuck with the administration of a distribution program, and a proposed center etc.

n.d.

What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS

(Direct distribution, Food Stamp, and School Lunch Programs)

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local public welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it (sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program--or continue in it--if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part or continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials or the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. The Food Stamp Program. This program permits low-income families and families on welfare to spend their food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If your community has need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that your community be included in the Food Stamp Program.

3. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent-teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groups in helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

4. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

5. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

- - - - - - - - -

If you find that any federally assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N.Y. 10003

MPF ON THE HOME FRONT

Mr. Frank Ferree, Volunteer Border Relief, Harlingen, Texas

"We have received the recent shipment of 23 cases of MPF. At this time we are dividing the cans into paper sacks to give to needy families especially that have many small children. They get weekly orders of food and at times when we have been out the MPF the mothers ask for it. We appreciate this and the many other shipments which you have sent during the last five years."

P.F., The Delphian Society, Chicago, Illinois

"Last February ten people sat around a table in a Manhattan apartment eating lunch. The meal consisted of onion soup, fish cakes, liver pate, and cheese sandwiches, lettuce salad and canned peaches. The remarkable thing was that the luncheon for all ten persons cost $1.12, a little more than a dime a-piece. Everything but the lettuce and the peaches had been stretched by Multi-Purpose Food."

E.R.B., Los Angeles, California

"I would rather have MPF than a $5 meal. A year ago when they had the teamsters strike I put away ten cases to carry me over. I make it into fritters every morning. To me your MPF is an international necessity and should be on every table. After eating MPF for breakfast and lunch for one year, the benefits I received from it would surprise you."

Farm Wife's letter - Mrs. G.R.B., Cloverdale, B.C. Canada to a benefactor

"In recommending Multi-Purpose Food, let me impress on you that I am not a dietitian or a nurse. I am an average mother trying to do what I think best for the welfare of my family.

"You gave me about 2 pounds of MPF and some literature. The literature I put in a drawer and we tried the MPF. We didn't like it, so I put it in a cupboard. After a few days, I read the literature and was much impressed with the food value supplied by MPF. I used the remainder of my package in soups, stews, gravies, etc.

"Later, we moved to a farm. Thereafter my husband became unemployed. About that time you made us a present of another 60 pounds of MPF.

"We were totally unprepared when we were hit by the worst winter our part of the country had produced in over 40 years. Hens stopped laying and the cows went down so low in production that it took nearly all the milk checque, our only source of cash, to feed them.

"In desperation, I started to cook MPF again. I firmly believed that it was the only thing that kept us alive, and able to do our really hard work. We were not only able to do the hard work, but stayed well during that terrible winter. We had no sickness, not even colds, and our diet was limited to milk, bread, butter, potatoes, and MPF....That is when I realized fully what a wonderful food MPF is.

"I then started to experiment with ways of serving it so we would like it. We still didn't like the flavor of it. (Note: This was the seasoned MPF. Some prefer the unseasoned.) I discovered that, by boiling it until the moisture is absorbed, letting it cool, and then adding fried onion and 2 beaten eggs, mixing well and frying in patties, we had a delicious dish. For variety, I add curry or chili. The mixture is grand as a stuffing for green peppers too. Another favorite of ours is to cook MPF in tomato juice or canned tomatoes and add grated cheese."

Mrs. R.A., N. Wilbraham, Massachusetts

"Cooked with oatmeal MPF is satisfying. I usually use only two ounces a day for breakfast. I work many hours at housework on two shredded wheat biscuits, two ounces of MPF and one pint of milk, one orange. The staying quality of MPF is amazing, greater than any other food I know in proportion to its quantity."

Sister Dolores, Sisters' Hospital, El Paso, Texas

"Thanks a million for your generous gift. We have distributed every can and have received very good reports from our poor families. The OLDSTERS to whom we gave some of the MPF have told us that it is the first time that they go to bed not feeling the pangs of hunger. So many of our old people live on a very small pension which they share with a sister, or some other relative. Thanks also for the literature and the movie. We shall return the latter to you this week."

Miss Janice Quarnstrom, Monticello Farm School, Harrison Arkansas

"The samples you so kindly sent were well received and all were put to good use. Formulas A and B were divided among the different families and the school kitchen, while the can of Formula C was given to a widow woman with a brood of undernourished children.

The samples arrived in the height of the Okra season. Washed and cut Okra was rolled in MPF and placed in a lightly oiled iron skillet. A tight cover was placed on the skillet and the Okra was cooked over a slow heat. Moisture formed on the cover and dripped down into the skillet-thus actually steaming the Okra instead of the customary frying. 30-45 minutes cooking time is required by this method. We prepared Okra in quantities by this method and after allowing it to cool, packed it in freezer cartons for winter use. When used later we found the flavor to be as good as the fresh. The most satisfactory method of thawing is to place the Okra in a shallow pan in the oven. Eggplant also works beautifully by following the same procedure as for Okra. Okra and Eggplant are grown extensively here in the south and we were very happy to find such a tasty way for storing them for winter use. Thank you again for your helpfulness."

Mr. Alvin L. Koenig, Director - Delmo Housing Corporation, Lilbourn, Missouri

"MPF is the biggest bargain in food and nutrition in today's high cost of living spiral."

The Rowan Elementary School, Los Angeles

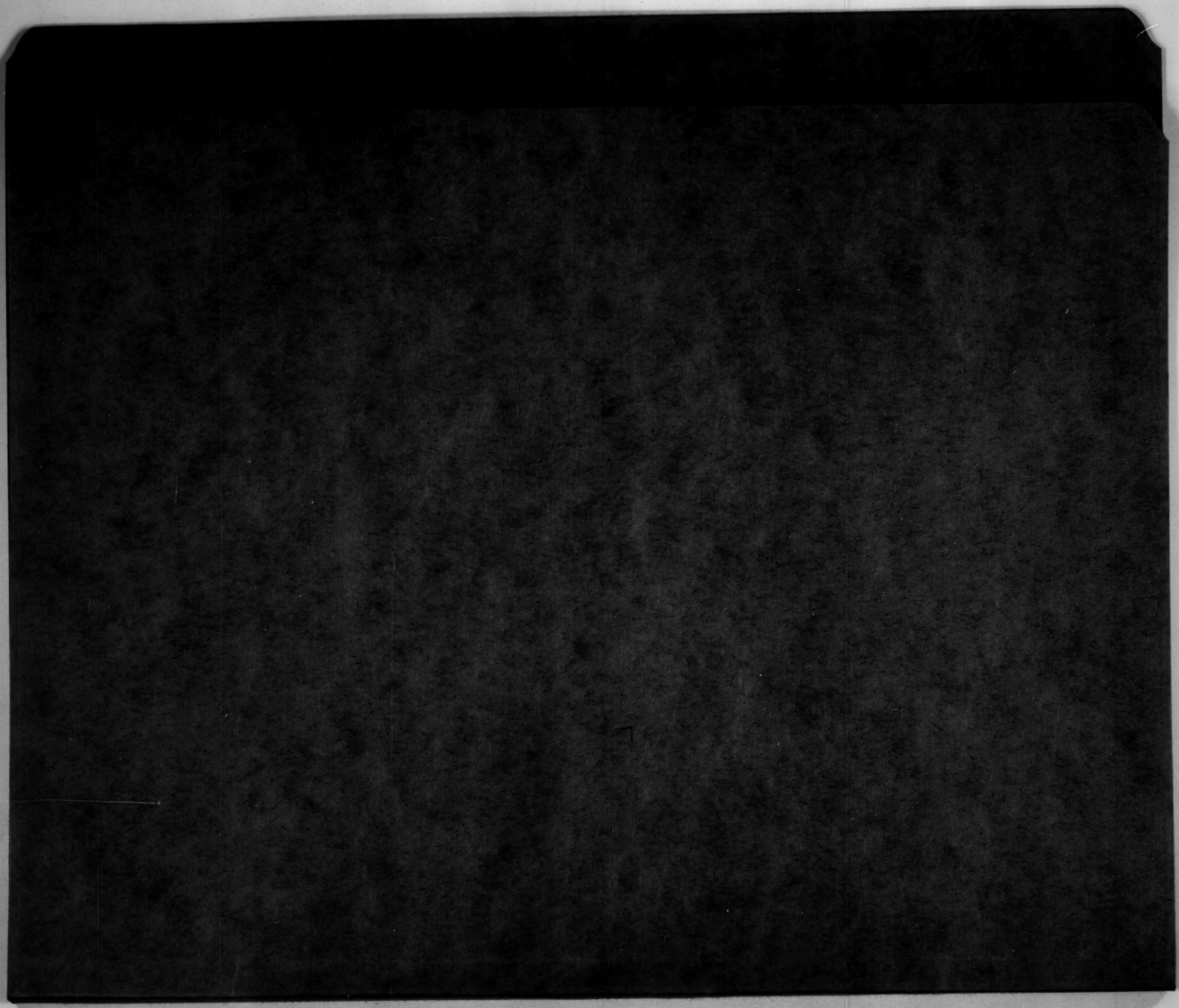
"MPF is used as a breakfast food every school day at this school. It is prepared in the school cafeteria and served to children from under-privileged families who otherwise would come to school without any breakfast. This is a district when the wage earners are out of work there are no funds to cushion the family's loss of livelihood."

Pan American Health Service, Dallas, Texas - Dr. Stephen A. Youngberg

"I was delighted to know that your shipment had arrived right in the midst of a 2 weeks cold, wet norther when our 28 TB families were desperate for food and I was fearful as to how I was going to meet the transportation charges. Well, it turned out to be a REAL CHRISTMAS PRESENT. Please accept my heartfelt thanks in behalf of my poor sick people and in behalf of our flegeling organization....We will give each family with TB one can a week. Thanks again from 28 hungry families and a grateful program director. I like your FOOD, FRIENDSHIP AND FREEDOM as the basis of human progress and peace."

Mrs. A. Veach, Modesto, California - Work with Migrant Families

"The food works in well with the Mexican recipes and they are very enthused with its food value. Especially the milk solids which they are unable to supplement in any way. We appreciate your making it possible for us to help them in a material way. I would like to see Food for Millions in all the Farm Labor Camps in this country. There is a great need for it."



SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
37

[19597

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT

IN THE SOUTH

BY MARGARET PRICE

THE NEGRO AND THE BALLOT

IN THE SOUTH

By

MARGARET PRICE

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

1959

FOREWORD

SINCE THE WHITE PRIMARY was outlawed in 1944, the Southern Regional Council has studied and reported on the growth of Negro suffrage in the region. In the wake of the Supreme Court's school decisions, this continuing analysis became a matter of practical urgency. Resistance to desegregation, and the tensions resulting from this resistance, have focused national concern on access to the ballot by Negro Southerners. It was generally, and correctly, concluded that the future rate of progress in civil rights will depend heavily on Negroes achieving their proportionate influence at the polling places.

So it was that in 1956, the Southern Regional Council undertook the most ambitious survey of Negro registration and voting yet attempted. The results were published the following year under the title *The Negro Voter in the South*. The publication was remarkably timely, coming at a time when the debate over national legislation to advance voting rights—ultimately enacted—had created a tremendous demand for information in this field. The findings of the Council's 1956 survey filled an important gap in public understanding of the problems and progress involved in enfranchisement of Negroes in the South.

One result of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 was the creation of a federal Commission on Civil Rights, charged especially to investigate and assess alleged discriminations against would-be voters. This welcome development seemed to the Council no reason for private organizations to abandon their interest in the field. On the contrary, it suggested the desirability of supplementing the official and carefully delimited work of the Commission with more broad-gauged study by voluntary agencies.

Hence, this further report on the status of Negro suffrage in the South. The fact-finding efforts on which it is based were made possible by a grant from the Field Foundation, for which the Council is most grateful. Appreciation is also due to the public officials and private individuals who cooperated in the gathering of registration figures and other data—most particularly to the three consultants whose work is reflected in the case studies published at the end of this report.

Finally, the Council owes a debt of thanks to Mrs. Margaret Price for her skill and application in the exacting role of author of this report.

HAROLD C. FLEMING, *Executive Director*
Southern Regional Council

August 1959

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An American Right

UNDER THE AMERICAN SYSTEM of government, the vote is the basic tool for all citizens who would "promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," set forth in the preamble to the Constitution.

In recent years, with increasing attention directed to the American ideal of equality for all, the access of Negro citizens to the ballot has assumed new importance.

The ballot is one of the keys to the solution of the myriad problems of segregation. Through his vote, the Negro citizen can be heard and given equal consideration along with other groups representing business and labor, veterans, and farmers.

Due in large part to the power of the Negro vote, both major political parties have included in their platforms stronger resolutions aimed at improving the lot of the Negro citizen.

This is not to imply that only practical considerations will focus attention on the plight of the nation's 18 million non-white citizens. A kind of national soul-searching began with World War II. While fighting a war against forces proclaiming a doctrine of racial superiority, it became increasingly difficult to justify racial discrimination at home. Since then, the difficulty has mounted as questions about discrimination have been raised with each new court case, whether involving school desegregation or other efforts to obtain civic justice, with each publicized case of violence against Negro citizens.

At the same time, there has been a new awareness of the threat to all citizens in the denial of individual liberties to some.

During the same period, as the United States became the leader of the free world, racial injustice at home has been an ever-growing source of embarrassment. In emerging areas of Africa and Asia it is one of our greatest liabilities.

No one has understood this better than the Negro citizens of the United States. World opinion, as well as individual rights, has been stressed repeatedly in their demands for political equality.

As one Negro leader, A. T. Walden, Atlanta lawyer, told a Senate subcommittee during the Civil Rights hearing in 1957:

"The ultimate object of the proposed civil rights bills is the implementation of our democratic ideals and making our constitutional concept of equal justice under law a living reality in our Nation's struggle to deserve to win the minds and hearts of men the world over who are striving to gain or retain freedom for themselves and their children.

"Our Nation is the most favored nation of all history. Providence has

smiled upon it as the leader of the free world. However, that leadership is not fully accepted among large segments of mankind because of deficiencies in its implementation and practices of its professed and proclaimed democratic ideals, inclusive of all its citizenry."

Since 1944, when the white primary was held unconstitutional, the Southern Regional Council has reported on the importance and growth of Negro suffrage in the South. In 1956, the SRC undertook the most ambitious survey of the question up to that time. The pace of desegregation—and resistance—has quickened since then. How has this affected the Negro voter?

Opposing Forces

Negroes of voting age in the South today are being influenced by two distinct forces.

On one side is the nation as a whole. Congress has passed the first Civil Rights legislation since Reconstruction. Federal courts have spoken with increasing frequency and clarity on the right of every American to legal equality and justice.

On the other side, stand local custom and resistance to change. In this camp there is a vocal, sometimes violent and threatening element. There are also many political candidates who use racism as a stepping-stone to public office. What these elements lack in national support is offset, at least temporarily, by the fact that they are on the scene. The threat of Main Street often can be more real than the hope of Washington.

Negro Southerners are caught in the middle by other factors. If more of them voted, they undoubtedly would benefit by improved educational, economic, and political opportunities. But, on the other hand, only when their educational and economic levels are raised can many be persuaded to vote. By the same token, politicians who could aid in their struggle for first class citizenship cannot be expected to seek their vote until enough are registered to make it worthwhile to run the risk of condemnation by many white voters. However, to many Negroes it is not worthwhile to run the risk of registering—and it still is a risk in many places—until candidates seek their votes and they can expect the same rewards as white voters.

Currently, it cannot be said that either the proponents or opponents of equal suffrage are winning. In the states where the most reliable figures are available, the number of Negro registrants dropped slightly between 1956 and 1958. However, in this off-year election period, registration dropped over the nation. Even the fact that there was no sharp decrease in Negro registrants might be considered something of an achievement in light of the South's tensions, sporadic violence, tightening of voter registration laws, and the purging of voting rolls in the intervening two years.

The influence of basic national forces indicates that the long range prospect is for a steady, if slow, growth in Negro suffrage in the South. As Negroes improve their educational and economic standing, their interest in voting can be expected to grow. Along with this growth should come an expanded, experienced leadership. If the trend toward urbanization continues, more Negroes can be expected to vote in cities, which are generally more permissive. The existing new federal agencies also may be expected in the long run to encourage more Negroes to exercise their basic civil rights.

However, there seems to be no reason to expect a sudden, dramatic rise in the number of Negro voters in the South, for the obstacles which have restricted Negro voting in the recent past are still strong.

This report will review the developments since 1956 which have brought both new problems and new hope for the political future of Negro Southerners.

In addition, studies of three Southern counties are included to spotlight forces influencing specific areas. These deal with a northern Louisiana parish which experienced a wholesale removal of Negroes from voting lists, a South Carolina coastal county, and a Deep South Black Belt county.

Current Negro Registration

In mid-1956, an estimated 1,238,038 Negroes were registered in the eleven Southern states. At the close of 1958, there were an estimated 1,303,827 registered, a gain of 65,789.

This apparent gain is somewhat misleading, however, largely because the 1956 estimate of Negro registrants in Tennessee proved low in light of later available information.

On the other hand, the 1956 total for South Carolina probably was inflated, since the available figures there were based on out-of-date registration rolls which undoubtedly carried the names of some who had died or moved. Since then, the state has had a complete re-registration as required every 10 years. Both white and Negro totals dropped sharply.

In the eight states where the Southern Regional Council was able to obtain reliable figures, the number of Negroes registered in 1958 totaled 1,028,827, as compared to 1,074,672 in 1956, a drop of 45,845.

These eight included Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia, where registration figures all came from official sources. In North Carolina, a statewide estimate was made by the executive secretary of the State Election Board. In Texas, SRC sponsored a county-by-county check, the first of its kind in recent memory.

Of the remaining three states, Tennessee presented a special problem in obtaining data. There is no central source for registration figures and any estimates are of necessity always speculative. At election time, even the number of precincts in the state is in dispute. Judging by the number of votes cast in Tennessee in the presidential race of 1956, the previous estimate of all eligible voters available to SRC was low. If the overall strength was underestimated in 1956, it seems likely that the Negro portion of that total also was low. The 1958 estimate was obtained from a veteran capitol reporter.

In Mississippi, for lack of an official source, observers in the state interested in Negro suffrage were relied upon. These generally estimated the number of qualified Negro voters in the state at 20,000, the same figure used since 1952. They felt there had been no increase because of the state's stringent racial restrictions and because the number of Negroes has declined in Mississippi.[1]

As for Alabama, scene of some of the South's strongest resistance to racial change, there also was no central, official source for registration

[1]However, Kenneth Toler, head of the Mississippi bureau of *The Commercial Appeal*, in an article in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, December 14, 1958, said Negro voting strength in Mississippi was estimated at 35,000. He said this "is probably a record high and results from reported FBI checking on county registrars or threats of agents moving in."

figures. An estimate of 70,000 Negro voters there was made by MacDonald Gallion, Attorney General of Alabama, in testimony before a Congressional committee in Washington in April, 1959.

Virginia figures were revised after SRC issued an interim report on voting in the fall of 1958. In October, the secretary of the State Board of Elections gave the number of Negroes registered in the counties (cities are listed separately in Virginia) as 82,423, based on estimates submitted to him by the various counties. In January, 1959, after the board had met, Negro registration in the counties was listed at 40,455, a drop of nearly 42,000. (At the same time, the white registration figures for the counties went up nearly 45,000 from the October total.)[2]

The foregoing suggests the difficulty of obtaining reliable, current registration figures. Even states which have a central source for registration data usually can rely only on figures submitted by the various localities and except in some of the larger cities, there is generally no sustained procedure for keeping the rolls up to date. The names of persons who have died or who have moved often are not struck. When a state has had a periodic re-registration, as South Carolina had in 1958, the new figures will be reasonably accurate for several years. On the other hand, a researcher is confronted by such discrepancies as are obvious in the Georgia estimates, where about 50 counties report more white voters than there were white residents over 18 (voting age in Georgia) in the 1950 census. These are rural counties, most of which have been losing population since 1950.

The following table shows the changes in Negro registration over the past 11 years:

NEGRO REGISTRATION[3]

	1947	*1952*	*1956*	*1958*
Alabama	6,000	25,224	53,366	70,000
Arkansas	47,000	61,413	69,677	64,023
Florida	49,000	120,900	148,703	144,810
Georgia	125,000	144,835	163,389	161,958
Louisiana	10,000	120,000	161,410	131,068
Mississippi	5,000	20,000	20,000	20,000
North Carolina	75,000	100,000	135,000	150,000
South Carolina	50,000	80,000	99,890	57,978
Tennessee	80,000	85,000	90,000	185,000
Texas	100,000	181,916	214,000	226,818
Virginia	48,000	69,326	82,603	92,172
TOTALS	595,000	1,008,614	1,238,038	1,303,827

[2]In April, 1959, the State Board of Elections announced that estimates provided by local clerks and registrars showed a new total of 94,311 Negro voters in Virginia at that time.
[3]See appendix for detailed sources for figures.

Negro registration figures probably are more reliable than those for whites. As stated in the 1956 study, Negro registration is supervised more carefully by officials and also is made up largely of names which have been on the books not more than 12 or 13 years; thus, it is less likely to be inflated by the names of persons who have moved or have died.

In Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, where official figures showed a decline in Negro registration, the number of qualified white voters also dropped.

An estimated 25 per cent of the eligible Negroes were registered in the South in 1956, as compared to 60 per cent of the white citizens of voting age. The 1958 total represents about the same percentage, a little over 25 per cent of the Negroes of voting age at the time of the 1950 census. (Interim population figures do not have an age breakdown.)

The number of registrants who actually vote lowers the score of the region's political participation even more. For example, of some 20,000 Negroes registered in Mississippi, officials there estimated that only 8,000 had paid the poll tax and only about 7,000 voted in 1956.

The South continues to lag generally behind the rest of the country in the percentage of eligible citizens who vote. The one party system and the thousands of Negroes who do not or cannot vote are contributing factors. In the 1956 presidential election the percentage of adults of voting age who cast their ballot ranged from the top of 77.3 per cent in Idaho and 76.6 in Connecticut to the lowest percentages in the 11 Southern states. They ranked 38-48 in this order:

	Per Cent Voting
Florida	48.4
North Carolina	47.6
Tennessee	46.0
Arkansas	39.9
Louisiana	39.3
Texas	38.0
Virginia	34.2
Georgia	30.4
Alabama	28.4
South Carolina	24.5
Mississippi	22.1

Black Belt

While only 25 per cent of the Negro voting age population is registered in the South as a whole, many areas have a long way to go to reach even this proportion. Discrimination against Negroes traditionally has tended to be strongest in those areas where the ratio of Negroes to whites is highest. It is there Negroes often experience the greatest difficulty in registering.

Mississippi, the state with the highest proportion of Negroes, has the fewest Negro voters in the South, both in total numbers and in percentage. Thirty Mississippi counties are over 50 per cent Negro. According to the best reports available, not more than 2,200 Negroes are registered in 28 of these counties; in the other two, about 2,500 are registered, or a total of 4,700 in all 30 counties. Half of all Mississippi's 82 counties had, in 1955 (and the situation is not believed to have improved), less than one per cent of the Negroes over 21 registered.

Twelve Alabama counties have populations over 50 per cent Negro. Yet the median percentage of voters in these counties who are Negroes is only four per cent.

In North Carolina, nine counties (excluding Robeson with its large Indian population) are over 50 per cent non-white. Registration figures for 1958 were unavailable for these counties and were not obtainable for one of them in 1956. The other eight had in 1956 a total of 5,835 registered Negro voters, which represented nine per cent of the Negro population over 21 in those counties.

Sixteen counties in Virginia have populations over 50 per cent Negro. In these, the median percentage of registered voters who are Negro is 22.7.

Twenty-one of the 46 counties in South Carolina have populations over 50 per cent Negro. The median percentage of registered Negro voters in these counties is 10.7.

Forty Georgia counties have populations 50 per cent or more Negro. Their median percentage of registered Negro voters is 11.3.

Two Florida counties are over 50 per cent Negro. In one, Negroes comprise less than one per cent of the registered voters, in the other 12.4.

Most of these counties are in a rough arc extending from southside Virginia to east Texas—the old plantation country, or Black Belt. Here is to be found still the highest ratio of Negroes, though their numbers are diminishing through migration to the cities of the South, North, and West. This historic agricultural region has lost much of its economic importance, but not its political dominance. The old Black Belt, which, through inequitable legislative apportionment dominates the politics of several states and heavily influences the politics of others, is the area of highest Negro concentration of population, and of discrimination.[4]

In South Carolina, for example, both the current president pro-tem of the state Senate and the Speaker of the House are from a county 60 per cent Negro in population and 10 per cent Negro in registration. Eighteen

[4]Rural dominated legislatures are not, of course, confined to the South. *The Associated Press*, July 20, 1959, found that in at least 20 states groups of legislators—usually rural—represent a minority of their state's population yet hold a majority of the legislative seats.

of 34 chairmen of standing committees in the Senate are from the 21 counties with over 50 per cent Negro population.

In Georgia, the county unit system gives even greater weight to the political influence of Black Belt counties. Under the system, the state's eight largest counties each have three state representatives and six unit votes in state primaries. The next 30 largest have two seats in the House and four unit votes each. The remaining 121 counties have one seat and two unit votes each. The 40 counties of over 50 per cent Negro population include only three four-vote counties; the rest have two unit votes. They have, therefore, 43 seats in Georgia's lower house and 86 unit votes. Their total population is an estimated 410,000. Fulton County, which includes most of Atlanta, has a population of 571,600, substantially more than the entire 40; yet it has but three seats and six unit votes. The political domination of rural counties of high Negro population is even more marked when it is remembered that the above classification does not include neighboring counties which often have Negro population percentages in the forties.

In Florida, the apportionment of seats in the state legislature gives control to those sections of the state which are most adamant in curtailing Negro voting. Hugh D. Price has written:[5]

> In both houses (of the Florida legislature) a majority of the members are elected by counties containing less than one-fifth of the state's population. In the lower house the bias in favor of the smaller counties is written into the constitutional formula for apportionment. In the senate, which can draw its own districts provided only that no county shall be divided, the bias is also in favor of the smaller counties and particularly of the North Florida rural counties. Five of the 11 smallest districts are located entirely within the race-conscious Suwannee-Apalachiocola River region. Although many of the counties in this area have relatively high proportions of Negro population, they are the counties where Negro registration is least and white supremacy sentiment greatest.[6]

As an additional illustration, it can be seen in the following figures that nearly all of the counties in the South where there is complete disfranchisement of Negroes are counties of heavy Negro population:[7]

[5]Hugh D. Price, *The Negro and Southern Politics: A Chapter of Florida History*, N. Y., 1957, p. 103.

[6]The 1959 session of the Florida legislature enacted a re-apportionment plan which, in the form of a constitutional amendment, will be submitted to the voters in November, 1959.

[7]This listing is based on the best available information. There are other counties with only a few, or even one or two, Negro voters. These counties are scarcely superior to the ones listed but nevertheless there is a difference: where there are no voters at all, there is an indication of either uncompromising discrimination, extreme apathy, or both. The counties in which there are either no Negroes or only very few, have not been listed. Although there are no reliable figures available for Haywood County, Tenn., it is listed on the basis of long standing reports from political observers in that state.

County	*State*	*Population % Negro*	*Number of Negro Voters*
Botetourt	Virginia	9	0
McCormick	South Carolina	64	0
Baker	Georgia	64	0
Webster	"	66	0
Lafayette	Florida	7	0
Liberty	"	21	0
Union	"	33	0
Lowndes	Alabama	82	0
Wilcox	"	79	0
Haywood	Tennessee	62	0
Carroll	Mississippi	62	0
Chickasaw	"	43	0
Clarke	"	42	0
George	"	12	0
Humphreys	"	72	0
Issaquena	"	60	0
Jefferson	"	75	0
Lamar	"	15	0
Montgomery	"	46	0
Noxubee	"	72	0
Pearl River	"	24	0
Tallahatchie	"	65	0
Tate	"	60	0
Walthall	"	45	0
Wayne	"	37	0
East Carroll	Louisiana	61	0
Madison	"	67	0
Tensas	"	65	0
West Feliciana	"	73	0

The observation that discrimination against Negro voters goes hand in hand with a high Negro-to-white population ratio requires several qualifications:

1. Marked discrimination also occurs in some localities where the Negro-to-white population is low. The above list, for example, shows counties with as low as seven to nine per cent Negro populations maintaining all-white registration lists.

2. Negro registration is high in several localities of large Negro population because of factional politics; there Negroes are registered and encouraged to vote in support of one faction.

3. Of greater importance, there are cultural differences even within the Black Belt which are reflected in more permissive racial attitudes by the white population. For example, voter registration by Negroes tends to be higher in coastal areas. This can be seen along the Georgia coast's five

counties (excluding metropolitan Chatham County) where Negroes register in substantial numbers:

Georgia Coastal Counties	*Population % Negro*	*Registration % Negro*
Bryan	40	29
Liberty	59	54
McIntosh	62	47
Glynn	31	22
Camden	47	35

Another cultural difference is worth noting, although it affects only one state. Louisiana consultants demonstrated in the 1956 voting study that French Catholic parishes of Louisiana are generally more tolerant toward their Negro citizens than are the other parishes.

The Cities

The discussion so far has centered on the rural South. Increasingly, however, Negroes are moving to the cities. In Virginia, over half of the Negro registrants reside in the state's 32 independent cities, although considerably less than half of the Negro population is in those cities. Only about three-eighths of Virginia's white voters are in the cities.

Duval County (Jacksonville) and Dade County (Miami) have about one-third of Florida's Negro voters, about one-fourth of the state's Negro population. Over one-third of Georgia's Negro citizens and voters live in the eight largest counties of the state. Shreveport, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans have about one-third of the Negro voters of Louisiana.

Even where discrimination is highest, what Negro vote there is tends to be urban. In Alabama, about one-half of the total Negro vote is in the cities. In Mississippi, perhaps one-third of the Negro voters are in the three counties in which are located Jackson, Meridian, Biloxi, and Gulfport.

However, Negroes have not found it uniformly easy to register in all Southern cities, for there are variations in the urban areas just as there are within the Black Belt. But, since the natural tendency of an urban environment is toward a more tolerant racial atmosphere, it seems plausible to regard such cities as Atlanta and Jacksonville as more indicative of a future trend than, say, Birmingham. The first two have relatively high Negro voting participation, but in the latter the political status of Negroes is scarcely superior to that of their country cousins.

Discrimination

For Negroes in some sections of the South, an attempt to exercise their right of franchise as Americans seemed a greater risk in 1958 than at any time since the outlawing of the white primary in 1944.

After the 1954-55 school desegregation rulings of the Supreme Court the white South's resistance to change intensified. A report on the increased tensions of the area, 1955-58, found 530 cases of violence, reprisal, and intimidation in the aftermath of the Court's decisions.[1]

"In the past four years, the South experienced a widespread erosion of individual liberties," the report concluded.

The threats and illegal activities aimed at individual Negroes and whites who questioned the South's tradition of segregation undoubtedly deterred other Negroes from asserting their rights, including the right to vote. An instance of racial violence in the South is rarely an isolated event —it serves as a reminder to Negroes that what has happened can happen again.

To many Negroes the long range rewards for voting scarcely seemed worth the risk. Too often they still could make a choice only between equally vociferous racists, waving the banner of white supremacy. Too often, also, they were excluded from the inner circle of local political parties, had no hope of one of their race winning elective office nor promise of immediate, concrete benefits from their vote. It was not surprising that many were unwilling to face possible threats to their jobs and credit, their homes and even their personal safety.

To Negroes in the more depressed rural areas, the turmoil during the period of transition in the South from an old to a new order only increased their problems. With low education and economic levels and the opportunity to improve either one lagging behind that of the white community, the emphasis on bread before ballots remained.

But there were other Negroes who forged ahead in their efforts to vote. Some cleared the first hurdle of registration only to find their efforts wasted. Others were frustrated in every attempt. What methods were used to disfranchise Negro Southerners?

Purges

One method was the purging of Negroes from registration rolls in Louisiana, largely at the prompting of the Citizens Councils. Restricting,

[1] *Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis,* published by the Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee; Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America; and the Southern Regional Council, 1959.

or even wiping out, Negro registration has been an aim of the segregationist White Citizens Councils which have sprung up across the South since 1954. They have been particularly successful in Louisiana. It has been easy for them in a number of rural parishes (counties) to "find mistakes" in practically all Negro registrations. The account of the purge in Ouachita Parish, which is included in this report, offers an example of how the group worked.

Purges were conducted in at least 12 parishes in Louisiana. Within a period of several months in 1956-57 alone about 10 to 11,000 voters, mostly Negroes, were dropped from voting rolls. The following percentages are an illustration of their effectiveness:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN VOTER REGISTRATION IN 12 PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO MARCH 1958

	Negro	*White*		*Negro*	*White*
Bienville	—95	—11	Natchitoches	—52	—36
Concordia	—71	—42	Ouachita	—87	— 9
DeSoto	—36	— 1	Red River	—99	—45
Franklin	—51	—31	Richland	—76	—40
Grant	—39	—18	Union	—77	—43
Jackson	—68	— 9	Webster	—95	—36

Of these 12, all in the northern half of the state, four have populations over 50 per cent Negro—Bienville, Concordia, DeSoto, and Red River—according to the 1958 population estimates. Three—Grant, Ouachita, and Jackson—are 16-33 per cent Negro and the others from one-third to one-half Negro.

In each case, both Negro and white registration fell, although the latter less sharply. By contrast, in 10 representative non-purge parishes, Negro registration increased in three and six had only a small drop. In the same 10, white registration increased in four, showed no change in one and fell in the other five. These 10 non-purge parishes:

PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN 10 REPRESENTATIVE NON-PURGE PARISHES, MARCH 1956 TO OCTOBER 1958

	Negro	*White*		*Negro*	*White*
Beauregard	— 7	— 9	Jefferson	+11	+13
Bossier	— 5	+16	Orleans	— 2	—10
Caddo	—19	+ 5	St. James	+ 3	0
East Baton Rouge	+ 4	+ 6	St. Martin	— 3	—16
Evangeline	— 6	— 3	Tangipahoa	— 7	— 3

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, in a letter (Feb. 27, 1957) to Rep. Emanuel Celler, chairman of a House Judiciary subcommittee, told of some of the findings of federal investigators in Louisiana. After outlining state laws which require that a registrant be notified if he is challenged, Olney wrote:

"In none of the 10 parishes which were the subject of FBI investigations did the registrar make it a practice to send a form of reply affidavit to the challenged registrant. On the contrary, investigations in Bienville, Caldwell, DeSoto, Jackson, LaSalle, and Ouachita Parishes disclosed that the registrar in those parishes did everything to discourage the filing of reply affidavits in the statutory form and generally refused to accept them when offered.

"In Ouachita Parish the registrar refused to accept as witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter, bona fide registered voters of the parish who were not from the same precinct as the challenged voter. She also refused to accept as witnesses bona fide registered voters who had themselves been challenged. She also refused to accept as witnesses registered voters who had already witnessed to the qualification of another challenged voter.

"In Caldwell Parish the registrar refused to accept witnesses on behalf of a challenged voter unless they were accompanied by a law enforcement officer and a member of the Citizens Council to identify them. He even refused to accept white persons as witnesses for Negro voters on the grounds that the witnesses were of a different race from the race of the challenged voter.

"In Bienville Parish, where 560 of the 595 registered Negro voters were challenged, the registrars consistently refused to accept affidavits on behalf of registered voters which were in the statutory form and, as a result, the names of every one of the challenged Negro voters were stricken from the voting rolls.

"In Jackson Parish, where 953 of the 1,122 Negro voters were challenged, the registrar also refused to accept for filing, affidavits on behalf of challenged voters . . . As a result, all of the challenged Negro voters, with the exception of two who were physically disabled and therefore unable to fill out voter application cards, were stricken from the rolls.

"In a number of parishes when challenged Negro registrants came to the registrar's office in response to the challenging citation, they were told by the registrar that they would have to see a private attorney in order to get the matter straightened out.

". . . With respect only to cases which have been investigated by the

FBI, the following numbers of Negro voters were challenged in each of the following parishes:

Bienville	560	LaSalle	345
Caldwell	330	Lincoln	325
DeSoto	383	Ouachita	3,240
Grant	758	Rapides	1,058
Jackson	953	Union	600."

Olney said a Federal grand jury in Louisiana heard evidence during December, 1956, and January and February, 1957, in connection with civil rights violations in Caldwell, DeSoto, and Grant Parishes but that no indictments were returned. On that occasion, a Justice Department attorney outlined evidence relating to cases in Bienville, Jackson, and Ouachita Parishes. The grand jury, after deliberating in private, announced there was no possibility of indictments in the three cases and went on record as not desiring to hear any testimony concerning them.

Meanwhile, indications that the purges are continuing in Louisiana came from State Sen. William M. Rainach, chairman of the Joint Legislative Committee on Segregation. Rainach, who resigned as head of the Association of Citizens Councils of Louisiana to run for governor, announced he intends to purge 100,000 of the state's approximately 130,000 Negro registrants from the rolls of qualified voters. In the summer of 1959 he moved into Opelousas, seat of St. Landry Parish, and said his purge there will be a test of what he will do elsewhere. He added that only 700 of some 7,000 Negroes registered in the parish were qualified to vote. Rainach said he had requests from 15 other parishes for similar purges.

Slowdown

Another method of reducing Negro political influence is the slowdown. Caddo Parish, site of Shreveport, largest city in northern Louisiana (Pop. 160,000), offered an outstanding example of the technique. The slowdown—raising barriers which cause Negro registration to slow to a mere trickle—began there in 1958.

The Caddo Parish Citizens Council met in August, 1956, and decided not to attempt a purge of Negro voters. It said a check showed there were not enough incorrect registrations to warrant a purge. However, in the purge parishes most determined investigators could manage to find a mistake in practically all Negro registrations. It was more likely that in an area containing a large urban center, the White Citizens Council was forced to moderate its techniques. No purge has been carried out in a parish containing a large metropolitan area.

(The Louisiana consultant for this report said Monroe, in Ouachita

Parish, was no exception to this, since Monroe has remained provincial during the past 20 years when other Louisiana cities such as Shreveport were developing an urban culture.)

In an urban area located in a plantation culture, like Shreveport, segregationists can advocate the continuance of most forms of segregation, but they are on somewhat shaky ground in advocating the more extreme disfranchisement of Negro voters. Before 1958, after their initial registration, Negroes experienced little difficulty in registering. Nevertheless, the number of Negro registrants was low, primarily because of lack of interest and leadership and the absence of any faction seeking their votes. Then, in early 1958, the United Christian Movement, a group composed mostly of ministers, organized a campaign to increase the number of Negro voters. Instruction classes were held, and eventually 2,000 more Negroes were on the voting rolls. Their difficulties began with this campaign and the appointment of a new registrar. The registrar before 1958 had imposed few difficulties for potential Negro voters.

Dr. C. D. Simpkins, Shreveport dentist who heads the United Christian Movement, said he has in his files about 200 documented cases in which Negroes were impeded in their attempts to register. Two tactics were used frequently: (1) Computing of exact age. If a registrant made a mistake in the calculation of his age in years, months and days, this was considered justification for rejection. (2) Establishment of identification.

An example of the extremes to which the second tactic can be carried came from a Negro woman:

a. On her first trip to the registrar's office she was asked to establish her identity. A doctor's receipt dated 1956, receipts from a mail carrier dated 1957 and 1958, and two hospital receipts dated 1948 and 1958 were not allowed as evidence.

b. She made a second trip the same day to present written identification from friends and neighbors. They were not accepted.

c. The following day she returned to ask what kind of identification would be admitted and was asked to bring a registered voter.

d. The same day she did bring a registered voter but was told that a Negro would not do but that a white voter might establish her identity.

e. She then returned with a white store owner and a white notary. Even this identification was deemed insufficient, although after some delay she finally was allowed to register.

The process usually is not so difficult, but applicants often are required to make an extra trip or two and go to a great deal of trouble to

secure identifying documents. Needless to say, many are discouraged after one trip and still others, hearing of the troubles they can expect to encounter, will not even try to register.

How effective was the slowdown? Despite the registration drive, the number of Negro eligible voters in Caddo Parish dropped 19 per cent between March 1956 and October 1958. In the same period the number of eligible white voters rose five per cent.

Refusal

Although registrars who were determined to deny Negroes their right to vote usually could find some technicality for refusing registration, occasionally they didn't bother to advance a reason.

The Rev. W. D. Ridgeway, pastor of the Trulight Baptist Church, Hattiesburg, Miss., told the 1957 Senate subcommittee hearing on civil rights he had been a minister for 31 years and added:

"I have lived in Forrest County, Miss., for more than 30 years, honoring and obeying the many ordinances and statutes enacted by the state, county, and city governments; paying promptly taxes—state, county, and municipal—to enjoy the privileges of a citizen of a great country and state. I have constantly taught and preached good citizenship for many years. However, even until this day, I have not been permitted to register and vote like other Americans . . .

"The glaring disgrace of Forrest County, Miss., is the uncontested fact that of the 12,958 Negroes in the county, less than 25 have been permitted to register and vote. Included in the remaining 12,933 Negroes are doctors, teachers, preachers, and laymen who are disfranchised simply because they are Negroes.

"On Oct. 16, 1956, I was flatly refused the right to register along with 17 other Negroes who were in the office of the registrar at the same time that I was. Again and again, I have gone to qualify myself so that I might be eligible, along with many other Americans, to cast a vote for federal and state officials, only to find myself and other Negroes turned down.

"It is always so confusing to me and other Negroes in my county and state to explain to our children when they ask the simple question, 'Why is it so easy for foreigners to spend only five years in America and Mississippi, then enjoy all of the freedoms and privileges that our United States Constitution calls for, but, on the other hand, native-born Negro Americans and Mississippians are denied the very basic guaranties that our Constitution provides—the right to vote and petition one's government without intimidations and economic reprisals? We cannot answer the above question . . ."

Threats and Tests

In all the Southern states which permit or require tests to determine literacy or knowledge of government functions the question must be answered "to the satisfaction of the registrar." Where the law is administered fairly, it can be merely a method of determining the qualification of all applicants but to the registrar determined to limit voting by Negroes, it can be a powerful weapon of discrimination.

However, some Negroes, particularly those in rural areas and small communities, are hesitant about trying to register and not only because of discriminatory literacy tests. Some have been threatened, like those in Lowndes County, Miss., who received anonymous letters reading: "Last warning. If you are tired of living, vote and die." At the same time (1956) 52 of a possible 9,200 Negroes there were registered.[2]

Or, prospective registrants may face economic reprisals like the Negro sharecroppers in McCormick County, S. C., who could not find white buyers for their produce, or the Negro businessmen in Humphreys County, Miss., who could not get credit. Some Negroes have lost their jobs for trying to register. Others have faced violence, as in Liberty County, Fla., where all but one of the first 10 Negroes in the county's history took their names off the voting list in 1956 after a series of cross-burnings, bomb throwings, and shots fired into their homes.[3] In 1958, no Negroes were registered in the county.

[2] *The Reporter*, June 27, 1956.

[3] *Time Magazine*, July 29, 1957.

New Laws and the Courts

In 1957 Congress enacted the first civil rights legislation since the post-Civil War years. This did not bring immediate benefit for prospective Negro voters, but rather the voice of defiance from officials in parts of the South.

Negroes themselves were slow to file well-documented complaints with the new Civil Rights Commission. This was due in part to Negro fears, general political apathy in the South and Negro concentration on school desegregation. However, by April 1959, in hearings before a House subcommittee on Appropriations, the Commission reported it had received the following voting complaints from the South:[1]

	Total	*Sworn*	*Unsworn*
Alabama	119	104	15
Arkansas	6	—	6
Florida	14	12	2
Georgia	1	—	1
Louisiana	95	88	7
Mississippi	41	40	1
North Carolina	2	1	1
South Carolina	3	—	3
Tennessee	7	1	6
Texas	1	—	1
Virginia	2	—	2
TOTALS	291	246	45

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 set up the Civil Rights Commission and gave it authority to investigate the status of civil rights anywhere in the nation. The Commission has the power to subpoena witnesses and hold hearings to obtain information, but no enforcement powers. The subpoena power is backed by the authority of federal courts to punish refusals by issuing contempt citations. The Commission is charged with reporting its findings and recommendations for additional legislation to the President and Congress.

The 1957 act also created a new Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department which can seek court orders to enforce voting rights, although it does not have subpoena powers.

Alabama—The Civil Rights Commission met its first major test in Macon County, Ala. This rural county, home of noted Tuskegee Institute for Negroes and Negro-staffed Veterans Administration Hospital, has a popu-

[1]From the nation as a whole, including the South, 310 complaints were received, 253 of them sworn.

laction 85 per cent Negro—the highest percentage of non-whites of any Southern county. However, only about 28 percent of Macon's registered voters are Negroes.

The Tuskegee Civic Association reported that 1,110 Negroes and 3,016 white persons were registered in 1958. Since the total white population was estimated at 4,671 in 1957, this meant that almost all white citizens over 21 had registered. The disproportionately low number of Negro registrants is despite the fact that Macon County ranks first in Alabama both in the number of Negro high school and college graduates.

Negroes in Macon County have fought a long battle for their right to vote. At a hearing in Montgomery, Ala., in December, 1958, witnesses told the Civil Rights Commission their efforts have been thwarted by a series of delaying and evasive tactics. They told of pitfalls for Negroes who are required to read and copy sections of the Constitution "to the satisfaction of the registrars;" of the failure of registrars to take applications from Negroes on several regular registration days, and of the Board's policy of allowing an individual Negro to vouch for only two applicants a year. (Alabama requires that a qualified voter vouch for an applicant.) The witnesses told how, when these methods lost their effectiveness, the board either would resign or meet in a place undisclosed to Negroes.

William P. Mitchell, chairman of the Voter Franchise Committee of the Tuskegee Civic Association, said that in the previous eight years 1,585 Negro applications for registration were made but only 510 granted. He added that hundreds more appeared to file applications but could not do so because only two Negroes were allowed to apply simultaneously in a small, separate room. Mitchell estimated that at the present rate of issuing certificates to Negroes, it would require 203 years to register the approximately 13,000 unregistered Negroes in Macon County then over 21. This estimate did not take into account the yearly increase of population.

The Commission had subpoenaed voting officials of Macon and five other rural, south central Alabama counties—Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes, all with a Negro population of from 53 to 82 per cent. They were ordered to bring with them voting records for the past three years. However, state and county officials refused to produce records and in several instances refused to testify.

Circuit Court Judge George Wallace, unsuccessful pro-segregationist candidate for governor, had seized the records of Barbour and Bullock a month earlier, claiming they were needed for a grand jury investigation of voting frauds. Two days before the Commission met, grand juries impounded the records of Dallas, Wilcox, and Lowndes. The Commission

received records from Macon County but they showed only the names of voters already registered and contained none of the requested information about prospective voters who were turned down.

The Commission ended its hearing with a request to the Justice Department for a court order to open voting records in the recalcitrant counties.

Two days later, U. S. District Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., in Montgomery, ordered the defiant counties to produce registration records and issued subpoenas to Circuit Judge Wallace and five registrars in Macon, Barbour, and Bullock counties. Shortly thereafter, the two subpoenaed Macon County registrars resigned and said they would then appear before the Commission since they were no longer registrars and had no records in their possession. In January 1959, in a compromise settlement, state authorities agreed to let the Commission look at registration books without removing them from custody of the registrars in Bullock, Barbour, and Macon counties. No mention was made of the other three counties where records were impounded by grand juries. None of the officials of these three had refused to testify at the December hearings.

Subsequently, Wallace turned the registration records of Barbour and Bullock over to grand juries before leaving office. His action resulted in a contempt of court charge, but Federal Judge Johnson acquitted him, ruling that Wallace had in fact complied with the court order, though by "devious" means. (The county grand juries had opened the records to Commission examiners.)

The Commission released a report July 31, 1959, which Director Gordon M. Tiffany said showed "a consistent pattern of denial of equal protection of the laws as regards voting in six Alabama counties" (Macon, Barbour, Bullock, Dallas, Lowndes, and Wilcox).

The report included testimony taken in executive session from four staff members who had examined voting records in the counties involved. They testified that a double standard was used by some Alabama registrars when considering Negro applicants for registration. Negroes, they said, often were disqualified for minor mistakes that did not generally disqualify white applicants. For example, they told of Negro applicants being turned down for writing the letters "M" or "S" instead of "married" or "single;" of one who gave the month and year he became a resident but was rejected because he left out the day.

They said a spot check of accepted applications showed that 16 persons were registered who had made the same type of mistakes as those rejected. Fifteen of the 16 accepted were white. Three of those registered had left blank a question on whether they would "give aid or comfort to

the enemies of the United States Government or the Government of the State of Alabama."

The Justice Department, which made its own independent investigation of Macon County complaints, filed a suit in Montgomery Feb. 6, 1959, charging that voting officials in Macon County discriminated against Negroes. Judge Johnson dismissed the suit, which would have required the Macon registrars to enroll 13 Negroes the Department contended were qualified.

Central legal problem in the case was the resignation of the registrars before the suit was filed. The Justice Department argued that under Alabama law the resignations could not be effective until successors qualified. Alternatively, in case the resignations were held legal, the state of Alabama was named co-defendant. Judge Johnson ruled that the registrars had resigned legally and that the Civil Rights Act allowed the Department to seek injunctions only against individuals, not states. He was upheld in June, 1959, by the United States Court of Appeals in New Orleans. The Justice Department announced that the decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

In February, 1959, the Alabama legislature, without a dissenting vote, passed an act authorizing registration boards to destroy their records. Specifically, boards could destroy questionnaires completed by applicants at the end of the 30-day limit for appealing a board ruling.

Georgia—On Sept. 4, 1958, the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice filed a suit in U. S. District Court against the Board of Registrars of Terrell County, Ga. It was the first suit filed under Section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. This section gives the Attorney General of the United States the right to institute a suit in behalf of citizens denied the right to vote.

The suit asked for an injunction prohibiting registrars from applying stricter literacy standards to Negroes and from delaying applications by Negroes. It sought registration certificates for five Negroes, four of them college graduates. The government charged they were denied the right to register by discriminatory use of a literacy test.

The Justice Department also indicated the five instances were part of a systematic exclusion of Negro voters. The complaint said there were only 48 registered Negroes of 5,036 of voting age but that 2,679 of the 3,233 eligible white citizens were enrolled. (The Secretary of State's office reported 2,810 registered white voters in Terrell in 1958.)

On Jan. 26, 1959, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis dismissed the suit. He ruled that the injunctive clause of the 1957 Civil Rights Act violated states'

rights and was unconstitutional. The Justice Department appealed and the Supreme Court has agreed to review the case.

The suit was filed several months after Terrell County appeared in the news because of other racial problems. On June 8, 1958, Robert Baker reported in the *Washington Post and Times Herald* charges of police brutality, as well as of unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to register. Subsequently, federal investigators proposed indictments based on the deaths of two Negroes, the pistol wounding of another, the beating of one, and the allegedly illegal detention of a fifth. However, a federal grand jury refused the government's request to indict three policemen of Dawson, the county seat of Terrell.

Louisiana—Investigation of voting discrimination complaints from 68 persons in seven northern Louisiana parishes ran into legal snags also. There, in July, 1959, U. S. District Judge Ben C. Dawkins granted a temporary restraining order preventing the Civil Rights Commission from holding a scheduled hearing. At the same time, Judge Dawkins ordered a three-judge court to rule on the constitutionality of the Commission.

The judge granted the injunction to Louisiana Atty. Gen. Jack Gremillion, who filed the suit on behalf of 17 north Louisiana registrars subpoenaed to appear at the hearing. In charging the registrars were denied their constitutional rights, Gremillion claimed they were not informed of the nature and cause of the accusations against them nor allowed to confront their accusers. The government then asked the court to require those involved in the case to post bond but the request was denied.

Two weeks earlier, the Justice Department filed suit to stop the purge of Negro voters in Washington Parish in southeastern Louisiana. Named as defendants were the White Citizens Council of Washington Parish, four of its members and the parish registrar. The government said that during the previous seven months Negro registration in the parish was reduced from 1,517 to 236, as a result of challenges by Citizens Council members. The petition said that in the same period only 10 affidavits were filed questioning the voting rights of white persons. The complaint said that almost without exception the challenging affidavits were based on minor technical deficiencies. Under Louisiana law any two bona fide voters may challenge the right of another voter.

From the outset, investigators of voting rights complaints ran into problems in Louisiana. When one staff member of the Civil Rights Commission went to Webster Parish he found the registrar, who had the state attorney general sitting in as legal adviser, refused to turn over voter records. Although Negroes make up 37.1 per cent of the total population

of Webster, they represent one per cent of the registration; of the 8,277 registered voters there in 1958, only 80 were Negro.

The same investigator met a similar refusal in Caddo Parish.

Both registrars contended the investigator failed to comply with two points of state law necessary to obtain their records: he was not a registered voter of Louisiana and he had not obtained a petition signed by 25 Louisiana voters.

Mississippi—The Civil Rights Commission had a difficult time even getting started in Mississippi, one of the first three states where it announced it would investigate registration complaints. (Alabama and Florida were the other two.) When the Commission announced advisory groups would be set up in each state to work with it on civil rights problems, the word from a Citizens Council source in Mississippi was that "anyone who would accept an appointment would be considered a traitor to the South." In Washington, the Commission conceded it was having difficulty in getting a "well balanced" committee in Mississippi.

Florida—In Florida, where the Commission announced it would look into registration procedures, Gov. LeRoy Collins said he had no objection, so long as the investigation was carried out in a sound manner.

Edward D. Davis, president of the Florida Voters League, a nonpartisan Negro organization, said he had received no complaints at the time of the 1958 primary. Before that, however, Davis said Negroes complained of registration procedures in the four north Florida counties of Liberty, Lafayette, Union, and Gadsden. As the following figures show, Negroes are almost totally disfranchised in these counties:

	1958 Pop. White	*1958 Pop. Negro*	*Reg. White Voters*	*Reg. Negro Voters*	*Population % Negro*	*% Negroes Registered*
Gadsden	21,700	28,400	6,310	7	56.7	.11
Lafayette	2,600	200	1,902	0	7.1	0
Liberty	2,200	600	1,706	0	21.4	0
Union	7,100	3,500	2,598	0	33.0	0

The States—Since the Southern Regional Council's 1956 voting survey, no Southern state has eased its registration laws. Five states retain the poll tax—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia. More important, literacy tests which oculd be used to limit Negro registration remain in effect in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, South and North Carolina, Mississippi, and Virginia.

Two states tightened registration laws—Virginia and Georgia.

Georgia passed a new registration law which some of its legislative sponsors frankly admitted was intended to discourage Negro voting. In

opposing the bill, the Georgia League of Women Voters claimed the measure would make unequal application possible in several respects:

(1) Every county could have a different voter application form.

(2) Some voters could register with only one trip to the registrar's office; others would have to make a trip to the clerk's office and the registrar's office also.

(3) Registrars could choose any section of the Georgia or U. S. Constitution for applicants to read and write but the law sets no standards of correctness.

(4) Answers were not provided with a set of 30 questions to ask the registrant nor was it made clear who would decide the correctness of the answers.

Virginia put a new "blank paper" registration law into effect in July, 1958. It requires new registrants to write from memory, on a blank sheet of paper, answers to 10 questions about age, residence, occupation, etc.

In North Carolina a 1957 state law provides for court appeals from the rulings of registrars. It requires applicants denied registration to file notice of appeal with the registrar the following day; appeals then can be carried to the county boards of elections, and on to the Superior Court and the state Supreme Court.

The Louisiana legislature defeated two bills of Gov. Earl K. Long which would have prevented the removal of any voter from the registration rolls who had been registered for more than 12 months, despite errors found in the registration, and another bill which stipulated that minor errors in the filing of an application would not disqualify the registrant.

Pending before the Alabama legislature was a constitutional amendment restoring the cumulative poll tax. In 1953 the poll tax law was modified, limiting past due taxes to two years, or $3. Previously, a voter might have had to pay as much as $36 in accumulated unpaid poll taxes before registering.

The Courts—In November, 1958, a three-judge Federal court dismissed a suit brought by a Negro minister, the Rev. H. D. Darby, who in effect contended that Mississippi registration laws were designed to be administered arbitrarily and were used to discriminate against Negroes. The NAACP announced the suit would not be appealed but would instead be referred to the Civil Rights Commission.

The Supreme Court of the United States denied the appeal of a Negro woman, Mrs. Louise Lassiter, to enjoin North Carolina registrars from using literacy tests if an applicant were otherwise qualified. In an unanimous decision, the court said the tests apply regardless of race and are "one fair way of determining whether a person is literate."

The Next Million

The Climate of Opinion

The disturbed atmosphere in much of the South, created by resistance to school desegregation, clearly has retarded the normal growth of Negro suffrage. The fear and hostility generated by demagogues have dampened both Negro initiative and white acceptance of Negro political participation.

While this troubled climate has not lowered the total number of Southern Negro registrants appreciably, two adverse effects may be attributed to it. First, it has slowed the evolutionary growth in Negro registration and voting that might have been anticipated in a calmer period.

A second effect of heightened racial feeling has been the artificial deflation in importance of the Negro vote. In normal times, when political campaigns are focused on practical issues, no serious office-seeker or faction will deliberately antagonize a sizable segment of voters, actual or potential.

That this principle works in the South, as well as elsewhere, is amply attested to by many campaigns of recent years, particularly in some of the larger cities. In these cases, the appeal to all voters, Negro as well as white, has become commonplace, accepted alike by candidates and the general population. Seldom, if ever, are Negro voters given preferential treatment, as the racists are wont to charge. But, in many instances, they have come to be regarded with the same degree of respect and consideration as other voters. In such situations, a Negro vote has equal value with any other, no more and no less.

By contrast, in many parts of the region, emotionalism surrounding the segregation issue has led to a sharper division of voters along racial lines. Extremists in and out of public office have based their political appeals on racial fears and antagonisms. By accusing their opponents of "wooing the Negro vote" or "catering to the NAACP," they have sought —with considerable success—to make support by Negro citizens a liability rather than an asset, because Negro support has proved in a number of instances insufficient to compensate for the resulting loss of white votes. Wherever this process has been effective, every Negro voter has seen his ballot artificially devalued. Negro voters are a minority in every state and in most communities. So long as politicians can persuade the electorate that the issue is white against black, Negroes will be denied the normal and proportionate benefits of the ballot.

This unhappy state of affairs is not likely to be permanent. If prior experience is any guide, no Southern electorate will remain indefinitely

preoccupied with fear of change as the overriding issue in every political conflict. Whenever, soon or late, the segregation-desegregation controversy abates, other more vital issues will come to the fore, and the votes of Negro Southerners will weigh no less heavily than others in the political scales.

In the long perspective, there is every reason to expect a steady, if gradual, increase in Negro political participation—along with rising economic and social status. However, no abrupt or dramatic rise in the number of Negro registrants seems likely in the foreseeable future. It probably would be unrealistic to expect this in a time of widespread racial tension. Instead, the next big breakthrough in the field of suffrage may well be the revitalization of the existing Negro vote in the South.

Political Consciousness

Many Negro leaders have repeated one theme with growing emphasis in recent years: Our political future rests in our own hands.

In a large sense, this is true, for the discriminatory climate and tactics outlined in this report are not uniformly present in the South. There are many areas where determined Negroes could register and vote in greater number.

This determination must spring, however, from an awareness of the power of the ballot, which in turn comes generally as social and economic status improves. Although the gap is narrowing gradually, Negroes still lag behind the white community in average education and income.

For almost half a century the South was allowed to operate under a "separate-but-equal" doctrine for its Negro citizens. Not until the mid-1940's, under the pressure of federal court action, did the South give serious consideration to the "equal" meaning of the doctrine. Since then, school facilities for Negroes have improved greatly, but the neglect of years has left its mark.

At the same time, Negroes have faced an uphill fight to improve their economic status. Many jobs still are closed to them and even the more qualified and competent too often can find only menial work. Credit still rests largely in the hands of white businessmen. Nevertheless, there is a growing body of Negro professional and business men and women. Development of this group is one of the factors which should lead to increased use of the ballot by Negro citizens.

Donald Strong, professor of political science at the University of Alabama, has drawn an analogy with various immigrant groups.[1] He said it was only when these had produced their own lawyers and prosperous mer-

[1] "The Future of the Negro Voter in the South," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Summer, 1957.

chants that they were able to command a respectful hearing in politics.

"Negroes, too, must develop a corps of middle-class leaders with substantial education and economic independence of whites," he added.

Migration

This leadership is most likely to flourish in metropolitan areas. There, too, Negroes experience the least difficulty in registering and voting. These factors point to a prospect of a growing number of Negro voters, since the South has seen a vast migration of Negroes from rural to urban communities.

Dr. Irene B. Taeuber of the Office of Population Research, Princeton University, has analyzed this migration.[2] A brief summary of some of her findings:

(1) In 1950 there were 8.7 million Negroes in the South, almost two and one-half times the number in the 15 slave-holding states in 1860.

(2) However, there also were 4.8 million Negroes in the North—more than there had been in all the Confederate States at the time of the Civil War.

(3) The five Southern states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia had a Negro population of 4.5 million in 1910 and 4.6 million in 1950.

(4) Five Northern states—Illinois, Michigan, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—had a Negro population of 566,000 in 1910 and 3.2 million in 1950. In the 40-year period, these five states absorbed half the increase in the Negro population of the country. Another fifth was absorbed by California, Florida, and Texas.

(5) By 1950, only a little more than one-fourth of the non-white population of the South was classified as rural farm.

Doctor Taeuber said that "the fundamental change in the Negro population was not the movement from South to North but the concentration in industrial sections of the country, including the South."

(However, she said this great migration seemed to be nearing an end, because the number of sharecroppers, the major source of supply for new urban labor, has dwindled. By 1954 there were only 160,000 farms operated by non-white sharecroppers in the South.)

Cities

In a number of cities in the South, Negro voters already are receiving attention from politicians. Negroes are credited with helping elect mayors

[2]Irene B. Taeuber, "Migration, Mobility and The Assimilation of the Negro," *Population Bulletin,* Population Reference Bureau, Inc., November 1958.

in at least three major cities—Atlanta, New Orleans, and Houston—in the past few years.

In the July 14, 1959, Democratic primary in Virginia Negroes in several urban centers showed more interest in voting than white citizens. The *Richmond News Leader* said 8,850 Negroes in that city, or 57 per cent of the number registered, voted as compared to only 34 per cent of the registered white citizens. In Charlottesville, 705, or more than half the registered Negro voters, went to the polls, contrasted with less than one-third of the eligible white voters.[3]

More Negro candidates are seeking political office. As early as 1951, Nashville, Tenn., elected two Negroes to the city council. In recent years, Negroes have been serving on Boards of Education in Greensboro, Durham, Winston-Salem, Atlanta, Houston, Nashville, and Knoxville. Chapel Hill, N. C., has had a Negro on the Board of Aldermen. In Charles City County, Va., Negroes served on the County Board of Supervisors, County Welfare Board, and the County School Board.

Admittedly, this sampling tells only part of the story. Many more have filed for office and been defeated. The road to political office remains a stony one for Negroes. However, the mere fact that a Negro is on the ballot sometimes—but by no means always—spurs other Negroes to qualify and vote. It also may bring out a larger than normal white vote in opposition.

Leadership

The quality and vigor of Negro leadership is one of the greatest forces in encouraging voting. Regionally, the two most active groups working to extend the franchise have been the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, spearheaded by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Montgomery, Ala., was formed in 1957 by Negro leaders throughout the South in a "crusade for citizenship." Its announced aim: to aid and encourage Negroes to register and vote, to gather facts, where resistance is met, and present them to duly constituted authorities.

The NAACP long has been active in encouraging Negroes to vote. In the past few years it has been increasingly busy with a growing number of other problems. It has been in the forefront of the court battles to protect the individual rights of Negroes and to achieve legal equality. At the same time, it has been the target of restrictive legislation which has hampered its work in several Southern states.

[3]Columnist Benjamin Muse, *Washington Post* and *Times Herald*, July 26, 1959.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, is among those who believe that Negroes themselves hold the key to their political future.

"Negro citizens must prepare to present themselves in numbers to be qualified, and that preparation is their responsibility," Wilkins has said.[4]

"In reaching this conclusion there is no attempt here to underestimate the forces of resistance, the ignorance, trickery, fear, threats and physical assaults that have been employed and will continue to be employed. But their eradication will not be accomplished by some miracle out of the sky, some wished-for relief from a far off place; it will be downed primarily through the intelligence, diligence, persistence and courage of the population presently disfranchised."

Dr. Elston E. Roady of the Department of Political Science, Florida State University, has agreed that, "We may well have reached that plateau in the development of greater Negro participation in politics which demands greater efforts by Negroes themselves. The successful assault on the next mountain seems to rest largely in the hands of the Negro citizen in most areas.[5]"

[4]Roy Wilkins, "The Future of the Negro Voter in the United States," *The Journal of Negro Education,* Summer, 1957.

[5]*The Negro's Role in American Society,* Florida State University, 1958.

A Louisiana Parish: Wholesale Purge

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BY 1956 Negro registration in Louisiana had attained a size insuring it substantial respect in state and local politics, its 18 per cent of total registration ranking as highest in the South. The processes of accommodation and compromise practiced in Louisiana politics out of respect to the Negro vote made state politics an important area of interracial communication.

Then came the purges. In eight months Negro registration was reduced by 10,000 at the same time that white registration was increasing. According to state Senator Rainach, Citizens' Council leader and chief political spokesman for the purges, the purge of Negro voters in Louisiana was designed to eliminate 90 per cent of Negro registration in Louisiana and its ultimate purpose was to "solve our segregation problem" and "make Louisiana a shining example to the nation on how to thwart the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

This is a report on the purge of Negro voters in the one parish of Ouachita. This particular parish has been selected for analysis for several reasons: Ouachita was the first of the parishes to embark upon the purge and its success in eliminating 5,000 Negro voters of the 5,700 registered tended to set the pattern for the purges which followed in the surrounding parishes. Ouachita's leadership in the purge resulted not only from its success in reducing Negro registration but also from its position as the most populous of the parishes, the site of the city of Monroe with about 50,000 population. Yet with the exception of the rather high degree of urbanism resulting from the presence of the city of Monroe, Ouachita is typical, culturally speaking, of the group of 13 parishes where an effort was made to reduce Negro registration. The story of the purge in Ouachita parish is thus a story of how it began and also a narrative typical of the purges in northern Louisiana.

THE SETTING OF THE PURGE

To know one of the purge parishes, like Ouachita, is to know something about all 13. Not only are they all contiguous but they have many cultural characteristics in common as well. Located in northern Louisiana in what is called the North Louisiana Uplands, Ouachita Parish takes its character partly from the nearby delta regions where a plantation cotton economy predominates, partly from the hill country which extends up to the parish.

Its estimated population in 1957 was 86,063, of whom 56,863 were white and 29,200 non-white.

The largest crop raised in Ouachita is cotton with over 10,000 acres being planted each year. Yet the parish is by no means a plantation type area since the cotton is raised for the most part on small or medium sized individual farms and there is a low rate of tenancy in the area. Beef cattle, dairying, and forest produce industries provide important supplementary incomes as does the truck farming which goes on in the area.

Ouachita is not, however, predominantly a rural parish since about 65 per cent of the population is classified as urban. The largest city is Monroe. Unlike some of the other cities of the state such as Shreveport and Baton Rouge, Monroe has not experienced the growth and industrialization characteristic of the rapidly growing areas of the South, and its position as an urban center is somewhat in decline. Industrially, it depends upon lumber and lumber industries and textiles and has not attracted the heavy industry nor the mass production manufacturing necessary for rapid development.

The relatively slow growth of Monroe has meant that social change has not been rapid either, and Monroe has not developed the style of life and values of an urban center but remains merely a capital of the provinces. To emphasize the small town quality of Monroe, one hears in New Orleans that a shot-gun could be blasted down the main street of Monroe at nine o'clock at night without hitting a soul—a statement not much exaggerated as this writer can testify.

The people of the Ouachita area have been characterized as yeomen farmers, and a sociological authority on Louisiana culture speaks of them as "hardy, independent, individualistic, God-fearing people who tend to be somewhat conservative in their approach to new ideas or practices."

Religiously, the area is Protestant and is dominated by the Baptist Church with only 10 per cent of the population adhering to the non-Protestant faiths of Catholicism or Judaism. Fenton and Vines have demonstrated in a study of Negro registration in Louisiana,[1] the importance of Catholic culture in creating a permissive climate for Negro registration and in weakening white supremacists' ideas on segregation. But in Ouachita, it is the role of the different Protestant congregations which is of decisive importance.

A prominent Protestant minister in Monroe, not a Baptist, has characterized the Baptists generally as not "ecumenically minded," that is, not organizationally cooperative with other Protestant religions in matters of faith and work of interest to all, and as "not much concerned with the witness of faith" as this concerns social problems such as race relations.

While it would certainly be premature to attribute causal factors to the religious environment of Ouachita, it should be remembered that in a culture which can be characterized as basically a church-going one the set of attitudes and values manifested by the churches are of some importance. In this instance the Baptist churches of Ouachita have provided a setting permitting favorable attitudes toward registration purges or other discriminatory racial attitudes.

In addition, the Baptist churches do not belong to the Ministerial Alliance, the organization of Protestant ministers which generally has worked for a more tolerant attitude on race relations and which tended to oppose the purge.

In politics, the voters of Ouachita as well as the other purge parishes have tended to follow the conservative politics of the Southern cotton plantation culture rather than the more populistic politics of the hill country. Dixiecrat, States' Rights, and other White Supremacy factions have always done well in Ouachita while the parish, in common with other purge parishes, has been relatively hostile to the Long family and its factional candidates. This hostility to Longism is significant since Long faction candidates have generally relied on the Negro vote, have wooed it in campaigns, and accordingly have shown a willingness to operate politically with Negro voters and a reluctance to resort to racial demagoguery in political campaigning. With the exception of the recent Mayor Cass of Monroe, who was aligned with the Long faction and did court the Negro vote, political figures popular in the purge parishes have generally been of the anti-Long faction of Louisiana politics, have not courted the Negro voters, but on the contrary have on occasion campaigned on the basis of appeals involving racial demagoguery.

Structure of Race Relations

Considering the violence with which the purge erupted in Ouachita, it is surprising to find that within the context of a segregated Southern town, race relations were considered "good" by both white and Negro community leaders. There were no records of police brutality, no incidents of any importance which could be pointed to as evidence of racial tension of an unusual nature. As Dr. Reddix, Negro dentist and leader of Monroe, put it, "I could walk down the streets of Monroe and not feel that I had to fight every white person I met." Much of the harmony of race relations in Monroe was due to the efforts made by Mayor Cass to accommodate Negroes in a small way into the life of Monroe and to improve Negro municipal facilities.

[1]Fenton, J. H. and Vines, "Negro Registration in Louisiana," *American Political Science Review*, September, 1957.

Under the Cass administration a Negro recreation center had been built, the Negro swimming pool improved, and two Negro policemen had been appointed to the Monroe police force and were serving without incident. The usual new schools had been erected for Negroes following 1954, but there were complaints by Negroes that the equipment and curriculum did not live up to the exterior appearance.

Social segregation in Ouachita's public facilities remains unchanged and while race demarcation signs have been removed in the buses the removal is more a matter of complying with distant court decrees than an indication that any ferment is occurring relative to a change in the segregation structure. For indeed there have been no challenges to the segregation structure such as suits for school, public transportation or recreation desegregation. There are no chapters of the NAACP, no Urban Leagues in Ouachita Parish and hence no formal structure to promote Negro aspirations. No Martin Luther King or other charismatic personality has arisen to inspire the Negro people to visions of equality or to lead them in the fight for their rights. The Negro people of Ouachita see the struggle for Negro rights in their particular case as some distance off and, in a region where traditionally the Negro has had a difficult life and lacked the opportunity to expect much more, were relatively satisfied with the achievements which had been made: the comparative lack of violence in race relations, the new Negro schools, and the respect achieved as a result of the power of the Negro vote.

Indeed, the main challenge to the traditional structure of race relations in Ouachita Parish has been political in nature. It is in the campaigns for local office, the structure of political support, in the day-to-day accommodations and communications—in short, in the extension of the powers of the ballot box—that the racial separatism and lack of communication so characteristic of the traditional pattern of segregation have been modified. While the challenges to segregation in the courts had been dormant, a more vital challenge, involving the desegregation of the whole democratic process, had been making great headway in the city of Monroe under the willing sponsorship of Mayor Cass, whose structure of political support and campaign methods involved appealing to Negro voters as well as whites.

The importance of this desegregation of the political process was fully realized by the chief instigators of the purge movement, the Citizens' Councils. In a statement released just two weeks before the start of the purge in Ouachita Parish, Senator Rainach, president of the state Citizens' Councils and head of the legislative "watch-dog" committee on segregation, spelled out in detail the concern of the white supremacists with the

importance of the Negro vote in state politics. Negro registration, the statement read, is "definitely well past the danger point," and the NAACP will trade its bloc of votes "with one group of white people and then another until no political faction feels it can be elected without the Negro support." In a later comment, Rainach emphasized the great importance of the purges to the segregationists: "From the long range standpoint our only hope in the segregation fight is to clear our rolls of all illegally qualified voters."

Rainach's statement is a clear reference to the prevailing pattern in Louisiana Parish politics which includes competition for the Negro vote. In all probability it was designed as a kind of pre-purge justification of the purges since it was released to all newspapers in the state and received wide attention. Two weeks after the Rainach statement the purge in Ouachita began.

The role of the Citizens' Councils in the purges has been prominent all along but was especially important in the initial motivations of the movement. The exact numbers and the membership composition of the Citizens' Councils remain an intriguing mystery. Membership is variously estimated in Ouachita Parish at from 500 (a Council estimate) to 150. Whatever its numbers and membership, its influence in Ouachita instigated the purge.

The challenges for all 5,700 Negro voters were prepared by members of the Citizens' Councils working in relays long hours in the registrar's office. It has been suggested, and is generally believed by community leaders in Ouachita Parish, that initially the purges were a conspiracy originating in the Citizens' Councils and only later received the wider support and application that they now have in northern Louisiana.[2]

In seeking to understand the purge of Negro voters one looks to the nature, the extent and circumstances of Negro registration. As in most of the larger cities of Louisiana registration in Ouachita began in the 1948-1949 period and took place with some pressures from Negro leaders but actually with a minimum of difficulty. By 1950 Negro registration was 2,300 and remained at less than 2,500 until interest in local political contests raised the figure to its pre-purge high of 5,700.

Proportionately, Negro registration in Ouachita ranked well below that of the white. While about three out of four whites eligible are registered to vote, less than half of the eligible Negroes were registered. To put it another way, Negroes make up 33 per cent of the total population of Ouachita but constituted only 19 per cent of the voter population. In

[2]An eye-witness account of the planning of the purge for another parish in the meeting of a Citizens' Council may be had by consulting the *Colfax Chronicle* published in Grant Parish, page one of the issue of October 12, 1956.

comparison with the other parishes of Louisiana Ouachita did not rank high with respect to the percentage of eligible Negroes registered. Classifying the parishes into four groups on the basis of Negro registration of potential registration (0-29, 30-49, 50-69, 70-100), Ouachita, with 40 per cent of the Negro potential voters registered ranked in the third lowest of the four groups.

Negro registration certainly could not be classified as either hyperactive or extremely interested but could be described at best as "somewhat apathetic." Despite the fact that before the purge there were several years of no hindrances to Negro registration the proportion of Negroes registered to vote from the potential registration was well below that of the white population of Ouachita.

The key to the fear of the Negro vote lies in its potential function as a balance of power factor and the strength of this as a political lever for gaining political and social ends. Although Negroes were only 19 per cent of the voting population of Ouachita, by voting as a fairly cohesive group, they could decisively influence almost any parish election. Exactly this kind of thing had happened in the city of Monroe, and Mayor Cass in treating them with respect, in improving Negro recreational facilities, and in hiring Negro policemen had earned the respect of the Negro voters. It was known that Cass could probably not be beaten unless the Negro vote were destroyed, and many persons in Ouachita say that the purge was initially an effort to defeat Cass who was coming up for reelection in May, 1956. As a result of the purge, Cass was beaten.

The Purge

Direct preparations for the purge of Negro voters in Ouachita Parish began in March, 1956, when from six to eight members of the Citizens' Councils, working in relays every day, began preparing the necessary forms by which every one of the 5,782 Negro voters would be challenged. By mid-April around 3,000 challenges were mailed, and when the great majority of the Negroes failed to gain retractions of the challenges, they were erased from the rolls. By May, when the mayor's race began, only 595 Negro voters were on the rolls.

The procedures by which the Negro voters were successfully purged involved a system of challenging voters, which put the burden upon the voter of demonstrating his proper registration. The system originated in a series of acts passed in 1940 by the Louisiana legislature, then interested in finding ways to reform elections by removing unqualified voters from the rolls. The acts were in part a reaction against the corrupt practices frequently seen in Louisiana and practiced by the adherents of the Long

factions and received the support of the good government groups in Louisiana.

The Acts provide (Louisiana Statutes 18: 132-134) that "upon an affidavit signed and sworn to in duplicate by any two bona fide registered voters to the effect that after reasonable investigation and on information or belief certain persons are illegally registered or have lost their right to vote in precinct, ward or parish" the registrar shall then notify the voter by mail. If within ten days of notification the voter produces an affidavit signed by three other registered voters of the parish attesting to the correctness of his registration, he may stay on the rolls. Otherwise, if the voter does not produce such a document ten days from notification, his name is removed.

As originally designed, the statute was intended to provide a means of challenging voters whose place and duration of residence were in question. And while it provides a kind of citizen challenge (two registered voters) it also provides for a citizen refutation of the challenge (three registered voters). Thus as written the statute provides for a relatively easy and casual challenge, but also for an easy refutation of the challenge.

The method of challenge used by the Citizens' Council, however, did not involve questions of residence but deviations from the "proper" method of filling out the entire registration form; e.g., any mistake in the calculation of age (which had to be put in years, months, and days), or writing "M" instead of "male" and "C" instead of "colored." And if there were none of these "mistakes" the challenged voter was told that the signature on the registration card didn't appear to be his signature, that his identity was questioned, that he was not who he said he was.

A few days after the challenges were mailed pandemonium prevailed at the courthouse in Monroe. Hundreds of Negro voters jammed the registrar's office and overflowed onto the courthouse lawns with the intention of refuting the challenges. The strategy of the registrar's office then involved several procedures. First, the processing of challenges was slowed to a mere trickle by assigning only one or two persons in the office to deal with the challenges and by requiring that a single line of Negroes be formed, and by delaying the individual cases and dragging them out as much as possible. It is estimated that 1,400 or 1,500 persons tried to clear their registration during the first few days after the challenges. Secondly, the proofs required by the registrar for refuting the challenges were stiffer than those listed in the statutes. Negroes were not allowed to sign affiidavits for other Negroes because they had been challenged, so initially Negro voters had to secure signatures from white friends and employers. After the first voters were cleared, they could then sign for others chal-

lenged. Then the registrar's office required that signers to the affidavit must reside in the same precinct, a requirement definitely not to be found in the statutes. This further slowed down the process.

Some Negro voters were urged by the clerks in the registrar's office to forget about refuting the challenges and to go ahead and re-register as the simplest course of action. However, when quite a few voters, on this recommendation, attempted to re-register, they were confronted with questions concerning the interpretation of the constitution of Louisiana which in most cases they were said to fail.

By the time the ten days were up, 595 Negroes had managed to stay on the registration rolls and 5,187 or 90 per cent of all voters challenged were erased from the rolls. Although it is estimated by Negro leaders that around 1,600 went to the registrar's office in an attempt to stay on the registration rolls, less than half of these were able to do so, so obstructive and time-consuming were the methods employed by the office of the registrar.

During the controversy over registration only two groups in the white community gave or expressed sympathy to the beleaguered Negro voters. Initially the most effective opposition came from the local political faction headed by Mayor Cass and from James E. Noe, former governor of Louisiana and owner of a Monroe television station and member of the Cass faction. Mr. Noe on May 2 accompanied a group of Negroes to the registrar's office in an effort to expedite their filing of affidavits and while there actually came to blows, so the story goes, with an employee of the registrar's office. Later Noe issued a statement that, "If there are any ineligible voters I am 100 per cent for taking them off the rolls. But I am going to try every way possible to help everyone who is legally registered, white or Negro, to protect their franchise." Later Noe withdrew from the controversy, reportedly because of economic pressures imposed against him in the form of withdrawal of advertising from his television station.

The Monroe Ministerial Alliance, consisting of Methodist, Presbyterian and Episcopalian ministers, also opposed the purge and met with Negro ministers to discuss ways in which the situation could be remedied. The Ministerial Alliance later was responsible for a call to the Justice Department to investigate the situation, a move which led the Department in the latter part of 1956 to send several FBI agents into the purge parishes.

Other than the two groups mentioned, the Monroe white community tended to go along with the purge even if it did not actively participate. The Monroe newspapers owned by Colonel Ewing did not incite the purge but tended to report it as a legitimate clearing of the rolls of illegally registered voters, an attitude which is echoed by the editorial staff of the

Monroe *Morning World*. Interviews with various persons indicate that the purge gets a nod of approval from the man in the street who is likely to comment somewhat cynically that the purge was necessary after all because the Negroes do "bloc vote." A leading minister of Monroe declares that some of the prominent business and professional citizens of Monroe have serious reservations about the purge but, if they do, such opinions were not shown during the controversy and there was no organized action or sympathy other than that from the two groups mentioned.

Negro leadership during the purge was furnished chiefly by an organization formed during the purge and called the Guiding Voice. Three months after the purge began, by September, 1956, the Guiding Voice had a membership of over 50 business and professional leaders, was collecting money for a defense fund and seemed to be a satisfactory focus for Negro resistance which through the summer of 1956 had grown more determined and had captured the interest and devotion of much of the Negro community. Those active in the Guiding Voice, particularly its president Dr. Reddix, report that determination and interest in fighting the purge reached almost a "fever pitch" during the time the Guiding Voice was operating successfully. An office was set up to serve as headquarters for the organization, funds solicited with some success from the Negro community (at one time $1,800 was in the treasury) and meetings were held frequently to decide upon a defensive strategy.

Although initially some aid and encouragement was given to those Negroes trying to defend their registration, the decision was made early in the life of the Guiding Voice that the chief defensive strategy should be legal. Accordingly, a suit was filed in federal court in September, 1956 suing Mrs. Mae Lucky, the registrar, for $50,000 on behalf of Dr. John Reddix and attorney James Sharp. Mrs. Lucky refused to register Dr. Reddix, it was alleged; and, in the case of Sharp, it was complained that when he appeared at the registrar's office on behalf of a client whose registration was challenged, he was refused permission to inspect the cards in the office because he was a Negro, and was told that he would be waited on by her assistant in another room. The case for plaintiffs Sharp and Reddix was handled by lawyer Sharp while an array of legal representatives from the state Attorney General's office, including the parish district attorney, advised the defendant Mrs. Lucky.

During the course of the trial the full story of the purge was detailed by Sharp. Especially stressed were the facts that the purge was timed to coincide with the upcoming municipal election so that the registrar's office was closed May 12, ten days before the municipal primary on May 22.

In this way the office of registrar was not open to process any new registrants or handle any of the challenged voters.

In February Federal Judge Ben Dawkins handed down his opinion, in effect dismissing the suit and charging Reddix with bad faith, in emotional tones somewhat unusual for a federal judge: "Plaintiff's lack of good faith, in applying here for a declaratory judgment and an injunction . . . is shown plainly by his deliberate failure to seek re-registration since May 15, 1956 . . . His bad faith . . . his sheer stubborn vindictiveness . . . is doubly demonstrated by the fact that his wife applied for and actually was granted registration . . . he apparently prefers litigation to registration." The case was taken to the Court of Appeals where Judge Dawkins was overruled and the appellate court commented that the refusal to register Reddix represented "a shockingly unfair act by someone."[3]

The case involving the suit brought by attorney James Sharp against Mrs. Lucky was decided by Judge Dawkins against Lucky. After the Court of Appeals reversed and remanded the case, Judge Dawkins still denied the requested relief, because he found that the practice of segregation in the registrar's office had "been stopped voluntarily almost a month before this suit was filed"; he further remarged that the registrar had, in the purge period, segregated Negroes "for their advantage and convenience."[4]

Although Reddix *v.* Lucky was decided in favor of the plaintiff in that Reddix was held by the appellate court to have been illegally deprived of his registration, in a larger sense, the case represented defeat for the Negroes of Monroe since the court held also that there was no "class action" in the case. And since it was held that there was no class action, the ruling of the case was not applicable to the purge as such, but only to the case of Reddix.

After the defeat on the principle of class action in the Reddix case a virtual collapse of the Negro leadership in Monroe occurred. Those in the Guiding Voice had placed almost total reliance on this case, and its loss was taken as a great disappointment. In addition a bitter and highly personal quarrel developed between the two most active leaders, Reddix and Sharp, over the disposition of funds raised—to what extent these should be used in the payment of Sharp's fees and whether or not the Guiding Voice could maintain an office and a secretary or should operate more informally. Finally Sharp withdrew or was withdrawn from the case and Attorney Jesse Stone from Shreveport was called in to handle the retrial

[3] *Reddix v. Lucky*, 148 F. Supp. 108, 152 F. 2d 930.

[4] *Sharp v. Lucky*, 148 F. Supp. 8; 252 F. 2d 910; 165 F. Supp. 405.

of Dr. Reddix's case advocating a class action. At the present time, however, action on the case is at a standstill.

With the collapse and demoralization of Negro leadership in Monroe, resistance on the part of Negro voters challenged or refused registration seems almost to have disappeared. The Guiding Voice belies its name and guides no one, vocally or otherwise, and continues as an organization in name only. The registrar's office is no longer thronged with Negroes seeking to secure their right of franchise.

In 1956, after the elections, Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney of the Justice Department began action against the registrars and Citizens' Council leaders. Agents from the FBI were sent into the area to investigate and on Dec. 4, 1956, a grand jury was empaneled to hear testimony on three parishes: Grant, Caldwell, and DeSoto. However, no indictment was issued and on Feb. 12 the grand jury announced candidly that no more testimony would be heard on three other parishes: Ouachita, Jackson, and Bienville. Thus Senator Rainach's prediction that "it is not going to be easy to get Louisiana people to indict Louisiana people" proved all too true.

Aftermath of the Purge

In 1959, nearly three years after the start of the purge in Ouachita Parish, it is necessary to state that the immediate victory belongs to the purgers. Negro registration has been reduced from 5,782 to 776, and new registrations are discouraged with such vehemence by the registrar's office that in the past year or so there has been virtually no increase in the number of Negroes registered. Twelve other neighboring parishes have followed the lead of Ouachita and together have eliminated some 10,000 Negroes from the state registration rolls. In nearby parishes not a part of the purge, resistance to new Negro registration has stiffened where before it was permissive. Where before the Negro vote was considered politically, now politics has returned to the familiar white supremacy model—notably in the case of Monroe municipal politics.

As yet no effective remedy has developed against this latest disfranchisement of Negro citizens. The white community failed to develop action to block the purge, the cases in court failed to develop a principle of law by which the purge could be limited, and, most demoralizing of all, Negro leadership in Monroe collapsed after a name-calling, futile squabble. It is said that the only time the purgers showed fear and reluctance was during the investigations conducted by Ouachita by FBI agents.

In a real sense the whole people of Louisiana were the losers by the purge because during the time the Citizens' Council ran the registrar's office, government ceased to be public and was manipulated according to

the private purposes of a small group of zealots. Acts of the legislature intended to advance the cause of good government were twisted and misused in a manner wholly foreign to the intentions and purposes of "honest and legal registration." The evasiveness, the hypocrisy of those in power, the cynical frustrations of those attempting to exercise the franchises of citizenship have seemed more like a grim totalitarianism than a democratic polity.

From the long range point of view it may be doubted that the purges have really been as successful as the immediate record indicates. Negro registration in Louisiana is still well past the 100,000 mark and has been reduced only seven or eight per cent, considering all factors, rather than the 90 per cent reduction set by Senator Rainach as the desirable goal. Instead of engulfing the whole state, as undoubtedly was the intention, purges of Negro voters have taken place in only a group of 13 contiguous parishes and the majority of parishes in Louisiana remained unaffected by the movement.

While Negroes in Monroe did not succeed in fighting the purge effectively, possibly because of lack of able leadership, there is evidence that elsewhere in northern Louisiana determination and resistance to the purges are stiffening. Organizations have formed in several parishes and Negro leaders have come forward to assume the responsibilities of opposition. Even in Ouachita where organized opposition failed, Negroes appear to feel a quiet determination to see issues through and, although somewhat discouraged at the way events turned out, are far from defeatist in their hope for future remedies of the situation.

It is quite possible that in the long run the purges of Negro voters may redound against the aims of its sponsors and to the actual increase of Negro registration. By dramatizing registration and giving it an excitement and importance lacking before, the purges may very well ultimately increase the number of Negro voters. By overcoming apathy, the most important factor inhibiting registration in Louisiana, the purges can bring Negroes to the registration office whose interest might never have been aroused. A second possibility, which now seems a probability, is that the publicity resulting from purges will result eventually in a stronger Civil Rights Act which through federal pressures will open up areas of Negro registration previously restricted.

The political history of the American democracy has seen a progressive extension of the franchise and only rarely has this trend been reversed and groups deprived of the franchise. There would be a certain historical justice, therefore, if the purgers in trying to reverse the historic extension

of the suffrage should actually turn out to be the instruments of the increase of Negro registration.

(EDITOR'S NOTE: An item in *Southern School News,* May 1959, adds an interesting supplement to Professor Vines' report.

"In a ruling several weeks ago at Franklinton, La., U.S. District Judge C. A. Barnett ruled that members of the Citizens Council are free to continue challenging registered voters.

"Barnett said two Citizens Council members had a right to explore public records in a move to purge the rolls of Negro voters.

"He said they are acting within state law. The pair of Citizens Council members have challenged more than 140 registrants in a single precinct on basis of the intelligence provisions in state voter registration laws.")

A Coastal County: Quite Accommodation*

NEGROES IN BEAUFORT COUNTY along the South Carolina coast have a heritage of sea lore, folk music, farming—and freedom.

Beaufort Negroes were among the members of the North's Company A, First South Carolina Volunteers, during the Civil War. This was "the first official regiment made up of former slaves; strictly speaking, the first of all the Negro regiments with official military status."[1] Since that war, many have owned land and sent their children to school.

Schools still are segregated in Beaufort County and racial customs of the South prevail, but the atmosphere is more relaxed than in the majority of rural, Deep South counties.

The county once was an area of very large, successful plantations growing sea-island or long staple cotton, rice and indigo. Today there are a number of plantations still in existence but most are occupied by winter residents and used as resorts.

Farms in this coastal county are decreasing in number but growing in size. In 1930 there were 2,021 farms with an average of 62.5 acres; in 1955 there were 1,201 farms with an average of 110½ acres. In 1950, 87.1 per cent of the rural farm population was Negro; 12 per cent of the rural Negroes were tenants and only one-tenth of one per cent share-croppers.

About 60 per cent of the population is Negro. In 1957, the population was estimated at 12,357 white persons and 18,209 Negroes.

The Negroes of Beaufort County maintained political influence for a number of years after Reconstruction. In the period from 1878 to 1900 some 75 Negroes were elected to the South Carolina legislature; of these, 26 came from Beaufort. There were three Negro Congressmen from South Carolina in that period; two of these were from Beaufort. Until 1888 all elective offices in Beaufort County were held by Negroes and in fact some Negroes held elective offices there until 1896. At that time, white South Carolinians barred Negroes from the Democratic primaries. However, even in the years between this move and the outlawing of the white primaries in the 1940's, some Negroes voted in general elections in Beaufort County.

REGISTRATION

After the 1958 re-registration—required every 10 years in South Carolina —Beaufort County had 4,141 whites and 1,286 Negroes registered to vote.

*Based on a field survey by Courtney Siceloff, Director of Penn Community Services, Frogmore, South Carolina.

[1]Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro In The Civil War*, Little-Brown, p. 119.

Approximately 31 per cent of the registrants then were Negroes, although they comprised 60 per cent of the population.

For the most part, both white and Negro persons interviewed felt that at present there is no effort to limit the number of Negroes registered.[2]

Except for an occasional complaint that white applicants seem to be favored slightly, the general feeling among Negroes interviewed was that registrars are cooperative. They said Negro registration is limited primarily by apathy, a failure to realize the importance of voting, or, in some cases, a fear of not being able to pass registration tests.

In general, county officials and political candidates are not racists; in fact, they seem to avoid the subject of race altogether. Their attitudes are generally friendly toward Negroes and white candidates now are occasionally seeking opportunities to speak before Negro groups during their campaigns.

There are a number of Negro organizations working to increase registration. There is a Citizens Committee in Beaufort, a Voters Association on St. Helena, and the NAACP in both, which have active programs in the field of registration and voting.

Within the churches, it is primarily the lay members rather than the ministers who take the lead, although one Negro minister is establishing a social action committee primarily concerned with registration and voting and is trying to get a similar committee in all churches. The Negro teachers do not generally participate in registration movements. One remarked they feel closely watched and so do not feel free to speak out.

Lines of communication remain open between the white and Negro communities, although primarily on an unofficial level. There are four or five self-reliant Negro leaders who serve as spokesmen for particular requests. One of these is vice president of the United Fund and has attended state meetings in that capacity. A local Negro Citizens Committee, which is non-partisan, goes to see the city council and mayor. Its spokesmen are cordially received but have not been impressed by the degree of action that has followed. One recent achievement was that, whereas in past parades Negroes always brought up the rear, the 1958 Christmas parade was desegregated with Scouts and other marchers together.

Facilities and Social Institutions

There have been Negro elementary and high schools under private auspices for a long period. At the beginning of the Civil War a number of

[2]While Beaufort County as a whole is referred to throughout, the interviews for this survey were conducted around the town of Beaufort and St. Helena Island, which are somewhat more advanced politically and economically than the other sections of the county. Consequently, while interviews with officials deal with the county as a whole, those with private citizens may apply to a more limited section of the county.

Northern abolitionists came to the freed areas of Beaufort County to set up schools for Negroes. One of these became Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School, which continued as an elementary and high school until 1948 when the formal school program was turned over to the county. Two other schools were started in that period, one by the American Baptists which still operates as Mather School and Junior College. The Port Royal Training School, established in 1903 as an elementary and high school for Negroes, was operated until 1926 when it was turned over to the county. These schools had boarding departments, and thus pupils came from over the county as well as the locality.

In 1951, South Carolina passed a three per cent sales tax to aid in construction of schools and the operation of school buses; the following year, school districts were consolidated. Since then transportation and school facilities have been improved for Negroes in Beaufort County. Four new Negro schools have been constructed in the county north of Broad River, in School District No. 1. In 1951-52 the expenditure per Negro child was approximately 55 to 60 per cent of that for the white children. In 1956-57, when the expenditure was 70 per cent that of the white child, the comparative average costs in Beaufort County were:

	Elementary	*High School*
Negro	$136	$171
White	$199	$237

In the five-year period between 1951-52 and 1956-57, the cost per white pupil went down $3 and increased per Negro pupil by $60. During the 1951-52 school year the total library fund for Negro schools of the county was $35; in 1956-57, it was $7,000. Both white and Negro teachers receive the same salary for equal qualification levels. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate beginning teacher is the highest in the state. The salary in Beaufort County for the grade A certificate, 14 years' experience, is the second highest in the state. Of the white teachers, 92.4 per cent have grade A certificates, the highest percentage in South Carolina; and 37.9 per cent of the Negro teachers, the next highest in the state, have grade A certificates. The annual report of the State Superintendent of Education for 1956-57 lists the average salary for classroom teachers in the county as:

	Elementary		*High School*	
	White	*Negro*	*White*	*Negro*
Men	$4,250	$3,641	$3,543	$3,101
Women	2,977	2,716	3,054	2,992

The Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Depot has its own elementary school, which is desegregated, having four Negro pupils at present.

A white doctor interviewed said Beaufort County Memorial Hospital had the same facilities in some cases for both races. For example, the same delivery and operating rooms were used; there were equal facilities for private rooms and lying-in privileges. Negro physicians have been courtesy (non-voting) members of the hospital staff, although there are none on the staff now, apparently for reasons unconnected with race.

Among the white persons interviewed, including a minister, in the Beaufort-St. Helena area, none had heard of any of the white ministers speaking out pro or con on segregation-integration questions. A white layman prominent in the community indicated that attitudes vary considerably. He spoke, for instance, of one minister who feels that it is not a basic issue, that other questions are of more importance; of another minister who is an avowed segregationist; a third minister who approaches the problem as a psychologist and is apparently liberal in his attitude.

The fourth church in Beaufort has had Negro attendants, primarily students at the Mather School, who presumably have now finished school. About a year ago, there was a Negro applicant from the Mather School who wanted to join this church. The governing body voted unanimously for acceptance but reserved a section in the front of the church for her. It also was suggested to the Negro that she come to the last serving of the communion, to which she agreed; she was joined usually by at least one white person. A Negro Marine participated in one service, not sitting in the "reserved section" and while there was some adverse comment, it was not known if anything was said directly to the Marine, although he attended only the one time.

The Catholic priest said in an interview that he had Negro communicants; the Negroes are welcome to all spiritual activities, but their presence at social functions poses a problem.

Since Beaufort County is not industrial, labor unions have not been a major issue. However, there are a few unions, one with the reactivated state port at Port Royal. A public official has urged Beaufort Negroes to organize a union so as to obtain work, since union members have been coming in from Charleston to service the ships. This official said in an interview that most of the skilled construction workers of Parris Island are union members.

The daily newspaper read most widely in Beaufort is the *News and Courier* of Charleston, one of the South's strongest advocates of racial segregation. The weekly *Beaufort Gazette* also is segregationist in tone although editorials dealing with racial problems do not appear frequently,

whereas almost every issue of the *News and Courier* deals with the question.

A state park located on the Atlantic Beach has a segregated section for Negroes which is inferior in both facilities and layout to that for whites.

There are two drive-in movies in Beaufort, both of which are desegregated, so that Negroes can park anywhere, which is rare in the South.

As far as public accommodations are concerned there seems to be no desegregation whatsoever. However, three important military installations in the county are completely desegregated: the Parris Island Marine Corps Recruit Dept., the U. S. Naval Hospital, and the Marine Corps Air Station. Not only is military personnel integrated, but also the large civilian personnel.

Police and Community Attitudes

There was unanimity among both the white and Negro persons interviewed that the attitudes and actions of the sheriffs, deputies and local police were good toward the Negro community. None knew of police brutality.

However, there were comments by some Negroes about the one full-time Negro policeman on the Beaufort staff. One said the Negro community thought of him more as a night watchman than a policeman; the Negroes do not believe he could arrest white persons. Another felt the sheriff was lax with Negro prisoners, for some apparently were allowed to go home at night.

The sheriff, J. E. McTeer, took issue with these impressions. He indicated that in June, 1959, a white man was fined in the city court for cursing the Negro policeman who had remonstrated with him for disturbing the peace. Also the sheriff denied that prisoners could go home at night.

The sheriff said he would like to be quoted on the following: "If I had to be tried in my own court, I would like to change the color of my skin." He felt that the judge made it much easier for Negroes. He indicated that he, himself, feels towards Negroes as if they were his children.

The sheriff's attitude toward the Negro community is important in all rural counties in the South, but this is particularly true in Beaufort County, where the sheriff holds a more important position politically than probably any counterpart in South Carolina. He has been in office more than 33 years. He is a close friend of the district's Congressman and of one of the U. S. Senators.

There was an article in a state paper recently about the Beaufort County sheriff, who does not wear a gun. It is obvious that the sheriff does not take a hostile, aggressive attitude in dealing with Negroes in the matter of law enforcement. Sheriff McTeer said there had been Negro deputies in the county since 1900. He said he has three Negro deputies

full-time during the summer, stationed particularly around the Negro beach, and part-time the rest of the year. One has held the job for 33 years. He indicated there was no limit to the authority of the Negro policeman or deputies in arresting white violators.

The county seems to have had less racial violence over the years than many other rural Deep South counties. The sheriff said the county never has had a lynching. Both white and Negro interviewees could recall only three or four incidents in the past 30 years which led to heightened racial tensions.

In June, 1959, a Beaufort jury in General Sessions Court convicted a young white Marine of raping a Negro woman. Since the verdict was without a recommendation of mercy the death sentence was mandatory, a rare finding against a white man in such a case in the South. The decision has been appealed.

This was followed by trial of a Negro accused of raping a white woman. The defendant was convicted and sentenced to death; however, he was committed to the state hospital for a 30-day mental examination, and his counsel has still, at this writing, time to appeal the sentence.

There has been no known Ku Klux Klan active in the county since about 1930 and even then, the sheriff said, it did nothing but collect dues. There is a Citizens Council which, according to its own figures has 50 members; just about that number turned up at a well-publicized meeting in Beaufort three years ago. Despite the strong support given the Citizens Council by the *News and Courier,* which serves the county, the local group appears to have failed so far to interest many community leaders.

Some of those of both races interviewed feel there has been no change in Negro-white relations since the Supreme Court school decisions or events in Little Rock. Others think that while the white community is still accessible as before to Negro spokesmen, so far as individual relations are concerned there is a change consisting of a definite "standing-off" by white people. However, a white minister said he had heard discussions in favor of preserving public schools, regardless of whether or not they were desegregated. He said this was a change from the absolute defiance predominant soon after the Little Rock crisis.

Negroes were unanimous in feeling they now have a greater determination about extending their civil liberties.

Legal Action

There have been only two legal efforts to break the segregation pattern in the county, one handled through the courts and the other in the form of a petition. In July, 1948, David Brown, Negro of Beaufort, brought suit successfully against the State Democratic Committee to open primary elections to Negroes. The case came before Federal Judge J. Waites

Waring on the eve of an election, after the registration books were closed. Judge Waring ruled in favor of Brown and also ruled that the registration rolls be opened again.[3] Negroes voted without incident in that election and have continued to do so. Brown, a garage owner, said the suit neither led to any threats against him nor to any discernible hard feelings by white members of the community.

About two years ago some 75 Negroes signed a petition and presented it to the Beaufort County Board of Education for the assigning of pupils without regard to race. The Board did not respond.

Political Future

In 1948 four Negro candidates ran for the Board of Education but none was elected, in part because the Negro vote was spilt. One Negro has been a member of the Trustee Board, appointed by the Board of Education, since 1952. In St. Helena Island precinct, since Negroes began voting in 1948, several of them have met with white leaders to work out a slate of precinct candidates. The chairman of the precinct has always been white, but the other officers have been about equally divided. A number of Beaufort Negroes have served as delegates to county political conventions. The Beaufort delegation to the State Democratic Convention included a Negro in 1956, and two in 1958. (There was only one other Negro delegate at this 1958 convention.) Negroes serve as poll officials both in Beaufort and St. Helena in township elections.

At the central polling place in Beaufort, there are two ballot boxes, one manned by whites and one by Negroes, but when the line of white voters is long, a number usually drop their ballots in the Negro box. The ballots from both boxes are mingled before being counted, a Negro poll watcher said. Prior to the last election this same Negro had the voting lists and the boxes in his custody.

Five white and three Negro leaders were asked about the future of Negro voting in the county. All the white persons indicated support of the right of all citizens to vote. Although none professed any personal concern about increased voting by Negroes, a few thought there was a certain anxiety among some white men and women who feared the election of Negro candidates. One foresaw "some different reaction if more Negroes register, but I don't know what type reaction it will be."

The Negroes all felt there was a growing interest in voting among their people. They pointed to larger attendance at political meetings. They also believed that before long Negroes would be elected to certain offices. On this subject, a Negro businessman commented:

"If they are elected, some white people may be shocked but I do not expect any severe reaction."

[3] *Brown v. Baskin*, 78 F. Supp. 933; *Baskin v. Brown*, 174 F. 2d 391.

A Blackbelt County: Total Disfranchisement

BRAILSFORD R. BRAZEAL

Dean of Morehouse College

THIS IS AN ACCOUNT of disfranchisement in a Deep South county located in the area commonly called the "Blackbelt," both because of the color of its soil and its large Negro population. For reasons that will shortly become apparent, the identity of the county and that of the individuals referred to have been deliberately obscured. The field study on which this study is based was not intended to develop an "exposé" of the particular county in question. Rather, the object was to shed light on a way of life, still prevalent in rural areas of the lower South, in which all of the economic and political arrangements serve to keep the Negro in abject subordination.

"Blackbelt" County is still one of the most highly agricultural counties in the region, four-fifths of the population being farm-dwellers. Peanuts, pecans, and cotton account for approximately two-thirds of its annual income. Three large plantations cover a large portion of the county—two of them owned by Northern families. These plantations are big businesses and have adapted to the racial patterns of the area. Individually owned farms decreased from 1,502 in 1920 to 751 in 1954.

The county, then, has had little industrialization or urbanization which would tend to alter provincial customs. The dominant mentality is rural, with a strong Old South motif. This is due to the racial, as well as the agricultural, composition of the county. In 1958 the total population was not much over 5,000 and showed a sizeable decrease since 1950. Negroes comprised over 60 per cent of the total.

VOTER REGISTRATION

The racial make-up of the county has generated fears on the part of the white population that, if the voting system is not controlled, Negroes might "take over."

Official records show that nearly nine-tenths of the total white population was registered to vote in 1958. Yet a simple count of the population below voting age indicates that it is a virtual impossibility for so high a percentage of the total to be legally registered. One can only conclude that the white registration figures for the county are inflated.

Although Negroes comprise a majority of the total population, none

is registered to vote. In the mid-1940's, after the outlawing of the white primary, several hundred succeeded in getting registered. They were later purged, however, by supporters of a white-supremacist candidate for governor.

Despite the small population of the county and the much smaller number of voters necessary to decide an election, "Blackbelt" County carries weight in state politics. Under the lopsided apportionment of the legislature, characteristic of many states and all of those in the Deep South, this rural county has one-third as much representation as the most populous county in the state. Thus the racial attitudes which prevail there and in other rural counties of the same type heavily influence the workings of state government.

Socio-Economic Factors

Most "Blackbelt" County Negroes work as farm laborers or domestic servants for three or four dollars a day. There is a widespread belief among local Negroes that welfare administrators are slow to put aged Negroes on their rolls. They insist that when they do get on, they usually receive $35 a month, while aged white citizens generally qualify for $50. One interviewee commented, "A Negro is just about dead when he gets $50 a month."

Good housing is at a premium. Shacks abound in Negro neighborhoods. Only about seven Negro homes in the county have bathrooms and septic tanks, except for one small housing project built for Negroes in the county seat.

Most of the few white collar jobs in the county are available only to white persons, except for 35 teaching jobs open to Negroes.

Several Negroes own their own farms, which are reasonably large and profitable. However, these landowners must operate carefully within the bounds of racial restrictions that apply to all the Negroes. They feel this is necessary if they want to keep their credit open and their taxes from being arbitrarily increased as a punitive measure.

One effective way to suppress any group is to withhold the right and ability to obtain an education. For years "Blackbelt" County, along with many other counties in the area, failed to provide high school facilities for Negro children. In most instances, these children had only one-teacher elementary schools which often operated in a Negro lodge hall or church. If parents wanted a high school education for their children they had to send them outside the county at their own expense. Needless to say, there was a high school for white children and many of them went on to college. Very few Negroes were able to attend high school and even fewer college.

This meant that, by and large, Negroes could not form an educated nucleus to provide leadership.

In 1941 the Negroes themselves started a high school in an old house. Several years later, largely as a result of pressure from federal court decisions in other areas, the educational picture for Negro children in the county began to change. The elementary school for Negroes now has eleven teachers. In 1956 a new combined high and elementary school for Negroes was built and now has 24 teachers. Unlike the long established county high school for white children, the new Negro high school does not have a gymnasium. However, Negro taxpayers have helped pay off a bond issue which financed the construction of a gym for the white school. Each school has classes in agriculture but neither offers trade courses. White pupils, however, can go to an area trade school in a nearby city. There is no area trade school available to Negroes.

Church leadership among Negroes is a week-end affair. All of the Negro preachers live outside the county. Except for emergencies, they come in only for the week-end, and when the Sunday services are over they leave. Several of the Negro churches have received token building and maintenance contributions from the owners or managers of the county's three large plantations. These relatively small gifts—and the anticipation of more—were considered by most of the Negroes interviewed as one reason their ministers do not provide a citizenship program which would encourage registration. Also, some of the ministers are limited in the knowledge of what their leadership roles should be. One person interviewed said, "I am going to tell you the truth about these preachers here—no preacher will tell us about voting. They are scared." In any event, voter registration meetings in churches for Negroes have been rare, apparently because of a feeling of obligation to the leading whites.

Another consensus of the Negroes interviewed was that the overseers of the three large plantations support the rigid system of segregation and tend to exploit labor, both white and Negro. "These hunting reserves mainly for Northerners," as one Negro termed them, "help in many ways to maintain the pattern of segregation."

There is a strong Citizens Council in the county which helps police Negroes, and also whites, who attempt to deviate from the normally accepted pattern of racial behavior. Several of those interviewed said the white ministers have been silenced by the Citizens Council.

Whatever the reason, the white ministers do not have any line of communication with Negro ministers who serve the county. One Negro said, "Once there was a white minister here who would speak in Negro churches and show some brotherly concern, but they got rid of him." There seems

to be no adequate, intelligent communication between the two racial groups in other fields. There is no contact between white and Negro veterans, teachers, or civic groups.

Some Negroes get in touch with whites who wish to learn surreptitiously what other Negroes are thinking about. There is a reluctance on the part of Negroes to communicate with each other about civil rights problems unless they are reasonably sure that what they say will not be communicated to the whites.

Under present conditions, Negro teachers feel that they dare not assert any leadership in the civil rights field if they expect to hold their jobs. They do not openly encourage, or even discuss, Negro voting; nor do they seek this right for themselves. They fear the loss of their jobs and possible physical violence. They know of the firing of two Negro teachers and a bus driver who are relatives of two Negro men who showed interest in registering and voting.

A Negro woman who was a visiting teacher in "Blackbelt" County for 30 years decided "under pressure" that she should resign after she was caught unwittingly in the cross-fire of a local political campaign. The episode, as recounted by Negroes interviewed, took this course:

About three years ago the incumbent school superintendent was running for reelection against the principal of the high school. The principal's campaign was designed to appeal to Citizens Council members and their supporters. He attacked the Negro visiting teacher, who is regarded by those who know her as a woman of integrity, dignity, and culture, because her name was listed among the names of other school officials on the official stationery used by the superintendent. The latter was attacked because, it was charged, he tacitly admitted the equality of the races by placing the Negro woman's name along with the white names on the official stationery which was used by the Board of Education and his office. This was the crux of the campaign. The challenger's promise over the radio and in public political meetings was that when he was elected he was going to remove "that black nigger woman's name from your stationery that has been paid for by your tax money." Some white women resented this type of campaign. The principal was not elected. But the visiting teacher left her job and her home.

Efforts to Register

The above factors explain in part why there is not a single Negro registered to vote in "Blackbelt" County. But many techniques have been used to disfranchise Negroes.

Shortly after the Civil Rights Act became effective in 1957 four sub-

stantial, tax-paying Negro residents of the county decided to sponsor a mass meeting to discuss setting up classes to help prospective registrants answer questions asked under the state voters' law. Later, a registration rally-barbecue was given by one of the leaders. According to those at the rally, the sheriff drove near the barbecue site, stopped and blew his siren. The sheriff left and nothing else happened; yet those at the rally interpreted this as a clear signal that the sheriff was opposed to Negroes registering.

Nevertheless, the Negro leaders continued their efforts with some assistance from one or two Negro civic leaders from a city in the neighboring county. Their efforts were unsuccessful. Negroes said members of the Board of Registrars have resorted to familiar evasive tactics, such as taking would-be registrants' names under the pretense of enrolling them. Later these Negroes would learn they were not actually registered. At other times the registration books or office would be closed when Negroes sought to register. Some found that no one would tell them the names of the registrars. On one occasion, 25 to 30 Negroes went together to register but one of the registrars told them to come back after banking hours. When they returned at the time suggested, the registrars' office was closed. A Negro leader of the group was later approached by a white man who told him, "I know you are a good nigger—just leave that thing off; go up later." Another white man who had known him for many years said "You are one of the best niggers in "Blackbelt" County and I advise you not to bother with this business." This kind of advice from white persons has frequently served to deter Negro registration.

Another tactic has been to discourage outside Negroes from coming to "Blackbelt" County to "stir up trouble." After it was learned that one or two members of the Voters League in a nearby city were encouraging local Negroes to register, law enforcement officers apparently felt they should discourage visits by these outsiders. In the fall of 1957 one of the visiting Negroes had a picnic in "Blackbelt" County and invited a number of Negroes from his city to attend. On their way back home, most of them were arrested for speeding and drinking and each one arrested was fined from $35 to $100 for a total of about $1,400.

The highway through the county has long been known as a speed trap, although this method of raising revenue has been curtailed in recent times, following outside pressure and unfavorable publicity. However, even now drivers must be careful, particularly if the driver happens to be a well-dressed Negro.

Some Negroes characterize "Blackbelt" County as "one step down from hell." More specifically one Negro said, "I stay out of that county

because I wear a tie." To the uninitiated this would appear to be a casual, flippant remark, but it is not. In rural areas the wearing of a tie or dress clothing, instead of work clothing, by Negroes (except on Saturday afternoon, Sundays, or holidays) is regarded as evidence of a desire to break away from the customary racial pattern, and this is resented by many whites. It may not be the Negro's dress that is involved but his car, his house, his manner of speaking, or his desire to register and vote.

For some time the Voters League in the nearby city has considered methods of opening registration lists for Negroes in several rural counties. It believes that "if we can break through in 'Blackbelt' County, the others will follow." The League is aware that strong leadership against the extension of civil rights in the area is centered in the city, which is headquarters for Citizens Council activities in "Blackbelt" and elsewhere in this region.

The daily newspaper of the city serves a large part of the area. Its editor, a vigorous segregationist, is a Northerner who has been in the community only since World War II. He has characterized the South's segregation laws as no more immoral than United States laws concerning Indians and immigrants. The Supreme Court, he has said, is "very much bent on fostering social revolution."

To Negroes, the daily is known as an anti-Negro paper. Every Saturday it carries a page of "News of the Colored People," but this deals only with such personal items as marriages, deaths and social events. No news is carried on the page about efforts to extend the Negro's civil rights.

Many Negroes in the area are concerned about a network of opposition they believe is set to "pick off" progressive Negro leaders. A case in point was the ouster, several years ago, of the president of a state-supported Negro college adjacent to "Blackbelt" County. The Negro educator was accused of aiding the NAACP, because he sat next to a state NAACP leader at a public meeting. He was later summoned before the governor and the state board in charge of higher education, which subsequently declined to renew his contract.

The college president's difficulties apparently started when some of his faculty members and students decided on a quiet boycott of local businesses which treated Negroes discourteously. The net effect of the president's ouster was to neutralize college-based civil rights activities and to serve as a warning to other Negro leaders that such efforts would lead to reprisals.

Fear and Violence

"Blackbelt" County has underscored in a number of ways its opposition to even a fractional extension of civil rights to its Negro citizens. Negroes

feel that the sheriff's office has for years used brutality to keep them "in line." They still recall what they regard as a public lynching of a Negro in 1943. The then sheriff had arrested the Negro on a charge of stealing an automobile tire and, before jailing him, beat him in a particularly brutal fashion. As a court later characterized the incident, it was "a shocking and revolting episode in law enforcement." Apparently frightened by their own cruelty, his attackers called an ambulance, and the victim died in a local hospital. The sheriff and two former policemen were indicted by the federal government and convicted of depriving the Negro of his life without due process of law. Eventually, on a technical legal point, the case was sent back for a new trial. The second trial ended in an acquittal. The former sheriff was later elected to the State Senate. And among local Negroes, the case has never been forgotten.

A man who had worked under the perpetrator of this brutality succeeded him as sheriff. Negroes interviewed said that the present sheriff is opposed to Negroes voting and in fact to their coming to the courthouse except for trial. He too has killed a Negro. He said he acted in the line of duty in shooting to death a Negro sitting in a parked car, and that ended the matter. These instances explain why Negroes in other counties in the South center so much attention on candidates for the sheriff's office. But in "Blackbelt" County, Negroes have no political voice.

Some three years ago, there were three separate bombings of property belonging to three of the four Negroes who attempted to register to vote and to persuade others to do the same. The front porch of one of them was bombed, as were cars belonging to the other two. (Because of these bombings and other factors, Negroes in the county report that it is increasingly difficult to get liability insurance on their cars.) Although the explosions were extremely noisy in the silence of night, no white persons came to see what had happened. Those whose property was bombed wondered if most of the white population in and around the county seat knew in advance what was going to happen. Negroes quickly showed up at the site of each bombing. The victims were sorely disillusioned because all of them thought they knew some white persons who would befriend them. No white person has publicly condemned the bombings.

Since the bombings, the suspense of not knowing what would happen next has been a source of deep anxiety to the families whose property was damaged. Meanwhile, the daughter of one of the men has lost her job as a school teacher; his brother-in-law was fired as a bus driver and his school-teacher daughter also suffered the same fate.

The fourth Negro who sought to register was arrested for having illicit liquor on his property and sentenced to jail, although he finally got out of

this difficulty. Most persons interviewed believed his arrest was attributable to his registration activities.

Following the dynamitings, FBI agents came into the county to investigate. After several days of questioning the victims and others, the agents left. Undoubtedly, they failed to unearth information or evidence to support any indictments or reveal that a federal law had been violated. There are two types of reaction among Negroes to this FBI investigation. Two of the victims felt the agents were "on the up and up" but "some Negroes wouldn't talk" and the "good white people held their peace too much." Nevertheless, they felt the "FBI had the Crackers scared." Some outspoken Negroes in the nearby city condemned the failure of the FBI to piece together what they considered an obvious violation of the civil rights of Negroes. When the agents entered "Blackbelt" County, some whites sent word to the Negroes they could register but none have dared attempt to do so yet.

Finally, widely publicized racial violence in a neighboring rural county served as further warning to "Blackbelt" County Negroes and others in the area who might otherwise have pressed their plans to register and vote.

Prospects

This county is but one political and geographical unit in a system of counties in the Blackbelt which have decreed that no Negro shall have the privilege of registering and voting, or none beyond a token number that would serve as a safety valve against federal intervention. These counties are counting on a pattern of sporadic and potential violence to keep civic-minded Negroes from attempting to register and, by their example, to deter others from doing so. Dramatic violence is usually reserved for those Negro citizens who will not heed the warning signals and evasions. Long before Negroes go this far, the opposition seeks to detect signs which indicate that stern warnings are necessary, such as: "It's all right for you to go ahead and register but we advise you not to do so."

Negroes who are pressing for the vote in "Blackbelt" County state emphatically that "the white folks watch us like a hawk watches a chicken." And these Negroes in turn watch Negro informants who "carry information to the white folks."

Economic reprisals have been applied only on a limited scale. However, they indicate what might take place if a Negro resident continues to press for his civil rights.

"If you owe money on a place white men will block you," said one Negro who had felt this kind of economic pressure.

They think, too, of the Negro school teachers who have been fired.

Some local Negroes don't do business in the county seat now, and the local merchants are feeling the effects. On the other hand, if a Negro has been somewhat forthright in his insistence on civil and legal rights, it is alleged that he is unlikely to qualify for welfare or old age assistance benefits.

Considering all these factors, there is little likelihood that Negroes in the county will initiate any united effort to register and vote in the near future. It seems unlikely that any formally well-educated Negro litigants will initiate a federal suit, at least for some time. For one thing, a number of Negro teachers have not established voting residence in the county. Then, too, they feel they would be fired and would thus have to leave the county to obtain another white collar job. There is a dearth of Negro professional and business men and women who would have a reasonable degree of the economic independence which would enable them to provide leadership.

Under the circumstances, most Negroes in the county interested in voting feel that their only hope in the near future must come from federal action against the Board of Registrars. They reason that federal intervention would provide would-be Negro registrants with a degree of protection from local white hostility. Without this federal intervention they feel it will be a long time before Negroes will be able to vote safely in "Blackbelt" County and others of the same type in the rural Deep South.

APPENDIX

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FLORIDA

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Alachua	80,500	60,400	20,100	15,602	13,433	2,169	25.	13.9
Baker	6,800	5,100	1,700	3,820	3,423	397	25.	10.4
Bay	63,600	53,600	10,000	21,063	19,159	1,904	15.7	9.
Bradford	12,200	9,100	3,100	5,305	4,535	770	25.4	14.5
Brevard	86,200	75,800	10,400	21,019	19,272	1,747	12.1	8.3
Broward	265,900	218,900	47,000	92,604	84,997	7,607	17.7	8.2
Calhoun	7,800	6,700	1,100	4,303	4,038	265	14.1	6.2
Charlotte	7,200	6,300	900	4,168	3,895	273	12.5	6.5
Citrus	8,400	6,600	1,800	3,976	3,576	400	19.	10.1
Clay	19,700	17,300	2,400	6,312	5,402	910	12.2	14.4
Collier	13,900	10,300	3,600	4,491	4,164	327	25.9	7.3
Columbia	18,600	12,400	6,200	6,221	5,250	971	33.3	15.6
Dade	846,800	732,000	114,800	358,623	337,838	20,785	13.6	5.8
DeSoto	11,600	9,200	2,400	4.910	3,995	915	20.7	18.6
Dixie	4,400	3,600	800	2,018	1,948	70	18.2	3.4
Duval	427,200	324,400	102,800	132,105	105,652	26,453	24.1	20.
Escambia	166,400	131,000	35,400	60,033	51,956	8,077	21.3	13.5
Flagler	5,300	3,800	1,500	1,551	1,532	19	28.3	1.2
Franklin	5,700	4,100	1,600	3,420	2,897	523	28.1	15.3
Gadsden	50,100	21,700	28,400	6,317	6,310	7	56.7	.11
Gilchrist	3,300	2,900	400	1,704	1,670	34	12.1	2.
Glades	3,100	1,700	1,400	881	735	146	45.2	16.6
Gulf	8,900	6,400	2,500	3,736	3,234	502	28.1	13.4
Hamilton	8,300	4,500	3,800	4,317	3,805	512	45.8	11.9
Hardee	13,600	11,600	2,000	4,595	4,303	292	14.7	6.4
Hendry	7,200	4,900	2,300	2,702	2,339	563	31.9	20.8
Hernando	9,800	7,100	2,700	3,734	3,248	486	27.6	13.
Highlands	17,400	13,100	4,300	9,856	8,922	934	24.7	9.5
Hillsborough	359,300	305,000	54,300	114,938	105,116	9,822	15.1	8.5
Holmes	11,600	11,100	500	6,838	6,698	140	4.3	2.
Indian River	23,100	18,000	5,100	7,229	6,708	521	22.1	7.2
Jackson	34,100	23,000	11,100	11,530	9,440	2,090	32.6	18.1
Jefferson	9,500	3,700	5,800	3,470	3,038	432	61.1	12.4
Lafayette	2,800	2,600	200	1,902	1,902	0	7.1	0.
Lake	52,200	40,900	11,300	17,725	16,362	1,363	21.6	7.7
Lee	40,800	32,900	7,900	15,491	14,359	1,132	19.4	7.3
Leon	78,000	50,800	27,200	19,143	15,054	4,089	34.9	21.4

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Levy	9,900	6,700	3,200	5,552	5,139	413	32.3	7.4
Liberty	2,800	2,200	600	1,706	1,706	0	21.4	0.
Madison	14,200	7,800	6,400	4,570	3,617	953	45.1	20.9
Manatee	56,300	46,100	10,200	18,207	17,293	914	18.1	5.
Marion	47,500	31,500	16,000	15,022	12,018	3,004	33.7	20.
Martin	13,100	10,000	3,100	6,065	5,450	615	23.7	10.1
Monroe	54,000	49,000	5,000	11,504	9,856	1,648	9.3	14.3
Nassau	14,900	10,700	4,200	6,304	5,041	1,263	28.2	20.
Okaloosa	56,500	52,100	4,400	13,005	15,321	684	7.8	5.3
Okeechobee	5,100	4,000	1,100	2,514	2,147	367	21.6	14.6
Orange	237,600	201,200	36,400	59,504	56,358	3,146	15.3	5.3
Osceola	16,300	14,600	1,700	7,456	7,102	354	10.4	4.7
Palm Beach	214,300	162,700	51,600	73,300	67,009	6,291	24.1	8.6
Pasco	30,800	27,300	3,500	13,767	13,097	670	11.4	4.9
Pinellas	296,100	264,600	31,500	138,833	134,223	4,610	10.6	3.3
Polk	176,000	142,900	33,100	61,360	55,761	5,599	18.8	9.1
Putnam	33,500	22,000	11,500	12,800	10,979	1,821	34.3	14.2
St. Johns	31,300	21,600	9,700	12,775	10,605	2,170	31.	17.
St. Lucie	33,600	24,000	9,600	13,072	11,179	1,893	28.6	14.5
Santa Rosa	25,200	23,300	1,900	11,139	10,390	749	7.5	6.7
Sarasota	59,000	51,700	7,300	21,598	20,915	683	12.4	3.2
Seminole	46,200	33,000	13,200	11,110	9,529	1,581	28.6	14.2
Sumter	11,500	8,600	2,900	4,790	4,216	574	25.2	12.
Suwannee	14,100	10,200	3,900	5,709	5,312	397	27.7	7.
Taylor	14,000	10,700	3,300	4,550	4,483	67	23.6	1.5
Union	10,600	7,100	3,500	2,598	2,598	0	33.	0.
Volusia	102,100	80,000	22,100	48,206	43,350	4,856	21.6	10.1
Wakulla	5,100	3,600	1,500	2,994	2,601	393	29.4	13.1
Walton	14,200	12,400	1,800	6,189	5,479	710	12.7	11.5
Washington	10,900	9,000	1,900	6,302	5,664	738	17.4	11.7
STATE	4,448,000	3,603,100	84,490	1,593,353*	1,448,543	144,810	19.0	9.1

SOURCE: Secretary of State of Florida, July, 1958. Population Figures: Florida State Board of Health, February, 1959.
*Total of Democratic and Republican registrants. There were also 13,861 voters with other affiliation or independent; as there is no racial break-down for these, they are excluded from the county figures and the state totals.

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GEORGIA

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Appling	14,100	11,300	2,800	7,752	6,612	1,140	19.9	14.7
Atkinson	7,700	6,000	1,700	4,961	4,164	797	22.1	16.1
Bacon	9,700	8,600	1,100	6,127	6,105	22	11.3	.36
Baker	5,200	1,900	3,300	1,670	1,670	0	63.5	0
Baldwin	21,700	13,900	7,800	10,293	7,675	2,618	35.9	25.4
Banks	5,900	5,600	300	4,464	4,420	44	5.1	1.
Barrow	13,500	11,000	2,500	6,160	5,858	312	18.5	5.1
Bartow	29,400	25,200	4,200	12,442	11,239	1,203	14.3	9.7
Ben Hill	15,400	10,400	5,000	4,727	3,797	930	32.5	19.7
Berrien	13,400	11,600	1,800	4,580	4,177	403	13.4	8.8
Bibb	142,000	94,700	47,300	31,037	26,124	4,913	33.3	15.8
Bleckley	9,100	6,400	2,700	3,391	3,346	45	29.7	1.3
Brantley	6,200	5,600	600	3,993	3,767	226	9.7	5.7
Brooks	17,100	8,900	8,200	5,016	4,321	695	48.	13.9
Bryan	6,000	3,600	2,400	2,789	1,972	817	40.	29.3
Bulloch	24,600	15,400	9,200	9,289	7,899	1,390	37.4	15.
Burne	22,100	6,900	15,200	4,091	3,664	427	68.8	10.4
Butts	9,200	5,000	4,200	5,241	3,810	1,437	45.7	27.4
Calhoun	7,600	2,500	5,100	1,814	1,682	132	67.1	7.3
Camden	8,800	4,700	4,100	3,991	2,606	1,385	46.6	34.7
Candler	7,500	4,900	2,600	4,369	3,195	1,174	34.7	26.9
Carroll	35,000	28,200	6,800	14,605	13,680	925	19.4	6.3
Catoosa	17,600	17,200	400	10,008	9,938	70	2.3	.7
Charlton	4,800	3,400	1,400	2,333	2,293	40	29.2	1.7
Chatham	193,400	124,400	69,000	46,193	36,943	9,250	35.7	20.
Chattahoochee	1,200	600	600	292	284	8	50.	2.7
Chatooga	23,400	21,200	2,200	12,261	11,250	1,011	9.4	8.2
Cherokee	21,800	20,800	1,000	1,069	879	190	4.6	17.8
Clarke	42,700	32,400	10,300	17,391	14,255	3,136	24.1	18.
Clay	5,200	1,600	3,600	1,107	1,013	94	69.2	8.5
Clayton	33,900	29,100	4,800	11,918	11,441	477	14.2	4.
Clinch	6,500	4,400	2,100	2,748	2,429	319	32.3	11.6
Cobb	84,800	77,800	7,000	30,042	28,134	1,908	8.3	6.4
Coffee	26,100	19,600	6,500	11,000	10,058	942	24.9	8.6
Colquitt	35,700	27,200	8,500	13,965	13,000	965	23.8	6.9
Columbia	11,000	6,100	4,900	3,933	3,423	510	44.5	13.
Cook	12,700	9,000	3,700	6,500	6,000	500	29.1	7.7
Coweta	28,900	18,300	10,600	13,244	11,597	1,647	36.7	12.4
Crawford	5,600	2,300	3,300	1,651	1,496	155	58.9	9.4

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Crisp	18,200	10,300	7,900	5,506	4,785	721	43.4	13.1
Dade	8,500	8,400	100	3,718	3,678	40	1.2	1.
Dawson	3,300	3,300	0	2,172	2,172	0	0	0
Decatur	25,300	13,700	11,600	8,490	7,530	960	45.8	11.3
DeKalb	202,800	183,800	19,000	66,603	64,450	2,153	9.4	3.2
Dodge	16,200	11,500	4,700	10,756	8,728	2,028	29	18.9
Dooly	12,800	6,100	6,700	4,974	4,252	722	52.3	14.5
Dougherty	59,000	36,500	22,500	13,443	10,815	2,628	38.1	19.5
Douglas	14,000	11,900	2,100	7,778	6,946	832	15.	10.7
Early	17,000	7,700	9,300	4,017	3,812	205	54.7	5.1
Echols	2,300	1,700	600	819	804	15	26.1	1.8
Effingham	9,000	5,700	3,300	2,806	2,618	188	36.7	6.7
Elbert	18,300	12,700	5,600	10,116	9,012	1,104	30.6	10.9
Emanuel	17,800	11,500	6,300	9,014	7,252	1,762	35.4	19.5
Evans	6,400	3,800	2,600	2,689	2,206	483	40.6	18.
Fannin	15,700	15,600	100	8,522	8,503	19	.63	.22
Fayette	8,000	5,400	2,600	3,229	3,204	25	67.5	.77
Floyd	67,700	58,000	9,700	20,767	19,244	1,523	14.3	7.3
Forsyth	11,100	11,000	100	4,148	4,148	0	.9	0
Franklin	13,900	12,300	1,600	5,800	5,500	300	11.5	5.2
Fulton	571,600	395,000	176,600	133,291	104,877	28,414	30.9	21.3
Gilmer	10,700	10,600	100	4,460	4,454	6	.9	.13
Glascock	3,000	2,200	800	1,358	1,339	19	26.7	1.4
Glynn	35,400	24,600	10,800	9,464	7,425	2,039	30.5	21.5
Gordon	19,600	18,400	1,200	7,702	7,353*	348*	6.1	.47
Grady	18,900	12,300	6,600	5,907	5,076	831	34.9	14.1
Greene	12,500	6,100	6,400	7,781	5,053	2,728	51.2	35.1
Gwinnett	35,600	32,400	3,200	17,500	16,498	1,002	9.	5.7
Habersham	18,100	17,500	600	8,423	8,223	200	3.3	2.4
Hall	45,000	40,200	4,800	18,751	17,542	1,209	10.7	6.4
Hancock	10,200	2,600	7,600	3,794	2,064	1,730	74.5	45.6
Haralson	15,100	13,900	1,200	12,194	11,443	751	7.9	6.2
Harris	11,400	5,000	6,400	3,850	3,635	215	56.1	5.6
Hart	14,100	10,600	3,500	6,238	5,944	294	24.8	4.7
Heard	6,000	4,600	1,400	2,849	2,475	374	23.3	13.1
Henry	16,800	9,400	7,400	7,104	5,442	1,662	44.	23.4
Houston	28,600	20,600	8,000	7,739	7,259**	480**	28.	6.2
Irwin	11,600	7,300	4,300	5,200	4,500	700	37.1	13.5
Jackson	18,700	16,000	2,700	7,659	7,209	450	14.4	5.9
Jasper	6,800	2,900	3,900	3,334	2,530	804	57.4	24.1
Jeff Davis	9,800	7,600	2,200	6,190	6,134	56	22.4	.9
Jefferson	18,500	7,700	10,800	4,384	4,120	264	58.4	6.
Jenkins	9,500	4,500	5,000	3,196	2,502	694	52.6	21.7
Johnson	8,200	5,700	2,500	3,923	3,655	268	30.5	6.8

GEORGIA—*Continued*

County	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Jones	7,300	3,500	3,800	2,659	2,048	611	52.1	23.
Lamar	10,600	6,400	4,200	3,700	2,801	899	39.6	24.3
Lanier	5,100	3,400	1,700	2,344	1,892	452	33.3	19.3
Laurens	33,600	20,000	13,600	16,725	13,218	3,507	40.5	21.
Lee	6,200	2,000	4,200	1,310	1,281	29	67.7	2.2
Liberty	9,700	4,000	5,700	4,600	2,128	2,472	58.8	53.7
Lincoln	6,300	3,200	3,100	2,440	2,437	3	49.2	.12
Long	3,400	2,300	1,100	3,262***	2,201***	1,061***	32.4	32.5
Lowndes	42,700	26,800	15,900	14,564	11,860	2,704	37.2	18.6
Lumpkin	7,000	6,800	200	3,995	3,912	83	2.9	2.1
Macon	13,500	4,700	8,800	3,202	3,024	178	65.2	5.6
Madison	11,700	9,400	2,300	4.643	4,588	55	19.7	1.2
Marion	6,400	2,400	4,000	1,382	1,330	52	62.5	3.8
McDuffie	12,200	6,800	5,400	4,468	4,089	379	44.3	8.5
McIntosh	6,600	2,500	4,100	2,615	1,396	1,219	62.1	46.6
Meriwether	20,900	10,400	10,500	6,384	5,457	927	50.2	14.5
Miller	8,600	6,200	2,400	3,363	3,357	6	27.9	.18
Mitchell	22,700	11,400	11,300	7,673	7,298	375	49.8	4.9
Monroe	10,600	5,600	5,000	4,086	3,333	753	47.2	18.4
Montgomery	6,900	4,000	2,900	4,320	3,315	1,005	42.	23.3
Morgan	11,600	5,600	6,000	3,353	2,615	738	51.7	22.
Murray	10,600	10,500	100	4,997	4,962	35	.94	.7
Muscogee	144,100	109,900	34,200	26,588	22,859	3,729	23.7	14.
Newton	21,600	14,400	7,200	10,963	9,058	1,905	33.3	17.4
Oconee	6,800	5,200	1,600	3,596	3,224	372	23.5	10.3
Oglethorpe	8,600	4,800	3,800	3,157	2,958	199	44.2	6.3
Paulding	11,400	10,100	1,300	8,286	7,851	435	11.4	5.2
Peach	12,900	4,900	8,000	3,218	2,539	679	62.	21.1
Pickens	8,900	8,500	400	4,494	4,393	101	4.5	2.2
Pierce	10,900	8,400	2,500	3,769	3,388	381	22.9	10.1
Pike	7,400	4,100	3,300	3,016	2,520	496	44.6	16.4
Polk	33,200	27,900	5,300	11,006	9,852	1,154	16.	10.5
Pulaski	8,400	4,500	3,900	3,088	2,853	235	46.4	7.6
Putnam	7,500	3,500	4,000	2,936	2,366	570	53.3	19.4
Quitman	2,800	1,000	1,800	764	721	43	64.3	5.6
Rabun	7,400	7,300	100	4,878	4,867	11	1.4	.22
Randolph	12,300	4,500	7,800	3,078	2,585	493	63.4	16.
Richmond	154,400	106,200	48,200	29,080	23,260	5,820	31.2	20.
Rockdale	9,200	6,600	2,600	4,064	3,501	563	28.3	13.9

Schley	3,500	1,400	2,100	1,164	1,006	158	60.	13.6
Screven	16,900	7,300	9,600	3,562	3,027	535	53.3	15.
Seminole	7,700	4,800	2,900	3,201	3,172	29	37.7	.9
Spalding	33,500	24,700	8,800	11,930****	9,930****	2,000****	26.3	16.8
Stephens	19,400	16,900	2,500	8,869	8,242	627	12.9	7.1
Stewart	8,600	2,300	6,300	1,662	1,555	107	73.3	6.4
Sumter	24,600	11,900	12,700	5,647	5,164	483	51.6	8.6
Talbot	7,600	2,200	5,400	1,667	1,448	219	71.1	13.1
Taliaferro	3,500	1,200	2,300	1,669	913	756	65.7	45.3
Tattnall	13,700	10,500	3,200	9,904	8,224	1,680	23.4	17.
Taylor	8,300	4,200	4,100	3,450	3,103	347	49.4	10.1
Telfair	12,400	8,200	4,200	7,558	7,389	169	33.9	2.2
Terrell	13,200	4,700	8,500	2,858	2,810	48	64.4	1.7
Thomas	36,600	22,100	14,500	10,001	8,422	1,579	39.6	15.8
Tift	25,900	18,500	7,400	7,794	6,681	1,113	28.6	14.3
Toombs	18,100	12,900	5,200	5,713	5,543	170	28.7	3.
Towns	4,800	4,800	0	2,123***	2,123***	0***	0	0
Treutlen	6,000	4,100	1,900	3,559***	3,541***	18***	31.7	.5
Troup	54,700	38,000	16,700	15,940	13,836	2,104	30.5	13.2
Turner	10,500	6,400	4,100	4,367	3,893	474	39.	10.9
Twiggs	8,000	3,100	4,900	2,865	2,517	348	61.3	12.1
Union	7,200	7,200	0	4,944	4,944	0	0	0
Upson	25,600	19,300	6,300	5,903	5,437	466	24.6	7.9
Walker	43,800	41,100	2,700	24,451	23,324	1,127	6.2	4.6
Walton	20,400	13,900	6,500	7,678	6,873	805	31.9	10.5
Ware	32,800	24,100	8,700	13,736	11,418	2,318	26.5	16.9
Warren	8,000	2,900	5,100	2,201	2,006	195	63.8	8.9
Washington	19,600	8,300	11,300	8,400	6,696	1,704	57.7	20.3
Wayne	15,600	12,500	3,100	9,370	7,931	1,439	19.9	15.4
Webster	3,800	1,300	2,500	934	934	0	65.8	0
Wheeler	5,700	3,700	2,000	3,592	3,157	435	35.1	12.1
White	5,800	5,400	400	4,121	3,932	189	6.9	4.6
Whitfield	40,800	39,100	1,700	16,777	15,920	857	4.2	5.1
Wilcox	8,700	5,900	2,800	3,289	3,059	230	32.2	7.
Wilkes	10,900	5,100	5,800	3,654	3,364	290	53.2	7.9
Wilkinson	9,200	4,700	4,500	3,452	3,041	411	48.9	11.9
Worth	18,700	9,200	9,500	6,151	5,855	296	50.8	4.8
STATE	3,934,000	2,791,000	1,143,000	1,292,343	1,130,385	161,958	29.0	12.5

SOURCE: Secretary of State, September 1958, unless otherwise noted. Population Figures: Georgia Department of Public Health, July, 1958.

*Total reported by Secretary of State not broken-down by race. Negro estimate taken from SRC 1956 report; white estimate based on population reports.

**Total reported by Secretary of State not broken-down by race. White and Negro estimates by county Board of Registrars.

***Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates taken from SRC 1956 report.

****Not reported by Secretary of State. Estimates provided by county Board of Registrars.

LOUISIANA

Parishes	1958 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Acadia	55,050	43,771	11,279	21,828	18,324	3,504	20.5	16.1
Allen	21,883	16,550	5,333	8,816	7,053	1,763	24.4	20.
Ascension	25,919	16,744	9,175	9,406	7,382	2,024	35.4	21.5
Assumption	19,781	11,261	8,520	6,720	4,731	1,989	43.1	29.6
Avoyelles	43,311	31,288	12,023	15,999	14,045	1,954	27.8	12.2
Beauregard	21,030	17,291	3,739	7,787	6,747	1,040	17.8	13.4
Bienville	20,905	10,107	10,796	4,787	4,759	28	51.6	.58
Bossier	50,376	33,994	16,382	10,455	9,983	472	32.5	4.5
Caddo	208,722	127,707	81,015	55,688	51,222	4,466	38.8	8.
Calcasieu	112,461	87,039	25,422	41,967	35,603	6,364	22.6	15.2
Caldwell	11,338	8,025	3,313	2,572	2,534	38	29.2	1.5
Cameron	6,733	6,284	449	2,003	1,928	75	6.7	3.7
Catahoula	13,566	8,672	4,894	2,409	2,222	187	36.1	7.8
Claiborne	27,325	12,834	14,491	5,713	5,698	15	53.	.26
Concordia	16,968	7,037	9,931	2,262	2,090	172	58.5	7.6
DeSoto	27,434	11,403	16,031	6,012	5,526	486	58.4	8.1
East Baton Rouge	190,198	127,464	62,734	63,690	54,590	9,100	33.	14.3
East Carroll	18,681	7,243	11,438	2,028	2,028	0	61.2	0.
East Feliciana	21,198	8,343	12,855	2,939	2,485	454	60.1	15.4
Evangeline	35,908	26,626	9,282	15,901	12,815	3,086	25.8	19.4
Franklin	34,146	20,905	13,241	6,056	5,692	364	38.8	6.
Grant	15,783	11,732	4,051	5,277	4,752	525	25.7	9.9
Iberia	47,533	32,070	15,463	18,602	14,490	4,112	32.5	22.1
Iberville	30,479	15,440	15,039	7,853	5,917	1,936	49.3	24.7
Jackson	17,296	11,756	5,540	5,316	4,956	360	32.	6.8
Jefferson	130,226	108,398	21,828	66,127	59,392	6,735	16.8	10.2
Jefferson Davis	30,823	23,925	6,888	10,830	9,169	1,661	22.3	15.3
Lafayette	69,568	49,993	19,575	17,121	14,125	2,996	28.1	17.5
Lafourche	50,456	43,584	6,872	22,879	20,926	1,953	13.6	8.5
LaSalle	14,256	12,577	1,679	5,058	4,901	157	11.8	3.1
Lincoln	28,798	16,855	11,943	5,135	4,665	470	41.5	9.2
Livingston	23,238	19,511	3,727	7,107	6,543	564	16.	7.9
Madison	20,156	6,654	13,502	1,316	1,316	0	67.	0
Morehouse	38,276	19,308	18,968	4,849	4,647	202	49.6	4.2
Natchitoches	42,796	23,084	19,712	7,528	6,121	1,407	46.1	18.7
Orleans	643,979	424,440	219,539	194,421	163,132	31,289	34.1	16.1
Ouachita	87,967	58,006	29,961	22,755	21,979	776	34.1	3.4

Plaquemines	17,714	10,962	6,752	5,416	5,371	45	38.1	.83
Point Coupee	25,060	11,301	13,759	3,747	3,121	626	54.9	16.7
Rapides	105,119	70,082	35,037	27,924	25,294	2,630	33.3	9.4
Red River	13,460	6,480	6,980	1,973	1,958	15	51.9	.76
Richland	31,261	17,757	13,504	4,452	4,273	179	43.2	4.
Sabine	23,205	18,128	5,077	9,135	7,643	1,492	21.9	16.3
St. Bernard	14,944	12,919	2,025			802	13.6	
St. Charles	16,600	11,373	5,227	6,433	5,001	1,432	31.5	22.3
St. Helena	9,958	4,458	5,500	2,761	1,702	1,059	55.2	8.4
St. James	18,006	8,783	9,223				51.2	
St. John	17,653	8,565	9,088			2,426	51.5	
St. Landry	92,456	50,536	41,920	22,512	15,367	7,145	45.3	31.7
St. Martin	31,335	19,308	12,027	9,650	7,144	2,506	38.4	26.
St. Mary	42,703	26,845	15,858	14,021	11,363	2,658	37.1	19.
St. Tammany	31,177	21,381	9,796	16,129	14,059	2,070	31.4	12.8
Tangipahoa	61,991	41,135	20,856	21,031	17,554	3,477	33.6	16.5
Tensas	15,009	5,210	9,799	928	928	0	65.3	0.
Terrabonne	53,184	40,551	12,633	12,192	11,193	999	23.8	8.2
Union	21,164	13,390	7,774	4,303	3,935	368	36.7	8.6
Vermilion	42,245	36,711	5,534	18,753	16,863	1,890	13.1	10.1
Vernon	23,242	20,463	2,779	8,063	7,423	640	12.	7.9
Washington	44,852	29,838	15,014	12,961	11,444	1,517	33.5	11.7
Webster	41,189	25,890	15,299	8,277	8,197	80	37.1	1.
West Baton Rouge	13,448	6,354	7,094	2,315	1,301	1,014	52.8	43.8
West Carroll	19,488	15,709	3,779	3,335	3,265	70	19.4	2.1
West Feliciana	11,405	3,091	8,314	901	901	0	72.9	0
Winn	17,742	12,589	5,153			1,430	29.	
STATE	3,130,173	2,067,740	1,062,433	920,675*	793,265*	126,410**	33.9	13.7

SOURCE: Secretary of State, October 4, 1958. Population Figures: Louisiana State Department of Health, 1958.
*Excluding St. Bernard, St. John the Baptist, and Winn parishes, for which registration figures were not available at the time of the survey. The Negro registration figures entered above for these parishes are from SRC's 1956 survey, and are not included in the state totals or percentages.
**Plus 4,658 for the three excluded parishes = 131,068.

SOUTH CAROLINA

County	1957 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	*White*	*Negro*	*Total*	*White*	*Negro*	*% Negro*	*% Negro*
Abbeville	24,167	15,995	8,172	5,538	5,420	118	33.8	2.1
Aiken	63,075	41,719	21,356	20,216	18,454	1,762	33.9	8.7
Allendale	13,211	3,704	9,507	2,559	2,419	140	72.	5.5
Anderson	100,724	77,296	21,428	25,048	23,424	1,624	21.3	6.5
Bamberg	19,733	8,029	11,704	3,660	3,267	393	59.3	10.7
Barnwell	20,074	8,097	11,977	5,317	4,786	531	59.7	10.
Beaufort	30,466	12,257	18,209	4,141	2,855	1,286	59.8	31.1
Berkeley	34,609	12,427	22,182	7,060	5,147	1,913	64.1	27.1
Calhoun	16,490	4,515	11,975	1,773	1,699	74	72.6	4.2
Charleston	193,973	113,329	80,644	40,136	32,859	7,277	41.6	16.5
Cherokee	39,146	29,976	9,170	11,276	10,612	664	23.4	5.9
Chester	36,716	20,802	15,914	9,143	8,463	680	43.3	7.4
Chesterfield	40,417	24,346	16.071	9,597	8,196	1,401	39.8	14.6
Clarendon	37,376	10,372	27,004	3,782	3,458	324	72.2	8.6
Colleton	31,684	14,405	17,279	6,430	5,695	735	54.5	11.4
Darlington	57,480	30,098	27,382	12,635	10,191	2,444	47.6	19.3
Dillon	35,541	18,045	17,496	5,740	4,924	816	49.2	14.2
Dorchester	25,514	11,153	14,361	5,742	5,330	412	56.3	7.2
Edgefield	18,950	7,231	11,719	3,537	3,267	270	61.8	7.6
Fairfield	24,824	9,692	15,132	4,968	4,218	750	61.	15.1
Florence	90,885	49,189	41,696	17,953	16,090	1,863	45.9	10.4
Georgetown	37,160	17,127	20,033	5,578	4,667	911	53.9	16.3
Greenville	193,720	157,176	36,544	51,097	47,057	4,040	18.8	7.9
Greenwood	46,524	32,327	14,197	11,682	10,844	838	30.5	29.3
Hampton	20,258	8,625	11,633	3,460	3,210	250	57.4	7.2
Harry	69,224	49,692	19,532	15,122	13,892	1,230	28.2	8.1
Jasper	12,224	4,213	8,011	2,464	1,975	489	65.5	19.8
Kershaw	36,262	18,709	17,553	9,790	8,706	1,084	48.4	11.1
Lancaster	41,921	29,593	12,328	12,977	12,084	893	29.4	6.9
Laurens	51,396	34,988	16,408	11,033	10,102	931	31.9	8.4
Lee	26,754	8,229	18,525	4,908	4,166	742	69.2	15.1
Lexington	50,725	39,833	10,892	14,319	14,106	213	21.5	1.5
McCormick	10,859	3,867	6,992	1,399	1,399	0	64.4	0
Marion	38,196	16,349	21,847	6,252	5,280	972	57.2	15.5
Marlboro	35,204	16,409	18,795	7,411	7,016	395	53.4	5.3
Newberry	34,392	21,283	13,109	8,480	7,984	496	38.1	5.8
Oconee	43,441	38,219	5,222	8,277	7,717	560	12.	6.8
Orangeburg	78,513	27,910	50,603	12,288	10,068	2,220	64.5	18.1
Pickens	44,737	39,866	4,871	10,734	10,435	299	10.9	2.8
Richland	165,882	106,686	59,196	38,775	32,110	6,665	35.7	17.2
Saluda	17,679	9,952	7,727	4,351	4,135	216	43.7	5.
Spartanburg	167,990	129,872	38,118	45,084	41,914	3,170	22.7	7.
Sumter	69,385	30,494	38,891	9,704	7,574	2,130	56.1	21.9
Union	34,687	23,408	11,279	12,124	11,100	1,024	32.5	8.4
Williamsburg	51,222	15,736	35,486	6,390	6,156	234	69.3	3.7
York	82,092	56,145	25,947	18,966	16,552	2,414	31.6	12.7
STATE	2,415,502	1,461,385	954,117	537,406	479,711	57,978	39.5	10.8

SOURCE: Secretary of State O. Frank Thornton, as reported in *The State* (Columbia, S. C.), May 24, 1958.

The *South Carolina Legislative Manual, 1959* prints county registration figures as of June 10, 1958 (page 358); the figures given above were reported by the Secretary of State as of May 10, 1958. The later figures are not used because they are not broken down by race. The difference, however, is slight: a total state registration of 536,206, or 1,200 less than the May 10 report used here.

Population Figures: State Board of Health, January 1, 1957.

VIRGINIA

County	1956 Population			1958 Registration			Population	Registration
	Total	White	Negro	Total	White	Negro	% Negro	% Negro
Accomack	33,923	22,094	11,829	4,962	4,469	493	34.9	9.9
Albermarle	27,933	22,805	5,128	4,765	4,120	645	18.4	13.5
Alleghany	11,725	10,834	891	2,214	2,056	158	7.6	7.1
Amelia	8,299	4,128	4,171	2,582	1,975	607	50.3	23.5
Amherst	21,063	15,623	5,440	5,182	4,586	596	25.8	11.5
Appomattox	8,667	6,429	2,238	2,540	2,390	150	25.8	5.9
Arlington	158,710	151,207	7,203	44,526	43,252	1,274	4.5	2.9
Augusta	35,107	33,322	1,785	7,446	7,271	175	5.1	2.4
Bath	5,982	5,321	661	1,776	1,704	72	11.	4.1
Bedford	31,601	25,693	5,908	6,985	6,130	855	18.7	12.2
Bland	6,185	6,048	137	1,689	1,672	17	2.2	1.
Botetourt	16,555	15,112	1,443	4,740	4,740	0	8.7	0.
Brunswick	20,544	8,095	12,449	4,626	3,856	770	60.6	16.6
Buchanan	38,650	38,636	14	11,625	11,625	0	.04	0.
Buckingham	12,135	6,738	5,397	1,515	1,075	440	44.4	29.
Campbell	33,669	26,063	7,606	6,133	5,358	775	22.6	12.6
Caroline	12,788	6,108	6,680	1,912	1,410	502	52.2	26.3
Carroll	26,882	26,481	401	6,456	6,445	11	1.5	.17
Charles City	4,842	867	3,975	1,186	554	632	82.1	53.3
Charlotte	15,431	9,352	6,079	3,580	3,296	284	39.4	7.9
Chesterfield	56,044	46,385	9,659	12,595	11,325	1,270	17.2	10.1
Clarke	7,267	6,050	1,217	2,330	2,105	225	16.7	9.7
Craig	3,315	3,301	14	1,080	1,080	0	.42	0.
Culpeper	14,517	10,662	3,855	3,304	2,827	477	26.6	14.4
Cumberland	6,966	2,868	4,098	1,775	1,475	300	58.8	16.9
Dickenson	23,391	23,181	210	9,305	9,260	45	.9	.48
Dinwiddie	20,575	7,866	12,709	4,260	3,424	836	61.8	19.6
Essex	6,666	3,496	3,170	1,070	845	225	47.6	21.
Fairfax	176,371	164,269	12,102	48,580	47,506	1,074	6.9	2.2
Fauquier	24,401	18,206	6,195	4,120	3,937	183	25.4	4.4
Floyd	11,580	11,174	406	4,538	4,433	105	3.5	2.3
Fluvanna	7,289	4,492	2,797	890	808	82	38.4	9.2
Franklin	27,188	23,011	4,177	3,995	3,609	386	15.4	9.7
Frederick	20,400	19,972	428	4,265	4,220	45	2.1	1.1
Giles	20,090	19,547	543	5,001	4,950	51	2.7	1.
Glouchester	11,351	7,942	3,409	3,596	2,949	647	30.	18.
Goochland	9,280	4,512	4,768	2,625	1,950	675	51.4	25.7
Grayson	16,887	15,869	1,018	6,501	6,430	71	6.	1.1
Greene	5,321	4,641	680	1,787	1,700	87	12.8	4.9
Greensville	17,996	7,456	10,540	3,685	2,810	875	58.6	23.7
Halifax	43,418	24,223	19,195	6,332	5,750	582	44.2	9.2
Hanover	26,012	18,374	7,638	5,175	4,640	535	29.4	10.3
Henrico	86,821	80,776	6,045	30,813	29,958	855	7.	2.8
Henry	36,825	27,400	9,425	6,621	6,270	351	25.6	5.3
Highland	3,811	3,695	116	1,257	1,247	10	3.	.8
Isle of Wight	16,580	7,899	8,681	4,523	3,592	931	52.4	20.6
James City	7,370	4,037	3,333	1,465	1,123	342	45.2	23.3
King George	6,636	4,652	1,984	1,525	1,200	325	29.9	21.3
King and Queen	6,822	3,110	3,712	915	565	350	54.4	38.3
King William	7,949	4,650	3,299	1,405	1,100	305	41.5	21.7
Lancaster	8,911	5,316	3,595	2,075	1,660	415	40.3	20.
Lee	30,363	30,013	350	12,311	12,183	128	1.2	1.
Loudoun	23,764	19,788	3,976	7,919	7,498	421	16.7	5.3
Louisa	13,550	8,181	5,369	2,464	2,085	379	39.6	15.4
Lunenburg	14,925	8,134	6,791	2,660	2,200	460	45.5	17.3
Madison	8,784	6,621	2,163	2,110	1,985	125	24.6	5.9
Mathews	6,900	4,981	1,919	1,675	1,475	200	27.8	11.9
Mecklenburg	33,810	17,220	16,590	5,880	5,250	630	49.1	10.7
Middlesex	6,971	4,049	2,922	1,206	1,003	203	41.9	16.8
Montgomery	32,171	30,647	1,524	6,530	6,100	430	4.7	6.6
Nansemond	28,554	10,081	18,473	4,247	2,909	1,338	64.7	31.5
Nelson	14,248	10,229	4,019	3,444	3,078	366	28.2	10.6
New Kent	4,237	1,925	2,312	1,182	808	374	54.6	31.6
Norfolk	70,428	54,110	16,318	8,040	6,739	1,301	23.2	16.2
Northampton	17,861	8,085	9,776	2,795	2,275	520	54.7	18.6
Northumberland	9,594	5,391	4,203	4,550	3,070	1,480	43.8	32.5
Nottoway	15,964	8,921	7,043	3,220	2,655	565	44.1	17.5
Orange	13,589	10,208	3,381	2,531	2,274	257	24.9	10.2
Page	15,550	15,043	507	6,010	5,900	110	3.3	1.8
Patrick	16,307	14,999	1,308	3,980	3,900	80	8.	2.
Pittsylvania	60,674	38,597	22,077	6,918	6,425	493	36.4	7.1
Powhatan	5,823	3,534	2,289	1,796	1,365	431	39.3	24.
Prince Edward	15,993	9,259	6,734	3,450	2,750	700	42.1	20.3
Prince George	22,134	16,389	5,745	2,246	1,819	427	26.	19.
Princess Anne	77,104	64,438	12,666	16,573	15,158	1,415	16.4	8.5
Prince William	28,840	25,852	2,988	4,205	3,851	354	10.4	8.4
Pulaski	30,357	28,284	2,073	8,077	7,572	505	6.8	6.3
Rappahannock	5,839	4,875	964	2,360	2,150	210	16.5	8.9
Richmond	6,136	3,885	2,251	1,255	970	285	36.7	22.7
Roanoke	50,123	46,565	3,558	19,435	18,647	788	7.1	4.1
Rockbridge	25,054	23,013	2,041	5,179	4,834	345	8.1	6.7

VIRGINIA—*Continued*

County	*1958 Poulation*			*1958 Registration*			*Population*	*Registration*
	Total	*White*	*Negro*	*Total*	*White*	*Negro*	*% Negro*	*% Negro*
Rockingham	39,544	38,928	616	7,933	7,855	78	1.6	.98
Russell	27,858	27,161	697	7,052	6,963	89	2.5	1.3
Scott	28,398	28,134	264	6,360	6,320	40	.93	.63
Shenandoah	21,651	21,240	411	6,260	6,205	55	1.9	.88
Smyth	30,822	30,283	539	8,022	7,931	91	1.7	1.1
Southampton	27,038	11,161	15,877	4,155	3,630	525	58.7	12.6
Spotsylvania	13,770	10,685	3,085	3,900	3,500	400	22.4	10.3
Stafford	14,235	12,430	1,805	3,285	2,940	345	12.7	10.5
Surry	6,662	2,391	4,271	1,340	1,075	265	64.1	19.8
Sussex	13,628	4,726	8,902	2,910	2,275	635	65.3	21.8
Tazewell	49,395	46,807	2,588	7,487	7,140	347	5.2	4.6
Warren	15,622	14,456	1,166	4,090	3,911	179	7.5	4.4
Washington	38,308	37,415	893	7,864	7,686	178	2.3	2.3
Westmoreland	10,825	5,824	5,001	3,543	3,177	366	46.2	10.3
Wise	48,223	46,918	1,305	11,095	11,044	51	2.7	.4
Wythe	23,075	21,848	1,227	12,391	12,131	260	5.3	2.1
York	18,635	14,361	4,274	3,235	2,715	520	22.9	16.1

Independent Cities	*1956 Population*			*1958 Registration*			*Population*	*Registration*
	Total	*White*	*Negro*	*Total*	*White*	*Negro*	*% Negro*	*% Negro*
Alexandria	85,427	76,767	8,660	28,046	27,175	871	10.1	3.1
Bristol	18,093	16,986	1,107	3,230	3,000	230	6.1	7.2
Buena Vista	6,204	5,979	225	1,124	1,093	31	3.6	2.8
Charlottesville	29,975	24,616	5,359	10,638	9,467	1,171	17.8	11.
Clifton Forge	5,830	4,736	1,094	2,216	2,000	216	18.7	9.7
Colonial Heights	7,813	7,796	17	2,500	2,500	0	.2	0
Covington	11,453	10,353	1,100	3,215	2,755	460	9.6	14.3
Danville	50,006	36,824	13,182	11,450	9,893	1,557	26.4	13.6
Falls Church	9,752	9,592	160	3,352	3,297	55	1.6	1.6
Fredericksburg	12,597	10,658	1,939	4,411	3,853	558	15.4	12.7
Galax	5,423	5,094	329	1,360	1,350	10	6.1	.74
Hampton	75,980	58,805	17,175	17,440	14,811	2,629	22.6	15.1
Harrisonburg	12,188	11,326	862	3,385	3,200	185	7.1	5.5
Hopewell	18,722	16,052	2,670	4.310	4,000	310	14.3	7.2
Lynchburg	50,528	39,641	10,887	20,568	17,992	2,576	21.5	12.5
Martinsville	18,764	13,159	5,605	3,807	3,397	410	29.8	10.8
Newport News	44,778	22,355	22,423	11,369	6,626	4,743	50.1	41.7
Norfolk	291,896	218,108	73,787	69,310	59,422	9,888	25.3	14.3
Norton	5,139	4,714	425	1,459	1,386	73	8.3	5.
Petersburg	35,620	19,074	16,546	8,236	6,029	2,207	46.5	26.8
Portsmouth	88,073	54,927	33,146	15,724	11,415	4,309	37.6	27.4
Radford	9,999	9,415	584	4,198	3,957	241	5.8	5.7
Richmond	240,744	152,181	88,563	68,012	55,666	12,346	36.8	18.2
Roanoke	101,540	84,598	16,942	36,524	33,825	2,699	16.7	7.4
South Norfolk	24,105	18,762	5,343	4,535	3,850	685	22.2	15.1
Staunton	22,374	20,016	2,358	5,733	5,337	396	10.5	6.9
Suffolk	12,456	7,977	4,479	3,663	2,988	675	36.	18.4
Virginia Beach	6,958	6,658	300	3,714	3,591	123	4.3	3.3
Warwick	58,345	43,411	14,934	12,419	11,116	1,303	25.6	10.5
Waynesboro	14,051	13,028	1,023	4,309	4,165	144	7.3	3.3
Williamsburg	7,865	6,835	1,030	1,293	1,173	120	13.1	9.3
Winchester	14,700	13,377	1,323	4,087	3,996	91	9.	2.2
STATE	3,799,174	2,981,893	,817,281	944,727*	852,483	92,172	21.5	9.8

*Includes 72 Indians in Charles City County.

SOURCE: Secretary, State Board of Elections, January 15, 1959. Population Figures: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, May 1957.

ARKANSAS

County	1957 Registration			Registration
	Total	White	Negro	% Negro
Arkansas	8,008	7,308	700	8.7
Ashley	8,050	6,868	1,182	14.7
Baxter	3,597	3,597	0	0
Benton	12,308	12,284	25	.2
Boone	5,869	5,869	0	0
Bradley	5,566	4,443	1,123	20.2
Calhoun	2,907	2,607	300	10.3
Carroll	4,195	4,195	0	0
Chicot	6,286	3,761	2,525	40.2
Clark	7,083	5,872	1,211	17.1
Clay	5,337	5,337	0	0
Cleburne	2,839	2,839	0	0
Cleveland	2,886	2,536	350	12.1
Columbia	7,544	6,534	1,010	13.4
Conway	7,585	6,189	1,396	18.4
Craighead	14,239	13,929	310	2.2
Crawford	6,584	6,489	95	1.4
Crittenden	6,923	5,778	1,145	16.5
Cross	4,642	4,036	606	13.1
Dallas	4,268	3,240	1,028	24.1
Desha	6,852	4,693	2,159	31.5
Drew	5,000	4,500	500	10.0
Faulkner	9,223	8,767	456	4.9
Franklin	4,547	4,518	29	.6
Fulton	2,647	2,647	0	0
Garland	17,347	16,647	700	4.0
Grant	3,665	3,479	186	5.1
Greene	8,144	8,134	10	.12
Hempstead	7,034	5,884	1,150	16.3
Hot Springs	8,859	8,559	300	3.4
Howard	4,112	3,852	260	6.3
Independence	6,862	6,787	75	1.1
Izard	2,933	2,910	23	.78
Jackson	7,368	6,553	815	11.1
Jefferson	20,970	15,308	5,662	27.0
Johnson	4,892	4,877	15	.31
Lafayette	3,830	2,725	1,105	28.9
Lawrence	5,536	5,506	30	.54

Lee	4,171	2,805	1,366	32.7
Lincoln	3,871	2,569	1,302	33.6
Little River	3,730	3,230	500	13.4
Logan	6,041	5,996	45	.74
Lonoke	7,755	6,597	1,158	14.9
Madison	3,645	3,645	0	0
Marion	2,792	2,792	0	0
Miller	10,740	9,172	1,568	14.6
Mississippi	16,841	12,919	3,922	23.3
Monroe	4,389	3,453	936	21.3
Montgomery	2,625	2,625	0	0
Nevada	4,021	3,285	736	18.3
Newton	2,465	2,465	0	0
Ouachita	11,421	7,401	4,020	35.2
Perry	2,147	2,117	30	1.4
Phillips	9,512	5,900	3,612	37.9
Pike	3,242	3,139	103	3.2
Poinsett	9,003	8,653	350	3.9
Polk	4,803	4,803	0	0
Pope	7,059	6,969	90	1.3
Prairie	3,832	3,632	200	5.2
Pulaski	72,190	61,771	10,419	14.4
Randolph	4,428	4,403	25	.56
St. Francis	7,162	5,262	1,900	26.5
Saline	9,415	9,328	87	.92
Scott	3,275	3,230	45	1.4
Searcy	2,766	2,766	0	0
Sebastain	21,045	20,209	836	4.0
Sevier	3,406	3,205	201	5.9
Sharp	2,823	2,823	0	0
Stone	2,770	2,770	0	0
Union	17,928	15,158	2,770	15.5
VanBuren	3,300	3,280	20	.60
Washington	13,933	13,921	12	.09
White	9,780	9,480	300	3.1
Woodruff	4,140	3,224	916	22.1
Yell	4,975	4,902	73	1.5
STATE	563,978	499,955	64,023	

SOURCE: Report of Jimmie "Red" Jones, Auditor of State of Arkansas, 1958.

TEXAS

Statistical Estimates of Qualified Negro Voters

EXPLANATION: Texas has no personal registration for voting, and the closest thing to it is poll tax payment. The poll tax is levied on all between the ages of 21-60, with a few classes of people (e.g. some physically disabled) exempted from payment. For these latter persons to vote, they must obtain a Certificate of Exemption; so also must persons *over 60* who reside in a city of 10,000 or more population. Persons over 60 living in smaller places need not get a Certificate to vote, if otherwise qualified. The table below, therefore, shows (1) number of poll taxes paid; (2) number of certified, or listed, exempts; (3) number of unlisted exempts, i.e. persons over 60 living in places of less than 10,000 population. Some of this third group, of course, may not realize that they are eligible to vote.

KEY TO SYMBOLS: <>—includes both "poll taxes paid" and "listed exempts"
X —county includes a city of 10,000 or over population
E —estimate of county tax assessor-collector
EE—estimate of SRC consultant

Counties	*Poll Taxes Paid*	*Listed Exempts*	*Unlisted Exempts Est.*	*1958 Voter Total*	*Negro Population, 1950*
Anderson	917	188	656	1,761	4,864
Andrews	33	0	1	34	34
Angelina E	768	242	188	1,198	5,944
Aransas	54	0	9	63	107
Archer EX	1	0	1	2	16
Armstrong EX	0	0	0	0	7
Atascosa	24	0	12	36	240
Austin EE	365	<> 0	435	800	3,016
Bailey EX	29	0	6	35	239
Bandera	2	0	1	2	15
Bastrop	666	0	858	1,524	6,196
Baylor	6	0	8	14	108
Bee	120	0	55	175	470
Bell	1,007	13	211	1,231	8,646
Bexar	6,175	1,376	216	7,767	32,565
Blanco	15	0	23	38	105
Borden	0	0	0	0	24
Bosque	9	0	59	68	373
Bowie X	1,614	355	922	2,891	15,184
Brazoria	1,419	29	672	2,120	6,845
Brazos	700	350	533	1,583	9,192
Brewster	7	0	7	14	40
Briscoe EX	10	0	2	12	98
Brooks	4	0	2	6	39
Brown X	127	41	90	258	906
Burleson EE	508	<> 0	704	1,212	4,203
Burnet EX	26	0	16	42	220
Caldwell	370	0	448	820	3,068
Calhoun	118	1	58	177	712
Callahan	0	0	2	2	7
Cameron EX	88	0	39	127	732
Camp EE	532	<> 0	468	1,000	3,478
Carson	3	0	2	5	11
Cass EE	1,324	<> 0	917	2,241	8,657
Castro	19	0	1	20	64
Chambers	621	0	174	795	1,526
Cherokee	883	0	1,101	1,984	10,634
Childress	61	0	62	123	832
Clay	9	0	21	30	81
Cochran EX	20	0	10	30	164
Coke	0	0	0	0	5
Coleman EX	48	0	38	86	402
Collin EE	444	<> 0	244	688	3,792
Collingsworth EX	81	0	48	129	671
Colorado	535	0	687	1,222	4,436
Comal	15	0	1	16	277
Comanche	0	0	3	3	8
Concho	0	0	1	1	10
Cooke EE	112	<> 0	18	130	959
Coryell	8	0	49	57	424
Cottle EX	46	0	14	60	385
Crane	53	0	1	54	104
Crockett EX	12	0	6	18	106
Crosby EX	99	0	39	138	827
Culberson	0	0	0	0	4
Dallam	6	0	2	8	35
Dallas EE	17,074	<> 0	1,615	18,689	82,922
Dawson X	103	29	2	134	1,091
Deaf Smith	4	0	0	4	6
Delta	24	0	101	125	934
Denton E	200	0	105	305	2,321
DeWitt EE	387	<> 0	547	934	3,199
Dickens	14	0	31	45	369
Dimmit	3	0	5	8	63
Donley	13	0	20	33	253
Duval	4	0	6	10	23
Eastland EX	38	0	62	100	313
Ector EX	557	0	28	585	1,571
Edwards	0	1	1	1	13
Ellis EE	1,270	<> 0	852	2,122	10,843
El Paso EX	905	<> 0	57	962	4,182
Erath	4	0	25	29	148
Falls	321	38	1,121	1,480	8,590
Fannin EE	384	<> 0	490	874	3,282
Fayette	275	0	643	918	3,926
Fisher	31	0	48	79	561
Floyd	36	0	16	52	387
Foard	23	0	15	38	430
Fort Bend EE	909	<> 0	952	1,861	7,520
Franklin	50	0	54	104	424
Freestone	746	5	860	1,611	6,316
Frio	8	0	6	14	98
Gaines EX	14	0	5	19	119
Galveston	6,011	961	358	7,330	23,712
Garza	37	0	10	47	242
Gillespie	2	0	4	6	15
Glasscock	0	0	1	1	11
Goliad EX	77	0	105	182	638
Gonzales	224	0	560	784	3,926
Gray EX	75	0	2	77	623
Grayson EE	1,900	<> 0	232	2,132	6,187
Gregg	4,412	<> 0	690	5,102	14,963
Grimes EE	740	<> 0	948	1,688	6,116
Guadalupe EE	438	<> 0	541	979	3,622
Hale EE	89	0	11	100	1,039
Hall EX	118	0	38	156	986
Hamilton	0	0	1	1	1
Hansford	0	0	0	0	0
Hardeman EX	99	0	65	164	822
Hardin	761	4	334	1,099	3,079
Harris	44,282	<> 0	1,112	45,994	149,286
Harrison EE	2,000	<>200	1,543	3,743	24,717
Hartley	0	0	1	1	11
Haskell	35	0	45	80	887
Hays	128	0	187	315	1,144
Hemphill	0	0	0	0	1
Henderson	463	0	518	981	4,766
Hidalgo EX	73	0	77	150	609
Hill	105	0	490	595	4,677
Hockley	31	0	28	59	940
Hood	4	0	25	29	30
Hopkins	201	0	292	493	2,631
Houston	701	4	1,050	1,755	8,918
Howard X	155	27	4	186	890
Hudspeth	0	0	1	10	25
Hunt EE	738	<> 0	260	998	6,309
Hutchinson	113	28	31	172	522
Irion EX	0	0	1	1	10
Jack EX	8	0	4	12	74
Jackson	166	1	202	369	1,714

TEXAS—*Continued*

Counties	*Poll Taxes Paid*	*Listed Exempts*	*Unlisted Exempts Est.*	*1958 Voter Total*	*Negro Population, 1950*
Jasper	636	3	572	1,211	5,305
Jeff Davis	2	0	3	5	26
Jefferson	8,616	1,383	162	10,161	44,122
Jim Hogg	2	0	1	3	13
Jim Wells EX	48	0	3	51	401
Johnson	80	3	98	181	1,761
Jones	58	0	109	167	1,333
Karnes	74	1	95	170	59
Kaufman EE	1,042	<> 0	465	1,507	8,905
Kendall	8	0	19	27	60
Kenedy	0	0	0	0	0
Kent EX	6	0	4	10	48
Kerr EX	68	0	56	114	564
Kimble	1	0	2	3	5
King EX	7	0	2	9	62
Kinney	56	0	36	92	221
Kleberg	253	0	2	255	810
Knox	21	0	42	63	613
Lamar X	561	276	363	1,200	7,971
Lamb EX	159	0	44	203	1,326
Lampasas EX	24	0	38	62	201
LaSalle EX	2	0	5	7	15
Lavaca	127	0	372	499	2,278
Lee EE	326	<> 0	425	751	2,695
Leon EE	682	<> 0	636	1,318	4,737
Liberty	1,144	<> 22	590	1,756	6,071
Limestone	1,305	22	827	2,154	7,468
Lipscomb	0	0	1	1	2
Live Oak	0	0	2	2	31
Llano EX	6	0	7	13	54
Loving	4	0	0	4	0
Lubbock X	404	90	48	542	7,893
Lynn	28	0	23	51	592
Madison	194	30	315	539	2,618
Marion EE	885	<> 0	721	1,606	5,782
Martin EX	32	0	8	40	263
Mason	0	0	4	3	64
Matagorda EE	571	<> 0	601	1,182	4,809
Maverick	0	0	4	4	10
McCulloch EX	44	0	35	79	370
McLennan EE	4,000	<> 0	800	4,800	22,329
McMullen	0	0	1	10	5
Medina	12	0	32	44	207
Menard EX	3	0	5	8	29
Midland	672	78	13	763	2,123
Milam	210	0	715	925	5,150
Mills	0	0	1	1	2
Mitchell E	200	0	63	263	905
Montague	0	0	0	0	1
Montgomery	1,084	0	704	1,788	6,149
Moore	0	0	1	1	6
Morris	269	2	274	545	3,126
Motley	18	0	16	34	259
Nacogdoches X	879	191	429	1,499	8,655
Navarro X	785	200	550	1,535	9,886
Newton	631	4	436	1,071	3,824
Nolan X	61	23	6	90	783
Nueces X	1,566	100	30	1,696	7,958
Ochiltree	0	0	0	0	0
Oldham	0	0	0	0	0
Orange EE	632	<> 0	32	664	4,387
Palo Pinto E	100	0	82	182	668
Panola	891	0	543	1,434	6,643
Parker EX	32	0	54	86	263
Parmer EX	2	0	1	3	17
Pecos	12	0	6	18	136
Polk EE	648	<> 0	599	1,247	4,504
Potter X	184	133	2	319	3,556
Presidio	1	0	9	10	57
Rains EX	51	0	41	92	424
Randall	0	0	4	4	47
Reagan EX	17	0	3	20	141
Real	1	0	0	1	8
Red River	318	0	647	965	5,230
Reeves EX	33	0	10	43	276
Refugio EX	134	0	101	235	1,120
Roberts	0	0	0	0	0
Robertson	753	0	1,147	1,900	8,212
Rockwall EE	197	<> 0	116	313	1,688
Runnels	0	0	60	60	509
Rusk	2,093	29	1,258	3,380	12,632
Sabine EE	322	<> 0	185	507	2,240
San Augustine	236	0	302	538	3,068
San Jacinto EE	542	<> 0	528	1,070	3,767
San Patricio	52	0	41	93	723
San Saba	7	3	11	21	70
Schleicher EX	12	0	0	17	99
Scurry EX	47	0	15	62	341
Shackelford	8	0	17	25	135
Shelby EE	700	0	584	1,284	5,916
Sherman	0	0	0	0	2
Smith EX	2,000	500	1,276	3,776	22,291
Somervell	0	0	0	0	2
Starr	0	0	1	0	3
Stephens	151	0	50	201	359
Sterling EX	1	0	0	1	13
Stonewall EX	12	0	14	26	101
Sutton	4	0	1	5	33
Swisher	4	0	6	10	104
Tarrant X	4,590	433	242	5,265	39,674
Taylor X EX	307	0	26	333	2,561
Terrell	1	0	3	4	13
Terry EX	46	0	16	62	382
Throckmorton	0	0	1	1	1
Titus	566	0	305	871	3,197
Tom Green X	500	110	2	612	3,091
Travis	3,919	961	473	5,353	22,493
Trinity	1,100	7	417	1,524	2,688
Tyler	227	0	205	432	2,232
Upshur EE	919	<> 0	604	1,523	6,009
Upton	84	0	11	95	207
Uvalde	10	0	23	33	193
Val Verde X	43	15	2	60	355
Van Zandt EE	181	0	180	361	1,543
Victoria X	420	46	182	648	3,073
Walker	792	0	885	1,677	7,494
Waller EE	765	<> 0	626	1,391	6,328
Ward	76	1	21	98	319
Washington EE	846	<> 0	1,202	2,048	6,993
Webb X	1	3	0	4	79
Wharton EE	949	<> 0	1,008	1,957	7,843
Wheeler	10	0	25	35	288
Wichita X	803	191	27	1,021	6,276
Wilbarger EX	210	0	22	323	1,746
Willacy EX	13	0	12	25	110
Williamson	56	0	655	711	5,864
Wilson	24	0	60	84	310
Winkler	71	0	6	77	170
Wise	7	0	16	23	135
Wood	328	0	399	677	3,124
Yoakum	17	0	1	18	13
Young	17	0	9	26	140
Zapata	0	0	0	0	1
Zavala	23	1	7	31	95
TOTALS	163,773	8,954	54,291	226,818	977,458

SOURCE: SRC Consultant—Population Figures: 1950 Census.

[1962?]

NEGRO VOTING

IN

LOUISIANA

Prepared by: Baton Rouge

Committee
On
Registration
Education

1st Edition

"...however painful it may be for us to change, not to change will be fatal." James Baldwin

This pamphlet has been written to present an historical sketch of the Negro's strive to exercise his God-given and constitutional right to vote in our democratic society. The struggle of the Negro in the Southland to secure this right has been one of humiliation and suffering. Police brutality, political and economic intimidations, and other legal and social impediments have been consistently directed against the Negro in an attempt to maintain the status quo and to prevent him from achieving political and social equality.

To eliminate these unjust acts and to secure our just rights, we need more federal legislation and aggressive action in the area of civil rights and liberties, and in voting in particular. But most of all, we need to end fear and apathy among our people and to give them a fighting desire to "register and vote."

It is the sincere hope of those who prepared this pamphlet that, as you read these few pages, you will arrive at a deeper understanding of the necessity of <u>every</u> eligible Negro registering and voting. The struggle has not been easy in the past, nor will it be easy in the future. However, struggle we must, each of us, as individuals; for, it is in the individual that the strength and hope of the future lie.

The History of Negro Suffrage in Louisiana

The Vote in Reconstruction

Negro participation in politics began with Reconstruction in 1867. Prior to that time, Negro people in Louisiana had no voice in the policies of their state or of the United States of America. At the beginning of Reconstruction, the registration books were opened to Negroes. Under Federal law, every potential male voter, excluding those disfranchised for their attempts to overthrow the Federal Government during the Civil War, was to be registered. Federal troops were dispersed throughout the South to enforce the law and to guarantee Negroes their right to vote. In Louisiana in 1860, the Negro population was 350,000; and the white, 357,000. In 1867, Negroes began to register, and by the end of the year there were 82,000 Negroes and 44,000 whites registered. At the Constitutional Convention, there were 49 Negroes and 49 whites present. Thus, Negroes held the balance of power.

During the summer and fall of 1867, the Negro masses were stirred into an unparalleled ferment of political activity. At open-air meetings, Negro leaders began to voice their opinions to the masses, demanding civil equality for all. They began to campaign for political offices with a zeal and determination that stunned the white population.

The Minority of the South, for the first time, was experiencing the power of the ballot, and with it was making enormous strides toward freedom and equality. Within a few years, Negroes were elected to high offices--governors, sheriffs, mayors, and congressmen--throughout the South. They did not seek to dominate, but to use the power which was rightfully theirs.

These politically starved were prevaded by a spirit of great hope in the future--particularly in education.

Opposition to Negro political power sprang from every corner of the South. The baby had not begun to walk when men sat down to plan his funeral. The Klan, under the leadership of Nathan Bedford Forrest (leader of the Fort Pillow Massacre in which thousands of Negroes were slaughtered), became the epitomy of anti-Negro sentiment. By economic intimidation and political assassination, by whipings and maimings, by the knife, whip, and rope, the Klan, and similar organizations, set out to reduce Negroes to political impotence. All manner of intimidations were raised against the Negro population; but Negro power was deeply entrenched, and nothing short of full-scale revolution could dislodge it. Aware of this, the underground terrorist organizations opened war on the Negro voters. They left the politicians alone, for they knew that the power of the Negro politicians was in the hands of the Negro voters. Negro homes were raided; the occupants were

beaten and sometimes killed; roads leading to the polls were blocked by armed mobs; whites came from across the state line to "stack the ballots." With the attack on the individual, the end of Negro voting strength was in sight.

The Fall of the Negro Vote

As Reconstruction came to a close in 1877, there were more registered Negro voters than white. Then came the turning point. The elections of 1878 and 1884 were marked by rioting and violence on the part of whites attempting to overthrow administrations in which Negroes were prominent. By means of threats, physical violence, and roll purges, the feat was soon accomplished. In 1888, there were 127,923 Negroes and 126,884 whites registered. However, by 1898, registered voters had dropped to 74,133 whites and only 12,902 Negroes.

This tremendous drop in white, as well as Negro, registration was a direct result of the 1898 Constitutional Convention. During this Convention, a campaign was initiated to exclude Negroes from the polls. The delegates interpreted their mandate to be: Disenfranchise as many Negroes and as few whites as possible--without violating the Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution; and do this in such a way that future elections are perfectly "free and fair." To do this, the Convention adopted the now-famous "Section 5" or

"Grandfather Clause" of the Louisiana Constitution. By virtue of its provisions, as explained by one delegate, "No man who was a voter on January 1, 1867, or prior thereto, nor his son, nor his grandson, nor any foreigner naturalized prior to January 1, 1898, provided he has resided in Louisiana five years next preceeding his application to register, can be denied the right to vote by reason of his failure to possess the educational or property qualifications prescribed by the Constitution." In other words, anyone who was registered before 1867--or whose father or grandfather was so registered--or who was naturalized before 1898, did not have to meet the literacy or property requirements for voting. This, for all practical purposes, limited suffrage in Louisiana to white males; for prior to 1867, Negroes had not been able to register.

Under the new qualifications for voters, Negroes soon constituted only 4.1% of those registered to vote. From 1910 through 1944, the number of registered Negroes never exceeded 1% of the total potential electorate. Toward the close of World War II, Negro registration again began to increase. By 1948, the number of registered Negroes had risen from 1,672 to 28,177. Six years later, the proportion of the voting age Negro population which was registered had risen from 5% to 27%. This increase brought about new and stronger efforts, on the part of the white citizens, to curtail Negro suffrage.

In July, 1954, the State Legislature established the Joint Legislative Committee "to provide ways and means whereby our existing social order shall be preserved and our institutions and ways of life...maintained" by a program "to maintain segregation of the races in all phases of our life in accordance with the customs, traditions, and laws of our State." The Committee was empowered to investigate all relevant matters. A series of conferences were held jointly with the State Board of Registration to discuss "uniform enforcement of Louisiana voter qualification laws" (i.e., reducing Negro registration).

Another form which these efforts took was the Citizens' Council movement, which began in Mississippi in 1954--shortly after the Supreme Court handed down its history-making decision on school desegregation in Brown vs. Board of Education. State and local associations quickly sprang up throughout the South. The Association of the Citizens' Council of Louisiana (ACCL) was chartered in early 1956 and worked very closely with the Joint Legislative Committee. The first purpose in its constitution is "to protect and preserve by all legal means our historical Southern Social Institutions in all their aspects..."

First, the Council decided upon a "thorough-going cleaning of our registration rolls," and definite steps were taken

to remove registered Negroes from the roll books. In September, 1956, the Council purged the registration rolls in Bienville Parish. In the spring of 1959, the Council in Washington Parish undertook a similar inspection of the rolls to challenge "illegally registered" voters. Despite a suit brought by the registrar in the state courts to stop them, the Council succeeded in disenfranchising, as illegally registered, 85% of the Negro and .07% of the white voters in Washington Parish. Federal Courts subsequently ordered the re-registration of these voters.

During the regular session of the 1960 Louisiana Legislature, a series of laws, known as the "Segregation Law Package," were passed. The "package" included an amendment to the Louisiana Constitution which made substantial changes in the voter qualification laws. One of the changes is directed at the character of the prospective voter. Convictions for misdemeanors (other than traffic and game law violations), participation in common law marriage, and parentage of illegitimate children constitute "bad character" and are disqualifiers. Moreover, character disqualifiers "shall not be deemed exclusive...but said bad character may be established by any competent evidence."*

*Note: Also in the "package" were new breach of the peace laws, which make it impossible for some persons to legally (as defined by Louisiana) exercise their rights under the U.S. Constitution. For instance, they may be arrested for refusing to move from the premises when so ordered by the owner or manager because of race.

The "package" abolished the old provisions that illiterates could register by dictating the information for the LR-1 form. However, illiterates already registered are not, therefore, to be removed from the rolls. Before the passage of the bill, 25,498 white and 16,743 Negro illiterates were registered.

In addition, applicants must now demonstrate that they are "well disposed to the good order and happiness of the State of Louisiana by executing an affidavit affirming that (they) will faithfully and fully abide by all of the laws of the State of Louisiana." This, of course, eliminates anyone who actively opposses segregation.

During the 1962 session of the State Legislature, additional laws were passed to prevent or severely limit further Negro registration. The State Board of Registration is to design a literacy test on American citizenship which applicants will now be required to pass. Though the information covered by the test in each parish must be the same, the organization of this information is left to the discretion of the individual registrar. Also, additions and revisions have further complicated the LR-1 registration form.

It is in such a climate of official State opposition that Negroes must attempt to register, and that registrars must perform their duties. Evidence received at the Civil Rights Commission's Louisiana hearing shows that the campaign to disenfranchise Negroes has met with some success in at least 11

parishes: Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, East Carroll, Jackson, Madison, Ouachita, Plaquemines, Red River, St. Helena, and Webster. An attempted purge in Washington Parish has already been discussed. In Vienville Parish, a Justice Department suit to reinstate purged voters is still pending in the Federal Courts.

Requirements for Registration

To register to vote in Louisiana, an applicant must be 21 years of age, a resident of the state for one year, a resident of his parish for six months, and a resident of his precinct for four months. He must, as discussed above, be of "good character," and he must "understand the duties and the obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government. A special form, the LR-1, must be used when registering. On this form, one must give his exact age (in years, months, and days), color, sex, address, occupation, and previous place of registration. A prospective voter must be able to read and interpret, to the satisfaction of the registrar, any clause of the U.S. Constitution or Louisiana Constitution. He must also be able to prove his identity. Under the Constitution, "If the registrar has good reason to believe that he is not the same person, he may require the applicant to produce two credible registered voters of his precinct to make oath to that effect."

Techniques of Discrimination--Case Studies

Hide and Seek

When Negroes wanted to register in Plaquemines, they were unable to find the registrar. As one man put it, "It was something like a game of hide and seek." Only after Negroes filed suit in a Federal Court was a permanent office for registration established in Plaquemines Parish.

A witness before the Civil Rights Commission testified that in Madison Parish (where no Negroes were registered) he and several other Negroes went to the registrar's office in July, 1960. Instead of giving them application forms, the registrar told them to see the sheriff. He made two subsequent trips to the office, but on both occasions found it closed.

The Silent Treatment

In some parishes, applicants are not even told whether or not they have qualified to register. Negroes Hester and Eugene Williams live on farms 35 miles from the seat of Bossier Parish. Each time they tried to register, they completed an LR-1 form, which was accepted, without comment, by the registrar. Hester made five trips; Eugene, seven. They were never told whether or not they had qualified to register as voters.

Identification

Reverend Philip Brown, formerly registered in New Orleans, was unable to register in Ouachita Parish because he could not identify himself to the satisfaction of the registrar. When, in July of 1960, he presented his driver's license and other papers for identification, he was told that they would not do and that he would have to have two registered voters from his ward and precinct identify him. A voter can only "vouch" once every twelve months, and Reverend Brown was unable to find two eligible vouchers. He found one who had not vouched for 11 months, but he was not acceptable. The registrar told Reverend Brown, "Well, if you will bring in three documents or bills or receipts of letters showing your name and address at this address, then you will be able to register. When he returned and presented three documents to Deputy Registrar Morin, she refused to accept them because she was not the same person who had waited on him before. Again, Reverend Brown was told that he would have to have two registered voters to identify him.

Identification difficulties are frequent in other parishes. In East Carroll, a well-known life-long resident was told that he would have to secure two "vouchers" from his precinct. Since only whites were registered, this was impossible. A friend on the police jury told him that the "voucher" system

was expressly designed to prevent Negroes from registering. Once, a white voter in the same parish did agree to "vouch" for a Negro, but later told the man, "I can't fool with that." The registrar of Madison Parish admitted in 1954 that she operated under orders from the sheriff and other public officials, and that she had not yet seen fit to permit Negroes to register and vote.

Intimidation

In St. Helena Parish, Negroes were warned that attempts to vote on their part would result in bloodshed. A Negro testified before the Civil Rights Commission that while he was standing in line to vote in 1952, a white man showed a gun, saying, "Negroes are not going to vote in St. Helena Parish." An FBI investigation remedied the situation and Negroes were allowed to register.

In East Carroll Parish, Negroes were subjected to economic reprisals. Mr. Atlas, a Negro farmer, was not allowed to gin his cotton, market his soybeans, or purchase fuel oil for his home because he attempted to register. Only a federal suit against the firms involved enabled him to resume his farming.

Interpretation

Applicants must be able to interpret any clause of the U.S. Constitution or of the Louisiana Constitution. Whether or not interpretations are correct is left to the discretion of the registrar.

Joe Kirk of Webster Parish had been registered from 19[illegible] to 1957, when he was disenfranchised. Three times after that he attempted to register but was unable to because of the interpretation requirements. On his fourth try, he was asked whether he had any illegitimate children. When he said no, Registrar Clement said, "You are a damned liar"--and flunked him again.

In Plaquemines Parish, a written interpretation, in accordance with an official set of answers drawn up by segregationist leader Leander Perez, must be submitted. Below is an example of one of Perez' interpretations:

> Art. 1, Sec. 11, La. Const.: No person shall be compelled to give evidence against himself in a criminal case.
>
> Interpretation: No one shall be required to give evidence against himself, nor shall he be required to testify in any case in which he is being prosecuted. The fact that he does not testify shall not be used against him.

In Claiborne and Webster Parishes, oral examinations on the Constitution are given before the applicant is permitted to complete his LR-1 form. This oral interpretation must be to the satisfaction of the registrar.

Slowdowns

In Ouachita Parish, challenge notices were sent to over 5000 Negro voters. To contest these challenges and to prevent removal of their names from the rolls, these people had to appear before the registrar within 10 days. They went to the courthouse in large numbers, but only a few succeeded in seeing the registrar within the legal time limit. Often, the clerks deliberately wasted time in order to limit the number of Negroes who could be seen. As one witness before the Civil Rights Commission testified, "(there was a line) completely down the corridor, completely down two flights of stairs, onto the lawn...Sometimes people (clerks) would stop and drink a coke or go over to the window and look out, in order to--in my mind, in order to waste a lot of time."

In other parishes, Negroes, after traveling long distances to register, have had to wait in line for hours, while whites were waited on immediately. Frequently, only one Negro may fill out the form at a time.

Civil Rights Violation Complaint

(Note: Send one copy to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 25, D.C. and send one copy to Civil Rights Division, U.S. Justice Department, Washington 25, D.C.)

My name is _____ and I live in
(Give full name)

_____. I can be reach-
(Give full address)

ed at this phone number: _____. I work as a

_____.
(Give occupation)

I wish to make a formal complaint of the following occurence: (Give exact details of what happened, giving times, places, names, and all other circumstances, using the back of this sheet and other paper if necessary.)

Signed: _____
(sign here)

(Note: If possible and safe, have complaint notarized. Send air mail as soon as possible after occurrence. If very urgent call the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Justice Department at RE 7-8200 in Washington, D.C.

Registration Data

Parish	Potential Registered Whites	Registered Whites	Potential Registered Negroes	Register Negroes
Acadia	22,399	19,926	4,557	3,780
Allen	8,357	8,169	2,310	1,995
Ascension	10,110	8,401	4,171	2,350
Assumption	5,877	5,022	3,237	1,967
Avoyelles	15,845	13,630	4,717	1,837
Beauregard	8,682	7,969	2,145	1,13[illegible]
Bienville	5,617	5,184	4,077	25
Bossier	23,696	12,813	6,847	542
Caddo	87,774	58,144	41,749	4,686
Calcasieu	62,987	43,553	14,924	7,364
Caldwell	3,843	4,019	1,161	92
Cameron	3,642	3,184	239	160
Catahoula	4,110	4,117	1,919	377
Claiborne	6,415	5,510	5,032	28
Concordia	5,963	5,323	4,582	383
DeSoto	6,543	5,828	6,753	595
E. Baton Rouge	87,985	66,173	36,908	10,576
East Carroll	2,990	2,845	4,183	9
East Feliciana	7,043	2,448	6,081	82
Evangeline	13,652	13,450	3,342	3,135
Franklin	8,954	8,260	4,433	390
Grant	6,080	6,066	1,553	674

Parish	Potential Registered Whites	Registered Whites	Potential Registered Negroes	Registered Negroes
Iberia	20,200	16,662	7,060	2,486
Iberville	8,733	7,236	2,535	484
Jackson	6,607	5,817	14,970	8,563
Jefferson	98,103	77,859	2,881	1,655
Jefferson Davis	12,892	9,599	9,473	5,505
Lafayette	35,513	27,244	3,078	2,030
Lafourche	25,737	22,197	849	202
La Salle	6,799	6,823	5,723	860
Lincoln	9,611	6,927	1,818	1,200
Livingston	12,306	11,814	5,181	0
Madison	3,334	2,714	7,208	301
Morehouse	10,311	7,490	7,444	1,779
Natchitoches	11,328	8,752	125,752	36,283
Orleans	257,495	176,742	16,377	730
Ouachita	40,185	24,856	2,897	47
Plaquemines	8,633	7,170	5,273	2,313
Pointe Coupee	6,085	5,354	18,141	3,036
Rapides	44,823	30,055	2,181	27
Red River	3,294	3,440	4,608	263
Richland	7,601	6,075	2,143	1,624
Sabine	8,251	8,471	1,105	779
St. Bernard	15,836	14,669	2,621	1,958

Parish	Potential Registered Whites	Registered Whites	Potential Registered Negroes	Register Negroes
St. Charles	8,117	7,451	2,621	1,958
St. Helena	2,363	2,478	2,082	1,243
St. James	4,892	4,447	3,964	2,528
St. John the Baptist	4,982	4,143	4,279	2,967
St. Landry	25,580	21,918	14,982	11,179
St. Martin	9,781	8,449	4,664	2,848
St. Mary	17,991	14,027	7,176	4,077
St. Tammany	16,032	16,878	5,038	2,847
Tangipahoa	22,311	18,631	9,401	3,137
Tensas	2,287	1,964	3,533	0
Terrebonne	24,393	17,328	5,464	1,796
Union	7,021	5,927	3,006	597
Vermilion	19,710	17,902	2,429	2,065
Vernon	9,279	9,704	1,268	773
Washington	16,804	15,423	6,821	1,729
Webster	15,713	12,217	7,045	130
W. Baton Rouge	3,974	3,323	3,502	1,194
West Carroll	6,171	5,185	1,389	70
W. Feliciana	2,814	1,305	4,553	0
Winn	6,790	6,418	2,590	1,096
State Total	1,289,216	993,118	514,589	159,033

Note: figures for 1960

Sources

Ebony Magazine, June, 1962

1961 United States Commission on Civil Rights Report

Margaret Price, The Negro and the Ballot in the South

NEWS RELEASE

Voter Education Project
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Ja. 5-0595 or Ja. 2-8764

FOR RELEASE: All Papers
Sunday
March 31, 1963

The Voter Education Project released today a chronological listing of 64 acts of violence and intimidation against Negroes in Mississippi since January 1961. Almost all of the incidents are directly related to efforts by Negroes to register to vote.

The last item on the list is the March 27 dispersal by Greenwood policemen and their dogs of Negro registration applicants, and the jailing of registration workers.

"We are sure this is not a complete list," said Wiley A. Branton, Director of the Voter Education Project. "It does demonstrate conclusively, however, the pattern of discrimination and violence which exists in Mississippi, and makes Constitutional rights virtually inoperative in that state."

The listing, he pointed out, does not include the riot at the University of Mississippi last fall, nor subsequent harassment of James Meredith. "All the world knows that story, as it does the earlier stories of Emmett Till and Mack Parker. This listing, nearly all of which has been compiled from the daily press, shows that what happened at the University should have been expected by anyone familiar with the Mississippi record."

Because of the near-fatal gun attack of February 28, 1963 against three voter registration workers, a concerted, saturation registration campaign was announced on March 1, 1963 in LeFlore County, Mississippi, of which Greenwood is the county seat.

The LeFlore campaign represents the combined efforts of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the local NAACP Youth Council.

The announced objective of the campaign is to get every qualified Negro in LeFlore County registered to vote, if he or she has any desire to do so.

This unprecedented concentration of resources in LeFlore County has led, said Branton, to unprecedented results. "For the first time in a Mississippi county, there has been a breakthrough of the fear which has held Negroes back. Since March 1, over 500 have waited determinedly at the Greenwood court house, trying to register. Because of the long drawn-out process in Mississippi, how many will be passed by the registrars is not yet known. Weekly mass meetings are thronged, and LeFlore Negroes are saying emphatically and courageously that they will not wait any longer to be treated as American citizens. And police suppression will not stop them."

Branton also noted that the U. S. Department of Agriculture had made a welcome contribution to Negro morale by successfully pressuring the county to resume, on April 1, distribution of federal surplus food, which had been cut off by the county last fall.

"This was interpreted by the local people," he said, "as an act of support and encouragement by the federal government."

"However," he continued, "the federal government has done little to protect the peace in LeFlore, or elsewhere in Mississippi. Sixty-eight years ago, in the case of In re Debs, the Supreme Court said that the 'entire strength of the nation may be used to enforce in any part of the land the full and free exercise of all national powers and the security of all rights entrusted by the Constitution to its care.' The peace of the United States is broken and shattered by the lawlessness in Mississippi. The federal government has an obligation, which it is not fulfilling, to restore it."

The Voter Education Project is a program of the Southern Regional Council, with offices in Atlanta.

-END-

CHRONOLOGY OF VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN MISSISSIPPI SINCE 1961

1961

January 1, Greenville, Washington County: Two young white men rode a motorbike through a residential area and, according to the local police chief, fired a volley of shots into a group of Negroes. George Mayfield, 18, was seriously wounded in both legs; Percy Lee Simmons, 19, was shot in the right leg.

March 30, Jackson, Hinds County: Club-swinging police and two police dogs chased more than 100 Negroes from a courthouse where nine Negro students were convicted for staging a sit-in demonstration. Several were struck by the clubs and at least one person was bitten by the dogs.

May 7, Jackson, Hinds County: Several white youths, riding in an open convertible, lassoed nine-year-old Negro Gloria Laverne Floyd with a wire and dragged her along the street. The girl suffered a deep gash in her head that required three stitches, cheek bruises, a laceration of her right shoulder, and burn marks on her neck. Police made arrests.

August 15, Amite County: Robert Moses, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) registration worker, and three Negroes who had tried unsuccessfully to register in Liberty, were driving toward McComb when a county officer stopped them. He asked if Moses was the man "...who's been tring to register our niggers." All were taken to court and Moses was arrested for "impeding an officer in the discharge of his duties," fined $50 and spent two days in jail.

August 22, Amite County: Robert Moses went to Liberty with three Negroes, who made an unsuccessful attempt to register. A block from the courthouse, Moses was attacked and beaten by Billy Jack Caston, the sheriff's first cousin. Eight stitches were required to close a wound in Moses' head. Caston was acquitted of assault charges by an all-white jury before a justice of the peace.

August 26, McComb, Pike County: Hollis Watkins, 20, and Elmer Hayes, 20, SNCC workers, were arrested while staging a sit-in at the F. W. Woolworth store and charged with breach of the peace. They spent 36 days in jail.

August 27 and 29, McComb, Pike County: Five Negro students from a local high school were convicted of breach of the peace following a sit-in at a variety store and bus terminal. They were sentenced to a $400 fine each and eight months in jail. One of these students, a girl of 15, was turned over to juvenile authorities, released, subsequently rearrested, and sentenced to 12 months in a state school for delinquents.

August 29, McComb, Pike County: Two Negro leaders were arrested in McComb as an aftermath of the sit-in protest march on city hall, charged with contributing to the delinquency of minors. They were Curtis C. Bryant of McComb, an official of the NAACP, and Cordelle Reagan, of SNCC. Each arrest was made on an affidavit signed by Police Chief George Guy, who said he had information that the two "...were behind some of this racial trouble."

August 30, McComb, Pike County: SNCC workers Brenda Travis, 16, Robert Talbert, 19, and Isaac Lewis, 20, staged a sit-in in the McComb terminal of the Greyhound bus lines. They were arrested on charges of breach of the peace and failure to obey a policeman's order to move on. They spent 30 days in jail.

September 5, Liberty, Amite County: Travis Britt, SNCC registration worker, was attacked and beaten by whites on the courthouse lawn. Britt was accompanied at the time by Robert Moses. Britt said one man hit him more than 20 times. The attackers drove away in a truck.

September 7, Tylertown, Walthall County: John Hardy, SNCC registration worker, took two Negroes to the county courthouse to register. The registrar told them he "...wasn't registering voters" that day. When the three turned to leave, Registrar John Q. Wood took a pistol from his desk and struck Hardy over the head from behind. Hardy was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace.

September 13, Jackson, Hinds County: Fifteen Episcopal ministers (among them three Negroes) were arrested for asking to be served

at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal. They were charged with inviting a breach of the peace. They were found not guilty of the charge on May 21, 1962, by County Judge Russell Moore.

September 25, Liberty, Amite County: Herbert Lee, a Negro who had been active in voter registration, was shot and killed by white state representative E. H. Hurst in downtown Liberty. No prosecution was undertaken, the authorities explaining that the representative had shot in self-defense.

October 4, McComb, Pike County: The five students who were arrested as a result of the August 29 sit-in in McComb returned to school, but were refused admittance. At that, 116 students walked out and paraded downtown to the city hall in protest. Police arrested the entire crowd, but later released all but 19, all of whom were 18 years old or older. They were charged with breach of the peace and contributing to the delinquency of minors and allowed to go free on bail totalling $3,700. At the trial on October 31, Judge Brumfield, finding the students guilty, and sentencing each to a $500 fine and six months in jail, said: "Some of you are local residents, some of you are outsiders. Those of you who are local residents are like sheep being led to the slaughter. If you continue to follow the advice of outside agitators, you will be like sheep and be slaughtered."

October 5, McComb, Pike County: Charles Sherrod was arrested on the street, thrown into a police car, and charged with resisting arrest. Cordelle Reagan was also arrested and charged with contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Both were field workers for SNCC.

October 11, McComb, Pike County: Paul Potter of Philadelphia, a vice president of the National Student Association and Tom Hayden of Atlanta, both white, were dragged from their car and beaten as they drove alongside a group of Negroes making an anti-segregation march. When the two slowed their car for a traffic light, a heavy-set white man opened the door and dragged the driver out and hit him several times. He then walked around to the other side of the car, opened the door and knocked the second man to the street. The incident occurred in the business

section of the city.

October 13, McComb, Pike County: Police Officer B. F. Elmore shot and killed a Negro motorist. Police Chief George Guy said that Elmore said he had stopped Eli Brumfield at 4 a.m. for speeding. Brumfield allegedly jumped from his car with a pocket knife in his hand and attacked Elmore. A coroner's jury ruled Elmore fired in self-defense.

October 22, Jackson, Hinds County: Dion Diamond, a SNCC worker, was arrested for "running a stop sign" after being followed all day. In court the next day, the arresting officer told the judge, "He is a Freedom Rider. Throw the book at him." Diamond was refused legal counsel and fined $168.

November 9, McComb, Pike County: Jerome Smith, 22, Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) field man, and four companions, Dorothy Smith, 18, Alice Thompson, 22, Thomas Valentine, 23, and George Raymond, 18, were attacked by a mob of 30 to 40 whites when they sought service at the lunch counter of the Greyhound bus terminal in McComb. Smith, who suffered head injuries when he was slugged with brass knuckles during the attack, said FBI agents were present at the time of the attack, but did "nothing but take notes" while the mob kicked and beat his companions. The victims were rescued from the mob by a Negro truck driver and Negro cab drivers.

November 10, Jackson, Hinds County: Jessie Divens, twelve-year-old, was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of a city bus. Judge Carl Guernsey released the girl to the custody of the Rev. G. R. Horton, chaplain at Campbell College where she attended classes. Judge Guernsey continued the case until November 17, "with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Horton and the child come back with a workable plan which would cause the child's mind to be concerned with education rather than social reformation."

November 18, McComb, Pike County: Persons unknown fired a shotgun blast into the bedroom of Dion Diamond and John Hardy at 702 Wall Street. Investigating officer Frank Williams found shotgun pellets embedded in the window frame.

December 1, McComb, Pike County: Four white men attacked three

newsmen on the street, sending one crashing into a plate glass window of a store. The newsmen were Tom Uhrborck and Don Underwood, Life Magazine, and Simmons Fentress, Time Magazine.

December 2, McComb, Pike County: Police broke up an attempt by white attackers to drag three Freedom Riders from an automobile at the Greyhound bus terminal. Four men kicked at the locked car and beat upon the windows in an attempt to reach the young Negroes and their driver, Thomas Gaither, field secretary of CORE. The police, who were standing by when the riders arrived aboard a bus from Jackson, pulled the men away from the car, but made no arrests.

December 26, Jackson, Hinds County: Rafford Johnson, Negro, was severely beaten by two law officers after being involved in a minor collision with a car driven by a white woman. Johnson underwent surgery for skull injuries.

February 6, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Miss Bessie Turner, 19, a Negro, was walking with a young man down a Clarksdale street when Clarksdale police officers stopped them and accused Miss Turner of having been involved in a theft. Miss Turner said the officers took her to the jail, forced her to unclothe and to lie on her back. She said one of the policemen then beat her between the legs with his belt. A few minutes later, Miss Turner said, the other officer beat her across her naked breasts. Miss Turner filed federal charges against the officers.

March 15, 1962, Shelby, Bolivar County: Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, was convicted in Justice of Peace Court on charges of making perverse advances on a white teen-age hitchhiker. Henry stated that the charges were a complete fabrication, and presented an alibi supported by sworn witnesses. The conviction has been appealed. When he later stated in a press conference that the prosecutor and the police chief, who figured in the trial, had conspired to frame him, Henry was sued by the two for defamation. A Mississippi white jury awarded the prosecutor $25,000 and the police chief, $15,000.

April 12, 1962, Taylorsville, Smith County: Corporal Roman Ducksworth, Jr., U. S. Army, a Negro, was shot and killed by policeman Bill Kelly when, according to an NAACP news release, Duckworth "insisted on his right to sit where he chose on an interstate bus." Policeman Kelly claimed that Ducksworth was drunk and started

fighting. No charges were brought against Kelly. Ducksworth was enroute from Camp Ritchie, Maryland, to see his wife who was ill in a Laurel, Mississippi, hospital.

April, 1962, Lucedale, George County: Mrs. Ernestine Denham Talbert, who lives in George County but teaches in Green County, was notified by the Green County School Board that her teaching contract would not be renewed. Mrs. Talbert had tried in January to register to vote but had been refused.

May 17, 1962, Rankin County: The Negro editor of the Mississippi Free Press said he and a companion were beaten by Rankin County officers and a highway patrolman. Lawrence Hudson, Jr., of Jackson, said the beating occurred after he was stopped enroute from Jackson to Forest to check on a rumor that a Negro man had been killed by a white man. He was jailed, refused permission to phone a lawyer, tried the next day on several charges and fined $151.

June 21, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: A white lawyer from Jackson and four college students were jailed in Clarksdale for 20 hours without outside communication. One of the students was a Negro. William Higgs, the lawyer, and the students were jailed on a Sunday night by county officers and were released the following day, without charges being filed against them.

July 5, 1962, Jackson, Hinds County: Jesse Harris, 20, and Luvaghn Brown, 17, SNCC workers, charged that they were beaten and threatened with death while serving a 30-day sentence in the county jail for contempt of court. The young Negroes had refused to move from

a court bench customarily occupied by whites while they were attending the trial of Mrs. Diane Nash Bevel. The young men said that, in the courthouse elevator, a deputy sheriff called Harris "a damned nigger" and beat him about the head with his fist. At the county farm, they were singled out as Freedom Riders and wore striped uniforms. Both were beaten by guards. Harris was beaten by a guard named "Keith" while other prisoners held him. "Keith" beat him across the back with a length of hose threatening, "Nigger, I'll kill you!"

August 16, 1962. Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block, 23, SNCC field secretary, said three white men accosted him in a parking lot and "started beating me with their fists." He said they threatened him and then beat him for about five minutes. "There is no use reporting it to local authorities," he said.

August 17, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: SNCC workers Samuel Block, Luvaghn Brown, and Lawrence Guyot were forced to flee from the second story window of their voter registration office. They said armed white men invaded the premises intent upon doing them harm.

August 17, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Mayor Charles Durrough asked Mr. Lenard Davis, a Negro employed by the city, what he knew about the registration school being conducted at a Negro church. Mr. Davis replied that he didn't know anything at all about the school, and did not attend any of the classes. The mayor then told him that he, the mayor, knew what kind of school they were having.

The mayor said he knew it [presumably civil rights for the Negro] was coming, but he wasn't going to allow it to be forced on them. The mayor said that anyone attending the school would be given a one-way ticket out of town, and if that wouldn't do it, they would use whatever they had available. (See entry below for September 3, 1962.)

August, 1962, Greenwood, Leflore County: Welton McSwine, Jr., 14-year-old Negro, was arrested by police after a white woman's house had been broken into. When police got the youth to the station, an officer said: "All right, nigger, you know why you are here, and we want to know who broke into that white woman's house." McSwine told them he knew nothing of the incident, saying that he spent all his time in the cotton field, and suggesting that his mother could corroborate this. McSwine said officers then took him to a cell and beat him, first hitting him in the head with a blackjack; then one of the policemen beat him in the face with his fist while another hit him in the stomach with his club; then the officers made him lie naked on the floor on his side while they beat him with a whip. McSwine was released after intercession of his father's white employer.

August 21, 1962, Liberty, Amite County: Sam Wells and Tommy Weathersby went to the courthouse to register. While they were waiting to get into the registrar's office, they stood on the front porch of the courthouse. Deputy Sheriff Daniel Jones told them, "Get your - - - - off the front porch, and don't come back on." Weathersby and Wells got off the porch. A few moments later, rain began,

and the two wanted to take shelter in the courthouse, but Deputy Sheriff Jones would not permit it.

.. August 21, Liberty, Amite County: Dewey Greene, Jr., Mississippi Free Press reporter, was taking pictures of Negroes waiting to register at the courthouse. An unidentified young man working in the office down the hall from the registrar's office snatched Greene's camera away, and refused to return it. Greene was told to leave town by three white men, one of whom was flourishing a length of lead pipe. He left.

August 29, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Seven Negroes were arrested after attending a voter registration meeting. David Dennis, CORE field secretary, was charged with "failure to yield right-of-way" after a police officer had forced him to submit to a long harangue of threats and abuse. Samuel Block, John Hodges, J. L. Harris, Richard T. Gray, and Albert Garrer, SNCC field workers, and Dewey Greene, Jr., reporter for the Mississippi Free Press, were forced by Clarksdale police to alight from their car, and were charged with loitering in violation of the city curfew.

August 30, 1962, Indianola, Sunflower County: SNCC workers C. R. McLauren, Albert Garner, J. O. Hodges, Samuel Block, and Robert Moses were arrested by Indianola police on a charge of distributing literature without a permit. The registration workers had been taking leaflets announcing a registration mass meeting door-to-door in the Negro community. Lafayette Surney, 17, another SNCC worker, was arrested and then released to Rev. James Bevel, of the Southern

Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

August 31, Indianola, Sunflower County: During the trial of Samuel Block on charges of distributing literature without a permit, the Municipal Judge informed Block that he could cross-examine the arresting officer. Block asked the officer, "Did you actually see me hand out a leaflet?" The judge turned to the officer and said, "He can ask you anything he wants to, but you don't have to answer." The judge told Lafayette Surney if he was caught in Indianola "agitating" again, he would be sent to the penal farm.

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Because of registration activity, two Negro-owned dry cleaning establishments were closed (allegedly for violating city ordinances).

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Lenard Davis, 49, sanitation department worker, was told by Mayor Charles M. Durrough, "We're going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." (He referred to a registration school conducted by SNCC workers in Ruleville.)

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Fred Hicks, 40, who drove field workers to the plantations, was told he could no longer use a bus without a commercial license. Hicks said the bus owner told him that, because Hicks' mother had registered to vote: "We gonna see how tight we can make it - gonna make it just as tight as we can. Gonna be rougher and rougher than you think it is."

September 3, 1962, Ruleville, Sunflower County: Moses and Amzie Moore, a local Negro leader, were walking down the street. A white man in a pickup truck drew up alongside and asked if they were the

"folks getting the people to register." Moses and Moore answered, yes, they were. The man asked if they could come out to his plantation to register people. The two answered, yes, they could come. The man said then, "I've got a shotgun waiting for you, double barrel."

<u>September 3, Ruleville, Sunflower County:</u> A letter from Mayor Durrough notified the Williams Chapel Missionary Baptist Church that tax exemption and free water were being cut off because the property was being used for "purposes other than worship services." The church was a meeting place for voter registration workers.

<u>September 10, Ruleville, Sunflower County</u>: Marylene Burkes,20, and Vivian Hillet, 19, were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

<u>October 3, Biloxi, Harrison County</u>: A Negro frame residence and a gasoline station were targets for two "Molotov cocktails" which caused more than $4,000 damage. One of the bombs struck the home of Dr. Gilbert Mason, a Negro physician, who is active in integration efforts. The other crashed through the window of a service station operated by Emmett Clark, a Negro.

<u>October 5, Harmony, Leake County:</u> Night riders fired shotguns into eight Negro homes and a Negro store. An elderly Negro said he was struck in the knee by a squirrel shot while he and his 9-year-old grandson were sleeping. He said he was not seriously hurt. Harmony Negroes had recently petitioned authorities for school desegregation.

<u>October 10, Columbus, Lowndes County:</u> A"Molotov cocktail" was tossed from a speeding car into the home of Dr. James L. Allen of Columbus, vice chairman of the Mississippi Advisory Committee

to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

October 29, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Charles McLaurin, SNCC registration worker, was stopped by police as he was taking a group home from the courthouse. The group had tried to register to vote. The officer asked to see McLaurin's driver's license. McLaurin showed it. The officer asked McLaurin what he was doing there. McLaurin told him he worked in voter registration. Then, accompanied by obscene remarks, the officer said, "Nigger, do you know the way out of town? McLaurin replied, "Yes." The officer said, with more obscenity, "Nigger! Can't you say 'yes, sir?'" The officer's partner asked the officer what charge should be put on the tickets. The officer said, "Charge the - - - - $26 on both charges." "Nigger, you got $52?" McLaurin replied, "No." The officer said, "Then you're going to jail." At the jail, McLaurin learned that the officer was Clarksdale Police Chief Ben Collins. McLaurin was in jail a few minutes when his companions posted bond for him in the amount of $103. They decided to forfeit bond rather than run the risk of a higher fine or incur the legal expense of an appeal.

October 31, Jackson, Hinds County: Thomas E. Johnson, a white minister, and a member of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, saw a group of neighbors dumping garbage on his lawn. Johnson had just returned from taking his car to a safe place because of threats by neighbors to damage it. Johnson sought a peace bond against the man whom he had observed leading the garbage-dumping

operations of his neighbors. The man presented eleven witnesses who swore that he had been in their presence at all times on the evening in question. The Justice of the Peace accepted their testimony and refused the bond. Then the Hinds County Grand Jury indicted Johnson and his wife on perjury charges, because of their testimony at the peace bond hearing.

November 6, 1962, Greenville, Washington County: Two WAF's and two airmen (all white) from the Greenville Air Force Base were fined $55 and given 30-day suspended sentences on charges of creating a disturbance by entering a restaurant and seeking service with two Negro voter registration workers.

December 26, 1962, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: Ivanhoe Donaldson and Benjamin Taylor, students from Detroit, brought a truckload of food, clothing and medicines for distribution to the Delta's needy families who had been cut off from federal surplus commodities. (The medicines had been donated by a physician in Louisville, and were consigned to Aaron Henry, a licensed pharmacist.) They were arrested by Clarksdale police and held for "investigation." After police searched the truck on December 27, and found what they described as "a drug used to ease the pain of middle-aged women," Donaldson and Taylor were charged with possession of narcotics and bond was set at $15,000. Bond was later reduced to $1,500.

January 17, Canton, Madison County: The castrated and mutilated body of Sylvester Maxwell, 24-year-old Negro, was found by his brother-in-law less than 500 yards from the home of a white family. Mississippi NAACP Field Secretary Medger Evers termed the slaying a "probable lynching."

February 2, Greenwood, Leflore County: Willie Peacock, SNCC registration worker, complained to the Justice Department that officials had refused to register him on two occasions, and had rejected his poll tax payment for this year.

February 20, Greenwood, Leflore County: Four Negro businesses on the same street as the SNCC voter registration office were burned to the ground. Mrs. Nancy Brand, a worker in the SNCC office, reported an anonymous telephone call in which a man's voice asked her if she ever came to the office. When she said yes, the voice said, "You won't be going down there anymore, that's been taken care of." The burned businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Club. The pressing shop is next door to the SNCC office, and SNCC workers believed the businesses were burned by mistake. Sam Block, SNCC Field Secretary, was arrested two days later for suggesting there was some connection between the burnings and the registration efforts of SNCC. He was charged with circulating statements calculated to create a breach of the peace.

February 28, Greenwood, Leflore County: Three registration workers were attacked with gunfire on U.S. Highway 82 just outside Greenwood. The shots were fired from a 1962 white Buick. The car in which the workers were riding was punctured by eleven bullets. One worker, James Travis of SNCC, was wounded in the neck and shoulder.

March 4, Clarksdale, Coahoma County: The show windows in the Fourth Street Drug Store were smashed, as they have been several times in the past. The proprietor of the store, Aaron Henry, found the damage when he returned from speaking at a mass meeting in Leflore County in connection with the voter registration drive there.

March 6, Greenwood, Leflore County: Samuel Block and three others were fired on from a station wagon which pulled up beside their car as they were parked in front of the SNCC voter registration office. Both front windows were shattered. Police later found the wadding from a shotgun shell buried in the head-liner of Block's car, and several pellets in the wall of the building in front of which the car had been parked.

March 12, Greenwood, Leflore County: A twelve-year-old Negro girl was attacked by an egg-throwing truckload of white teenaged boys. The girl suffered facial bruises.

March 20, 1963, Jackson, Hinds County: Three shots were fired through the windshield of a car belonging to Mrs. Mattie Dennis

while it was parked in front of the home of Mrs. Dennis' cousin, whom she was visiting. Mrs. Dennis is the wife of David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary for Mississippi. Both have been active in voter registration.

March 24, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: Fire destroyed partially the interior of the voter registration office at 115 E. McLaurin St., making the office unusable and necessitating a search for new headquarters. Witnesses said they saw two white men fleeing the scene shortly before the fire was discovered.

March 26, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: A shotgun blast ripped into the home of Dewey Greene, Sr., father of the latest Negro applicant to the University of Mississippi. Another of Mr. Greene's sons and a daughter have been active in the Leflore County registration project. Greenwood police said they were investigating.

March 27, 1963, Greenwood, Leflore County: James Forman, Executive Secretary of SNCC, Bob Moses, and about ten other registration workers were arrested and taken from a group en route to the courthouse to register after the police dispersed a group of more than 100 Negroes with the use of police dogs.

— file NOV 1963

To: National Action Committee

From: David Dennis, CCRE Field Secretary for Mississippi

Concerning: An Abortion for a Pregnant State

VOTER REGISTRATION

During the past year I have been very active in Mississippi in the voter registration program and some forms of direct action. From June 7, 1962 to May of 1963, I was the only CORE representative in the state, wit h only three short visits from 6ther CORE representativs. Since that time CORE has hired several Task Force workers for the state.

Mississippi is a state where definite long-range programs must be set up if it is to be cracked. At this time it is the most segregated state in the United States of America. Enclosed you will find statistical data that was drawn up by Mr. Jesse Morris of SNCC last week. This report demonstrates to us the problems that confront us. This report was drawn up for the National Council of Churches in the hope that they will provide funds for projects in Mississippi.

During the past three weeks we, CORE and SNCC, ~~have~~ been involved in a "Freedom Vote" campaign. Many people felt that this was silly and was some sort of plaything, but, on the contrary, it did much more for the movement, toward uniting Mississippi, than anything else we have done. The purposes of the campaign were:

1. To demonstrate to Mississippi, Washington, and the rest of the nation that the Negro people of Mississippi would vote if they were allowed to register free from intimidation and discrimination.
2. To form a unit by which we could unite the people throughout the state.
3. To make the people aware of the power of the ballot.
4. To communicate with the masses.
5. To focus national attention on the political system of Miss.
6. To encourage Negroes not to support either political party unless they both change their civil-rights policies.
7. To set up a structure for a statewide political organization.

I believe that we were able to accomplish our feat. Over 82,000 Negroes voted in the Freedom Vote campaign. Many more would have participated if it had not been for the harassment and intimidation. We had over 100 arrests, several shootings and beatings and hundreds of threats and traffic tickets. Our campaign cost over $13,000.00, paid for from contributions from all across the nation. Three of our CORE workers were jailed. One, George Raymond, was kicked around by police. Several SNCC workers were beaten, shot at, and over 80 were jailed.

Many people disagree with our program of asking the Negro people here not to support either the Democrats or the Republicans. We feel that such an act will make it necessary for the political parties to change their policies in an attempt to gain the Negro vote which would be independent at this time. If the parties refuse, then we would be in a position to begin a third political party. Some think that this would only make the state increase its pressure against the Negro in

an attempt to keep him from registering. If they do, then this would make the local registration laws come more and more into direct conflict with the Federal Government, which would force the Federal Government to act in behalf of the local Negro.

Through our Freedom Vote we made contact with people in every county of Mississippi and from every county people voted. This means that we now have contacts in these counties with people who are willing to take a stand. To keep things really going we must follow up on these contacts and organize people to attempt to register on a mass scale throughout the state. To accomplish this, we must get more people into the field. At this time SNCC has around 35 people working. They cannot hire any more because of financial problems. SCLC has approximately 20 "citizenship" workers in the state. CORE has five people. With at least 20 more people from CORE we could set up our structure as we want it. We could use 20 workers who would work on a volunteer basis by which we pay their expenses. Both white and black are welcome to work.

Such a project would be approximately $15.00 per week, per person:

Room and board ---	$10.00
Transportation ---	5.00
Total	$15.00

This is the first time that Mississippi has been organized to such an extent. We just cannot afford to let it fall back. We must take advantage of our present accomplishments. I am asking for CORE to support 20 more workers in Mississippi for six months as a special project for the State. This would cost approximately $8-10 thousand.

It is my opinion that SNCC and CORE are in better positions to tackle Mississippi together than any other organization. We have formed a unit in Mississipp where we have almost become one, and I hope that it remains that way.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

The citizens' councils of Mississippi have begun a campaign to force out of the state as many Negroes as possible during the next four years. In the Delta where Negroes form a majority, they have already put their plans into action. Automation is putting Negroes out of work on the plantations, loans are being cut from the small farms, and large plantation owners are beginning to buy up the small farms, and are hiring more whites and fewer Negroes. The state refuses to allow federal retraining programs to enter the state. The state is offering free property and tax cuts to industries and the industries are offering work for whites but not for Negroes. The Udico Electrical Appliance Co. from Los Angeles is a good example. The Negro must leave or starve. He can't leave, because he has no place to go. If we can off-set the citizens' councils' program by providing training, and projects for Negroes for at least 10 years, then I believe we can conquer the problems of the area.

The type of projects which can be organized are:

A. Farm Cooperatives
B. Food-processing Plant
C. Store Cooperatives (Dry Goods, etc.)

D. Private Business
1. Barber and Beauty Shops
2. TV and Radio Repair Shops
3. Machine shops
4. Upholstering shops
5. Sewing establishments

These are some of the things which are needed in the Negro Community and which are easy to learn if we could get the teachers and places to teach. In my opinion there are many people from the North who would be willing to come to Mississippi and give a year to conduct such training for people, and help the people set up such projects. This would be a private Peace Corps in the United States, which is needed very badly.

The Community Center can serve another purpose as well. It can provide entertainment and information to the people that they have not been exposed to. Each center should be equipped with the following, in addition to the training facilities mentioned above:

A. A library where the young people can be exposed to objective books and information. There should be films shown every week.
B. A game room where people can learn other types of games than "tunk" and "blackjack".
C. Classes in health education, including: child care, prevention of common communicable diseases, birth control, sanitation, etc.
D. Special classes on Economics (to teach people how to save and spend money wisely), history (to teach them about the Negro and make them aware that they have much to be proud of), citizenship (their rights and how to obtain and keep them, how to register and vote).

There should be training provided for the people to meet the demands of these new industries. If we could have 100 Negroes prepared to operate machinery, to do clerical work, etc., the industries would not be able to say "We are hiring only skilled labor." in an attempt to exclude Negroes from employment. Here we can directly challenge their hiring practices and discrimination in other fields. We cannot demand jobs if we are not trained and prepared to fill the openings.

Such projects as mentioned above would take careful planning, money and personnel. I am sure, though, that there are foundations which would be willing to provide money for such an educational project. The instructors would be the next problem, but I'm also sure that there are some retired professors and the like who would like to come down for a year on such a project. The problem would then be to find them.

My suggestion now is to open a center in Mississippi, beginning with a library and orientation programs on health, citizenship, agriculture and other small things, and attempt to interest unions and foundations in a more detailed project and then expand the centers (about 10) throughout the Delta. College students could man such a project on a simple basis, but when we move into more complicated courses, more professional people would be needed.

To fight for equal rights in Mississippi and not try to provide some kind of training and exposure to modern culture for the people is like trying to take a bath without water.

RESEARCH TEAM

There is tremendous need for some to come into the state and do a study on Mississippi, the economic situation, political policies, agriculture, etc. This information would be priceless to civil rights organizations in their combat against the system. To attack a problem successfully, one should know as much as possible about the problem.

In our field it would probably save money, and I know much energy and time. Such a research team should be capable of aiding farmers with their agricultural problems and also find means to combat them. If approximately five college students would be willing to give a year to such a project, I"m more than sure that their service would be invaluable to us.

There is need for a "white paper" to be done on Mississippi for national public consumption. This would be great to get people more interested in the problems of Mississippi, and to put pressure upon Congressmen and the President to act decisively.

A SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE

There is tremendous need for more communication between the field in the South and the National Office. There is great need for more representation in the South by the national Office. Many things occur in the South that never get publicity or national attention because of the lack of communication with the proper sources and the lack of ability and time of the field secretaries in these areas to make the necessary contacts, press releases, and follow-up on events. A Southern Regional Office should be a "branch" or "extension" of the national office. It should be financed and controlled by the New York office. In this way there would not be any type of conflict in fund-raising or in policy-making decisions. The people to work in the office should be people from the Program Department (Norman Hill or his assistant), and the Public Relations Department (Bob Gore) and the Field Department (Jim McCain or an assistant). The Southern office should produce a newsletter (a Southern Core-lator) at least once per month and send out press release copies to groups. It should also act as a liason between the National Office and the Southern groups and staff.

Such an office would provide more direct communication with the groups and workers which would aid the office and NAC in making better decisions. We are quite confused and troubled over the fact that most decisions are made by people who don't know what our situation is. I am personally tired of spontaneous programs where, after the sensation has subsided, the office loses interest. The office should be established in La. or Miss. and equipped with Wide Area Telephone Service for the Southern area. This way more direct communication can be made at relatively low cost. We in the field need more direction which the national office can't give now. The Southern office is the only source, I feel, through which we can get the direction that would help us and the project.

CORE-LATOR

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James Farmer, *national director* Jim Peck, *editor*

P.S. TO "THE PLAQUEMINE STORY"
by James Farmer

On October 7, the Negro students of Plaquemine, Louisiana went on strike forcing a four-day shutdown of the high school. In addition to demanding reinstatement of a fired lunchroom worker, they sought reinstatement of 35 of their fellow-students who had been suspended, desegregation of Iberville parish schools by 1964 and equal job opportunities for Negroes.

Police teargassed the striking students, first as they marched in groups of 10 to the white high schools, which they were picketing and again as they assembled in Freedom Rock Baptist Church (the church's name had been changed from "Plymouth Rock" to "Freedom Rock" following our mass demonstrations which I described in the last CORElator).

Police Chief Dennis Songy threatened to destroy the church asserting: "If they want to use that church to serve God, that's OK, but they're not going to use it as a fort." The word "fort" was ill-chosen for the student protest action remained peaceful throughout. Evidently the police chief does not believe the parishioners have the right to use their church as they see fit.

Two of the student leaders—Kenneth Johnson and Willie Mellien—have been committed to the State Industrial Detention House for Juvenile Delinquents for an indefinite period. This means up to five years for Johnson, who is only 16 and was a CORE Task Force member. Attorneys are seeking a habeaus corpus writ to secure their release.

* * *

In Clinton, the start of picketing in the downtown business section on October 14 resulted in the arrest of 38 pickets and a CORE field worker. Attempts by the state to enjoin all CORE activity were halted pending a ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on the validity of the state court hearing.

FREEDOM VOTE DRIVE

CORE was an active participant in the Council of Federated Organizations during its recent Freedom Vote Campaign in Mississippi which netted 90,000 gubernatorial votes for Aaron Henry. CORE Field Secretary Dave Dennis was an executive of the Henry campaign committee.

CORE Task Force Worker George Raymond was run out of Yazoo City three times by local police and was finally arrested by highway patrolmen. Yazoo City is one of the localities where CORE concentrated its campaign efforts. Others were Meridian, Canton and Jackson.

THE WEST FELICIANA STORY
by Ronnie Moore

West Feliciana is a southeastern Louisiana parish with a 60% Negro population where no Negro had registered since 1902. On October 17, 1963, at approximately 2:30 p.m., Rev. Joseph Carter emerged from the St. Francisville courthouse, smiling and waving his voter registration certificate.



Photo by Bob Adelman

In this photo, CORE Field Secretary Mary Hamilton (at left) and I (at right) are congratulating him on being the first Negro to register since reconstruction.

It was just a year since the start of CORE's registration drive in West Feliciana and seven other parishes of Louisiana's 6th Congressional district. In West Feliciana, fear, apathy and ignorance had prevailed. On one occasion in the town of Tunica, Weldon Rougeau, also a CORE field secretary, and I were ordered out of a minister's conference because local Negroes feared for their lives and the safety of their meagre property.

This past summer our efforts were intensified when Rudy Lombard, and Gordon Carey, two national CORE officers, headed a group of some 50 CORE Task Force workers to work in this area and especially in West Feliciana. As a result, on August 10, Rev. Carter and another Negro minister, Rev. Rudolph Davis, attempted to register. They were told that they each would have to be identified by two registered voters—an impossibility, since there were no Negroes registered in the parish. When Rev. Carter approached Registrar Fletcher Harvey to inquire about his qualificaiton, he was promptly arrested by Sheriff W. C. Percy for "disturbing the peace" and jailed overnight.

(Continued on page 2)

Georgia Insurrection Law Voided—4 Freed

(Editor's Note—Thanks to readers who heeded the appeal in the last CORE-lator to write Attorney General Kennedy and President Kennedy on this case.)

Georgia's 1871 insurrection law and a state law against unlawful assembly were declared "unconstitutional and void" by a special 3-judge federal court on November 1. Reasonable bail was ordered set immediately for a CORE field secretary and three SNCC field workers who since August had been imprisoned in Americus without bail on the grounds that this law carries the death penalty.



(left to right are Donald Harris, Ralph Allen and John Perdew of SNCC and Zev Aelony of CORE)

Also the court demanded reasonable bail for two other SNCC workers who had ben held on other miscellaneous charges. The six were thereupon released on bail totaling $11,150 and were greeted enthusiastically by a group of over 150 friends and supporters. They want to remain in Americus and continue the civil rights struggle from where they left-off.

The court decision, which was two-to-one, came after a-day-and-a-half hearing marked by testimony of extreme police brutality against civil rights demonstrators last August. Witnesses related how they had been clubbed mercilessly and jabbed with electric prod rods.

Sallie Mae Durham told how, upon requesting medical aid following her arrest, she was thrown into a five-by-five "dungeon." James Williams, a laborer, testified that his leg had been broken by a state trooper wielding a baseball bat.

The state prosecutor, Stephen Pace, Jr., admitted to the court that the main purpose of invoking the insurrection law which he admitted is unconstitutional—was to halt the demonstrations. He reaffirmed the correctness of his statement quoted by UPI that "the basic reason for bringing these charges was to deny the defendants, or to ask the court to deny them bond."

Pointing this out in his argument to the court, Morris Abram, CORE's attorney, said: "Defendant Pace has admitted that prior to the commencement of this action, he did not even intend to call plaintiff's case to trial. He has in fact indicated that if plaintiff would agree to leave the state of Georgia, he would consent to his admission to bail."

The SNCC members were defended by attorneys for the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund.

The defense lawyers pointed out that the court decision marks the first time the federal judiciary has halted a state court civil rights proceeding at the request of private individuals—the imprisoned men. Filed on their behalf, the suit seeks to restrain state and county officials from conspiring to suppress the civil rights movement in Americus. The court gave these officials until January to prepare their defense against this charge.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

Rev. Carter thereupon filed a $100,000 damage suit in federal court accusing both the registrar and the sheriff of violating his civil rights. This boosted local morale to the extent that attendance at our voter registration clinics, which had ranged from 5 to 10, increased to as many as 115 by the end of September.

Then, on October 17, 43 prospective registrants, including Rev. Carter, assembled at Masonic Hall and boarded a bus for the courthouse in St. Francisville. Upon arrival, I conferred with the district attorney and the registrar. However, the registrar claimed that 8 whites were ahead of us on the waiting list and we sat across the street from 8:35 a.m. until 2 p.m. before Rev. Carter was called.

As the morning passed, tension mounted. On several occasions, a group of whites tried to block the entranceway. I was shown a knife and was told I would be emasculated. Rev. Carter was likewise threatened. FBI agents and a Justice Department official were stationed around the courthouse. Of five Negroes attempting to register that day, four were rejected. Three of them had attended high school but the fourth had been unable to do so.

That night, two Negro families were threatened. Their landlord, Daniel Lee, accompanied by two other white men, warned that if the two family heads should again attempt to register, their homes would be burned to the ground and they would be killed or injured in the fires. Johnny Hamilton, the first to be threatened, complained to the Justice Department and then decided to leave town. James Payne, the second man threatened, was hit across the face with a rifle butt.

Nevertheless, we returned to the registrar's office next day, 30 strong. Again we were told that a group of whites was ahead of us and we would have to wait. Although on every occasion the registrar has made such a claim, we have never actually seen any of these prospective white registrants. Seven of our people actually gained admission to the office that day, of whom three were registered: Nathaniel Smith and Ernest Morgan —both farmers—and Handy Berry, an unemployed hod carrier. As Smith came out of the office, I pinned on him an "I Am A Registered Voter: Are You?" button.

That night five carloads of whites went to the home of our bus driver, John Brannon, and fired gunshot volleys around his home.

(*Continued on Page 3*)

SUSPENSION OF 2 STUDENT CORE LEADERS PROMPTS CAMPUS PROTEST

The suspension of Patricia Stephens Due and Ruben Kenon from Florida A & M University in Tallahasee, Florida, has resulted in several student protest actions and one mass rally on campus.

The two students received the heaviest prison sentences—six months—as a consequence of Tallahasee CORE's mid-September mass demonstrations at the Florida Theater, in which 354 demonstrators were arrested. The cases are presently being appealed.

Following the suspensions, CORE has taken Patricia Due on its staff to lead a voter registration campaign in the Tallahassee area. She is a longtime leader of Tallahassee CORE and was a participant in the first jail-in of the 1960 lunch counter sit-in movement.

WEST FELICIANA STORY (cont'd)

The following Monday we returned to the courthouse to find that the registrar had adopted a tactic of demanding extraordinary identification. He asked for identification from two registered voters in each applicant's ward, which was impossible since the four Negroes thus far registered had been from different wards. He agreed to accept a driver's license over a year old, but this proved an impediment since Louisiana's drivers licenses are renewed every two years. All nine of our prospective registrants were thus rejected because of insufficient identification, so a complaint was filed with the Justice Department.

Next day, we canvassed the parish and held a clinic with over 165 participants. On Wednesday, we returned to the registrar's office to check on the identification requirements. Two days later, possibly as a result of our complaint to the Justice Department, an official of the state registration office was supervising the local registrar and two of our five applicants succeeded in registering.

That brought our total of registered Negroes to 6. Since then, 10 more have been registered. This total is small, but extremely significant in a parish where no Negro has registered since 1902.

* * *

In Iberville parish, which was the initial target of the CORE voter registration drive, a full slate of 12 Negroes qualified for the 1963 Democratic primaries. Among the candidates are Spiver Gordon, a CORE Task Force worker, and Dr. Bertrand Tyson and W. W. Harleaux, both community leaders.

BIGGEST PROTEST MARCH IN SOUTH



The biggest civil rights march to be held in the south took place in New Orleans on September 30 under the sponsorship of the Citizen's Committee, a joint group whose chairman is Lolis Elie, CORE's chief southern counsel.

Over 15,000 Negroes and whites participated. The New Orleans CORE contingent carried a large banner saying "Freedom Now—CORE." CORE National Associate Director Richard Haley and New Orleans CORE Chairman Oretha Castle led the contigent. Over 300 white students were among the marchers.

Another banner in the march said: "We March in Dignity for Human Dignity Now." A banner proclaiming the march's chief objective said: "We Want Equal Employment and Equal Training Now." Another objective of the march was desegregation of those public accommodations which still refuse to serve Negroes and repeal of a local ordinance imposing segregation in public places selling alcoholic beverages.

Speakers included Oretha Castle of CORE, Ernest Morial of NAACP, Rev. Avery Alexander of the Consumers League, Rev. G. L. Hayden of St. James AME Church, A. Horowitz of the Hillel Foundation, Monsignor Clauche and Rev. A. L. Davis.

Follow-Through Action

Two of these speakers—Rev. Davis (at the microphones in above photo) and Rev. Alexander—were among 25 persons arrested a month later—on October 31—while sitting-in in the City Council chamber, the segregated City Hall cafeteria and the Mayor's waiting room.

Rev. Davis, who was ousted from the City Council chamber, had pledged to "stay here and sit for 30 days hence until we get some word" on demands for complete desegregation and equal job opportunities. Rev. Alexander was dragged by the heels by two policemen from the cafeteria.

Five days later eight more sit-inners, including CORE Field Secretary Isaac Reynolds, were arrested in the mayor's waiting room and in the cafeteria. Included in the group were five whites: a Tulane University professor and four Tulane students.

A Mass March in the North

Trenton, the capital of New Jersey, on October 26 was the scene of a Statewide March for Jobs and Freedom in which 12,000 persons from all parts of the state participated. Arriving in special buses and by train, they started marching at City Hall, proceeded to the State House and then to the War Memorial Building where a giant rally was held.

Participating in the March were a large number of unions and religious bodies in addition to the New Jersey chapters of CORE and the New Jersey Conference of NAACP. Directing the March was Robert Gore of CORE. Honorary chairman and director were A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, who led the August 28th March On Washington.

IN BRIEF

Los Angeles CORE has formed a Mexican-American Committee to concentrate on winning equal housing and employment opportunities for Mexicans. Asked about rumors that Negro gains are being made at the expense of Mexicans, Adolph Villavazo, chairman of the new committee, said: "This is nonsense. We can all achieve our rights together. Let's not fall prey again to that old theme of 'divide and conquer.'"

* * *

Chicago CORE groups played a leading part in the detailed organizational work which made the October 22 Freedom Day school boycott the biggest demonstration against de facto school segregation in the north. On that day, over 225,000 students, nearly half the total enrollment, stayed away from classes, while over 10,000 demonstrators marched on City Hall and the Board of Education. They demanded the resignation of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis, who has been unwilling to make any changes to bring about integration.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962; Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code)

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Harsh Jail Terms Prompt City Hall Protest



The imposing of prison sentences of up to a year on 19 leaders of St. Louis CORE's fair employment campaign at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. resulted in this protest demonstration inside City Hall on October 28. Over 1,000 persons had marched on City Hall.

That evening more than 250 Catholics, many of them priests and nuns, held a protest rally. John Dunsford, associate law professor at St. Louis University, said the rally was "a public confession that we have sinned in the pride of race."

The 19 were sentenced by State Circuit Judge Michael Scott for violating his August 30 injunction against "physical interference" at the Jefferson Bank & Trust Co. Among those sentenced were Charles Oldham, former national chairman of CORE and Alderman William Clay, a long-time leader of St. Louis CORE. Alderman Clay was sentenced to 270 days in jail. Fines ranged from $500 to $1000 against each of the defendants. The cases are being appealed. Trial of 40 demonstrators arrested on "disturbing the peace" charges has been adjourned until November 29. Nonviolent demonstrations have been conducted both inside and outside the bank. Inside, CORE members frequently lined-up at windows to simply seek change or to open new accounts which would be promptly closed.

The bank is still being picketed. Intercession by Mayor Raymond Tucker and a 2-week truce failed to prevail on management to adopt a fair hiring policy. Several other banks have hired 35 Negroes as a result of St. Louis CORE's campaign, but not Jefferson.

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REPORT OF THE REGIONAL ACTION COUNCIL COMMITTEE

The Regional Action Council (RAC) Committee proposes that such Councils be set up in each of the five geographic regions suggested, namely:

1. The Northeast
2. The Southeast
3. The South Central
4. The North Central
5. The West

The RAC Committee recommends the RAC councils perform the following roles:

1. Serve to facilitate the flow of communications between the chapters within each region. In fact, RAC could serve as a clearing house, and a discussion forum for new ideas and projects, permitting each chapter to obtain a total picture of what's happening in the region.

2. That RAC shall assist in the initiation and coordination of a regional program; that it shall assist in the coordination of regional project submitted to it by local chapters.

3. In the event of conflicting programs or projects between chapters or between RAC and a local chapter, RAC shall have the authority to resolve such conflict and its rulings regarding such matters shall be binding on the chapters involved unless and until overruled by NAC.

4. RAC shall have authority to enforce its rulings and have all the disciplinary powers of NAC up to and including suspension of chapters. Such disciplinary measures shall be binding unless and until overruled by NAC. It can make recommendations to NAC to take further disciplinary action when necessary. However it should be noted that RAC shall not have the authority to compel any chapter to participate in projects or programs. RAC's disciplinary powers can be used solely to prevent conflicts between chapters and programs within the region.

5. RAC shall provide for workshops, educational and training conferences for the region and shall provide assistance for new chapters.

Structure of the Regional Action Councils

The Raci Committee proposes that RAC consist of 7 voting members elected by a regional conference plus two ex-officio members one of whom is the senior regional field secretary, and one of whom is regional vice-chairmen and a regular NAC member. These members shall not have voting privileges. It was felt by the Committee that the senior field secretary of the region would be valuable to RAC through his familiarity with the region. The NAC member would provide a tie-in with the Regional Action Council and NAC. The Committee proposes the two ex-officio members of the regional RAC be selected at this convention and that they be instructed to set up regional conferences within 60 days to elect the other seven members of the board. The committee recommends that the actual structure and the election procedure of RAC in each region be determined at these regional conferences to best fit the needs of each region.

COMMITTEE REPORTS

Report of the Chapter Arbitration Committee to the Convention:
The Committee Recommends that the following resolution be adopted by the Convention:

I There shall be established a CORE Board of Arbitration, which Board shall have as its Chairman either the First or Second Vice Chairman of CORE, as designated by the National Chairman of CORE, and shall meet at the request of the National Chairman. The Board shall be composed of five members, as appointed by the National Chairman, except that no person shall serve on the Board if he is a member of a chapter whose gievance is before the Board, or if he has personal involvement in the case before the Board:

1. First or Second National Vice-Chairman of CORE (Board Chairman)
2. Regional Representatives of the Area in which the chapter or individual involved is located, except where a regional representative from another Area is assigned to the case by the National Chairman.
3. CORE National Director of Organizations.
4. Regional Field Secretary of area in which the chapter is located, except where in the judgement of the National Chairman it would be appropriate for another Field Secretary to be appointed to this Board.

The NAC members shall be the only voting members of the Board.

II Disputes involving individuals, staff members and/or chapters shall be dealt with according to the following procedural steps:

1. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by direct negotiation with the other party to the conflict, at its original level.
2. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem with the assistance of a Field Secretary in the area.
3. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem with the assistance of the Director of Organization and/or the National Director of CORE.
4. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the CORE Board of Arbitration.
5. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the NAC Steering Committee.
6. Making a specific attempt to resolve the problem by bringing it before the full NAC meeting.
7. If all the above procedures have been exhausted and the problem is still unresolved, the parties shall then have the right of appeal to the National Convention of CORE, according to the Convention's established procedure for such appeals.

III A. There shall be a National Convention Arbitration Board of Appeals Committee. This Committee shall be composed of twelve (12) chapter chairmen who are not members of NAC. Members of this Committee, and its chairman, shall be appointed by the National Chairman of CORE.

B. The function of this Committee is to determine whether an aggrieved party, with an appeal it wishes to bring before the National Convention, has exhausted all administrative remedies. Administrative remedies in this case would consist of Steps (1) through (6) in Section II of this resolution.

C. If these administrative remedies have not been exhausted, the Committee shall indicate to the aggrieved parties the next appropriate level at which to lodge their appeal. If the Committee finds that all these steps have been complied with, it shalll conduct, at the Convention site, a hearing with all parties present and able to be heard, and shall certify the appeal to the floor of the Convention, with its recommendations.

National Programming Committee:
Motion: That all CORE chapters be alerted in the future to the possible Freedom Day Campaigns in several counties in the 4th Congressional District of Mississippi and that such chapters undertake simultaneous demonstrations in Washington at other communities to facilitate the registration of Negroes in Mississip through the implementation of the recently signed civil rights bill and its voting provision.

Convention Committee:
The 1965 Convention Site has decided on the state of Mississippi. We will not announce the city until further investigation of facilities large enough to house the Convention.

RESOLUTIONS

Directive to the National Office via Resolution...URBAN RENEWAL:
Proposed: That the National Office take immediate steps to correct present abuses in the execution of the Urban Renewal Program as they effect minority group persons; that such steps be taken on a professional level and be nation-wide; that a unit be created to deal specifically with the problems inherent in such endeavor and that such unit be staffed with planners and urban specialists, to review continuously proposed plans and programs in which large numbers of minority group persons will be involved.
Further Proposed: That the National Office be authorized to utilize the knowledge and facilities, contacts and apparatus already existing within the New York CORE Department of Urban Renewal and Embrace such department as a National Pilot Project to preceed and facilitate the speedy establishment of a permanent national department of urban renewal.

(Resolution by the New York CORE)

Ways of Communicating Program

Proposed: That the National Office using field staff, experienced, chapter members and experts in specific areas, train existing leadership, develop and train secondary leadership.
Training in Community Movement and:

Orgnaization --
Education --
Housing --
Employment --
Chapter Development --
Civil Disobedience & Direct Action.

Suggestion: Training Centers be set up in 25 or 30 locations for the purpose of conducting week-end and week-long workshops in above techniques.

In order to help overcome the problem of news blackouts and internal laps in the dissemination of news, the voluntary positions of Regional Information Officers should be established. It will be the responsibility of the Information Officer to help chapters develop access to the news media. Chapters should be directed to establish closer ties with the news media and to establish their own news columns and radio and television programs.

Arthur F. Alston of Philadelphia CORE moved that the Convention instruct the oncoming NAC to consider favorably the founding of a weekly, self-supporting nation-wide taloid newspaper for the nonviolent direct action civil rights movement. (Could be sold in Chapters with advertisement solicited.)

That CORE should create a Political Action Committee to provide chapters with information for political education programs, and that volunteer regional co-ordinators be recruited.

That there be an increase in the number of field secretaries so that more can be resident in each area.

continued....

Brooklyn CORE's Convention Proposals

2. End to Symbolic Demonstrations

a. CORE initiates projects of a permanent character rather than of a token or symbolic nature. We recommend permanent school boycotts in the Fall of 1964 where applicable.

b. Permanent demonstrations against discriminatory states and companies at the New York World's Fair.

9. Propose National Civil Rights Martyr Day parades to be held the each year on July 2 in memory of all the Medgar Evers and Birmingham Children who have given, and will give, their lives for the cause of Freedom.

Programatic Direction

CORE should develop a National Program that would hylight the problems of the unemployed and the unskilled workers and through this demand that the federal government establish a massive public works program to harness the energies of the so-called "unemployable" workers for the rehabilitation of the neglected areas and that present federal training programs be strengthened and that increased subsidies be paid to trainees.

That National CORE compile a master list of products and firms to be boycotted and send this to all chapters for dissemination. This list should also include those pavilions previously picketed at the World's Fair.

Ways of Communicating Program

Intervisitation: The national office should establish or foster a nationa program of intervisitation between CORE chapters. In such a program members of one chapter would visit members of another chapter on a state or interstate level as a method of exchanging information on how to develop programs and resolve problems and as a means of organizing chapters for united action on a regional level.

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES ST.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

MEMO FROM: Judith Nusbaum, Research/Federal Programs

DATE: August 4, 1965

RE: Voting Bill

In the next few days the new Voting Bill will become a law. It is important that we take immediate steps to make this law effective. The first step will be to urge the Attorney General to send federal registrars to eligible areas of Louisiana and South Carolina. The following is an explanation of the bill and its application to Louisiana and South Carolina.

1. The bill provides that any state in which less than 50% of the total eligible population voted in the last general election, is eligible for federal registrars. This includes Louisiana and South Carolina.

2. An amendment to this provision (the "Boggs Amendment") provides, however, that any county (parish) in these states which has more than 50% of its eligible Nonwhite population registered, is exempt from having a federal registrar. The following counties and parishes are exempt:

LOUISIANA			SOUTH CAROLINA
Acadia	Jefferson Davis	St. Landry	Anderson
Allen	Lafayette	St. Martin	Berkeley
Ascension	LaFourche	St. Tammany	Chester
Assumption	Livingston	Vermilion	Darlington
Calcasieu	Sabine	Vernon	Georgetown
Cameron	St. Bernard		Laurens
Evangeline	St. Charles		Lexington
Iberia	St. James		Oconees
Jefferson	St. John		Pickens

(CON'T)

3. The bill also provides that these states must automatically eliminate all tests that are used for the following purposes:

a. to show literacy

b. to show ability to understand any matter (constitution, etc.)

c. to show educational achievement or knowledge

d. to show good moral character (cannot be denied registration because of illigitimate children, conviction of a misdemeanor, common law marriage, etc.)

The only exceptions are conviction of a felony or mental disability.

4. The Attorney General has the authority to appoint federal registrars in all counties (parishes) <u>not</u> listed above, under the following conditions:

a. he receives 20 complaints from residants of the parish alleging that they were denied the right to vote by means of a test or other discrimination

b. he decides that it is necessary

5. In order to get federal registrars sent in to Louisiana and South Carolina, it is important to follow these steps:

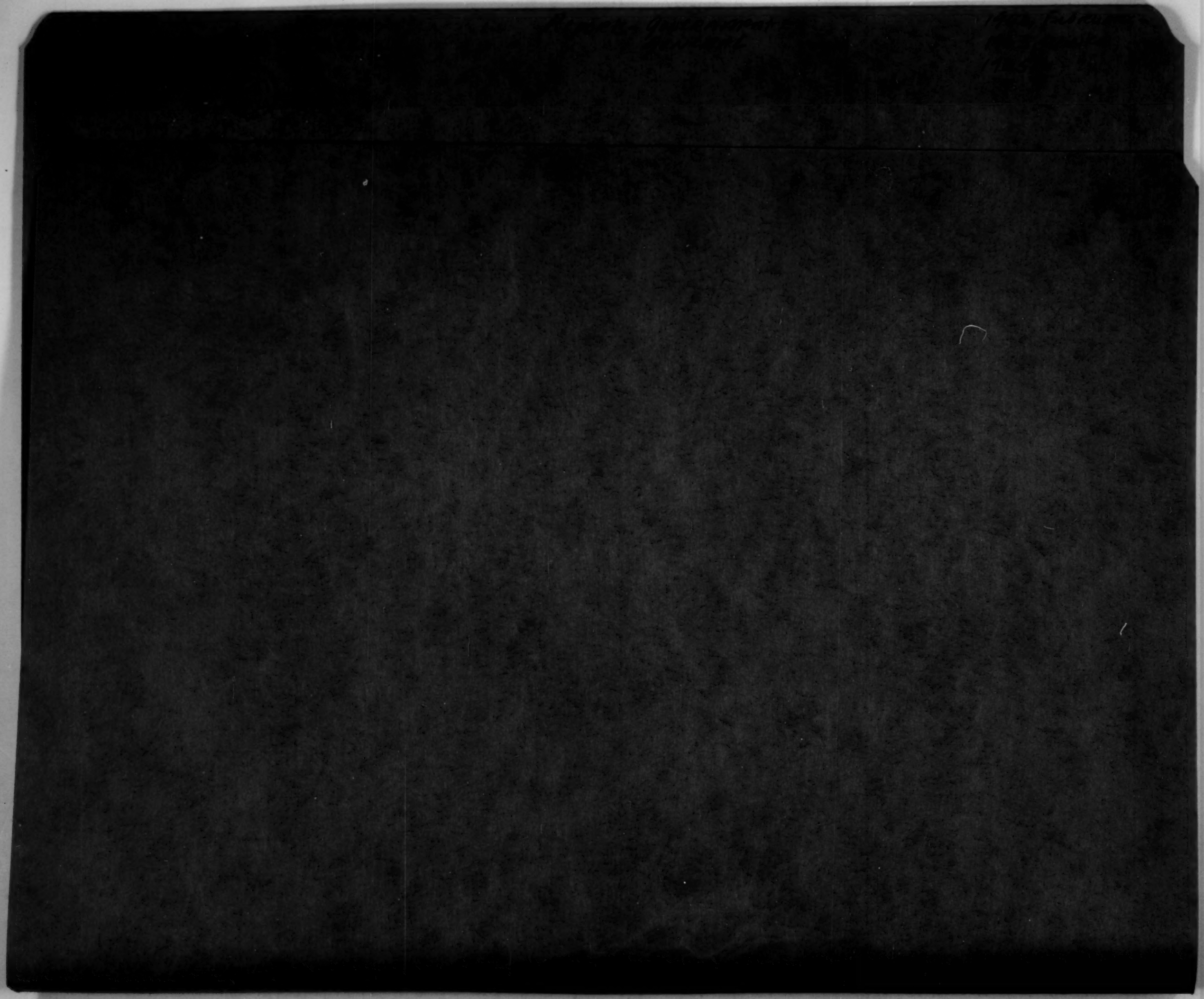
a. Send people to the registrar to apply for registration after the law is passed.

b. If they are intimidated or denied the right to register or given a test of the kind mentioned above, a complaint should be written and signed.

c. Try to get at least 20 complaints for each county (parish)

d. Send these complaints to me (Judith Nusbaum, CORE Southern Office, 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, Louisiana) and I will give them to the lawyers in New Orleans who are compiling this information for presentation to the Attorney General.

* * * * * * * *



Richard Haley

Report No. L-15
February 1, 1960

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

TYPES OF DESEGREGATION PLANS

By now, a great variety of desegregation plans have been developed by the localities which have complied with the Supreme Court's decision. Some of these have been "all at once" plans; some have been gradual approaches. Some of them place responsibility for initiating desegregation on the school administration; some of them require the students and their parents to take the initiative.

Because of the importance of this subject for every community in the South, this report indicates the nature of a few plans which have attracted widespread interest. All of these come from larger cities. Small communities in the border states and in Texas have devised many different individual plans to suit their own community situations. That they have been able to do so is evidence of the great flexibility of the Supreme Court's decision. For descriptions of these small locality plans, plus full discussion of the whole question, see Wey and Corey, Action Patterns in School Desegregation.

The Louisville plan.

The city was re-districted in 1956 without regard to race, and students are assigned to the nearest school. In practice, parents are free to transfer their children from the assigned school to another, unless the desired school is full. Desegregation in Louisville was preceded by months of public discussion led by school officials and by integration of teachers's meetings. In 1959, Louisville began the integration of faculties.

The Nashville plan.

Nashville began desegregation in 1957, by assigning all first-grade pupils on the basis of geographic zones without regard to race. Each subsequent first-grade has been likewise assigned, so that as of 1959 desegregation has reached the third grade of the twelve-year staircase. A child whose race is a minority in his school or grade, or who has been assigned to a school which had previously served only the other race, may transfer on request.

The Baltimore plan.

Historically, Baltimore has had no school districts: students have been free to attend any school in the city, and no assignments are made except in instances of over-crowding. Prior to 1954, there was one other exception to free choice: race. Baltimore's desegregation plan was, then, the most simple possible. The racial designation of schools was ended, and free choice prevails. Students desiring to transfer from

one school to another must, however, get the permission of the two principals involved, in order to prevent mass movement. Teachers are assigned on the basis of demonstrated ability.

The Washington plan.

Prior to 1954, Washington had not only segregated schools, but two separate school systems united only by a common superintendent. The separate administrations were ended, the city re-districted, and students are assigned without regard to race to the nearest school. Desegregation motivated Washington to undertake an educational reform which many had believed long overdue. A so-called "four track" curriculum was adopted, and every student from the tenth grade up is assigned to one of the four curricula on the basis of ability and achievement. In 1959, a similar track system was extended to the lower grades. Teachers are assigned on the basis of demonstrated ability. (The St. Louis plan is similar, except that it began desegregation one semester earlier in the high schools than in the lower grades.)

The San Antonio plan.

In 1955, the 1st and 2nd, the 7th, and the 10th grades were desegregated. Negro students entering these grades could choose which school within their residential district to attend. The practice of free choice has been continued with each class entering the elementary, junior high, or high school level.

* * *

Individual assignment plans, described next, differ fundamentally from the above methods in that the responsibility for initiating and planning desegregation is not assumed by the school officials.

* * *

North Carolina and Virginia plans.

Desegregation has been effected in some localities of each state by the individual assignment of Negro students to formerly all-white schools; such assignments are made only of pupils who meet academic and sociological criteria of the school authorities. The initiative for desegregation is, then, not assumed by the school boards, which act only on the petition of Negro children and their parents.

Little Rock and Atlanta plans.

In Little Rock, pupil placement is combined with a top-down stair-step plan: desegregation has begun in the high schools; after a period of adjustment there, the junior highs and elementary schools will, in turn, be desegregated. The Atlanta plan, which has not yet gone into effect, combines pupil placement with the reverse of Nashville's procedure: desegregation is to begin with the 12th grade, and move down one grade a year.

Statistics

CORE - Congress of Racial Equality -- December 8, 1960
38 Park Row, New York 38, New York

Cities where Lunch Counters of Drug, Variety, Department Store or Bus Terminals have opened since February 1, 1960.

Arkansas
Fort Smith

Florida
Bradenton
Cocoa
Coral City
Coral Gables
Daytona Beach
Fort Lauderdale
Fort Myers
Hialeah
Homestead
Lakeland
Lantana
Largo
Key West
Melbourne
Miami
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Sarasota
Tampa
Vero Beach
West Hollywood
West Palm Beach
Ybor City

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SOME USEFUL STATISTICS from an article by ERNEST CALLOWAY, "ULTIMATE CONQUEST of NEGRO INEQUALITY" [1960]

[redacted]

The Negro today cannot afford the luxury of repeating the errors of the 1890's. By the very nature of the sweep of modern events, he must realistically view the whole elephant of American society in all of its political, economic, industrial social and cultural ramifications. He must view it in full perspective, both in terms of its many domestic pursuits as well as its changing position in world leadership. It is only from the vantage point of such a broad, comprehensive view that the Negro will be able to grasp and weigh the essential nature of his peculiar problem as America quickly moves from one period of economic change to another in the new Revolution of Technology and the Push Button Cybernetic Society.

Within this particular frame of reference, it would appear that the first and primary task of the Negro is to seek out the natural habitat of his poverty, explore its depth, identify its cause, and recognize its impact in the affluent society. The income level of the Negro is a good beginning point.

INDIVIDUAL INCOME DISTRIBUTION AMONG NEGROES, 1960

Income Levels	Total	Percent Of Total	Urban	Rural Non-Farm	Rural Farm
Negroes With Income	$9,434,000	100.0%	7,134,000	1,717,000	583,000
Less Than $500	1,944,000	20.6%	1,092,000	587,000	275,000
$500 to $999	1,709,000	18.1%	1,166,000	402,000	192,000
$1,000 to $1,499	1,061,000	11.2%	795,000	201,000	64,000
$1,500 to $1,999	784,000	8.6%	615,000	136,000	33,000
$2,000 to $2,999	1,395,000	14.8%	1,167,000	193,000	35,000
$3,000 to $4,999	1,776,000	18.6%	1,595,000	158,000	24,000
$5,000 and Over	766,000	8.1%	707,000	50,000	9,000
Non-White Median Income (In Dollars)	$1,502.00		$1,919.00	$849.00	$557.00

THE STRUCTURE OF POVERTY IN THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY
(Distribution of Family Income - 1960)
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

Family Income Levels	Percent of All Families	Percent of White Families	Percent Of Non-White Families
No. of U.S. Families	45,435,000	41,104,000	4,331,000
BASIC POVERTY SECTOR			
Under $1,000	5.0%	4.1%	13.4%
$1,000 to $1,999	8.0%	6.9%	18.3%
$2,000 to $2,999	8.7%	8.1%	14.8%
$3,000 to $3,999	9.8%	9.4%	14.0%
Totals	31.5%	28.5%	60.5%
PERIPHERAL POVERTY SECTOR			
$4,000 to $4,999	10.5%	10.5%	10.4%
$5,000 to $5,999	12.9%	13.3%	8.7%
$6,000 to $6,999	10.8%	11.2%	6.7%
Totals	34.2%	35.0%	25.8%
THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY			
$7,000 to $9,999	20.0%	21.3%	8.7%
Over $10,000	14.3%	15.3%	4.9%
Totals	34.3%	36.6%	13.6%
Median Family Income	$5,620.00	$5,835.00	$3,233.00

In 1960, the Negro with an estimated aggregate income of approximately $14 billion secured approximately 3.4 percent of total U.S. personal income and approximately 3.9 percent of total disposal personal income. The depth of the gap in income inequity is viewed from the point that the Negro constitutes 10.5 percent of the total U.S. population. In other words, a particular 10 percent of the population is receiving a 3 percent slice of the income pie. Consequently, the factors of mal-distribution, institutional poverty and built in discrimination had a price tag which cost the Negro approximately $24 billion in 1960 or an

average of nearly $6,000 per Negro family.

This income inequity is further aggravated when we view the distribution among Negroes of this unnecessarily short slice of income pie. In 1960 there were 9,434,000 Negroes who received income. Of this number, 20.6 percent received less than $500; 18.6 percent received between $500 and $999; 11.2 percent had an income between $1,500 and $1,999. Here, we have pin-pointed the areas of extreme, dire poverty, and the figures indicate that 58.5 percent of all Negro individuals with income in 1960 received less than $2,000.

Moving from the lower depths of poverty to the periphery of Negro income poverty, figures indicate than another 33.4 percent of all Negro individuals in 1960 received between $2,000 and $5,000. Only 8.1 percent of Negroes with income, received in excess of $5,000 during 1960.

The income picture becomes more depressing when viewed in terms of family units and compared with white family units. Figures indicate that 60.5 percent of all non-white families in the U.S. in 1960 had a combined income of less than $4,000 as compared with 28.5 percent of white families. In the comparatively affluent sectors of income ($7,000 and over) only 13.6 percent of non-white families reached these heights as compared with 36.6 percent of white families.

EMPLOYMENT

In a large measure, the level of income is closely related to the kind and quality of employment. Thus the extremely low income levels of the Negro is graphically reflected in the dominant structure of Negro employment.

CHANGES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE WORK FORCE BETWEEN 1950 AND 1962

Type of Employment	Percent White Employed		Percent Non-White Employed	
	1950	1962	1950	1962
WHITE COLLAR SECTOR (Professional, Technical, Clerical, sales, etc.)	40.3%	47.7%	10.2%	18.3%
BLUE CHIP SECTOR (Craftsmen, foremen)	13.7%	13.7%	4.8%	5.7%
BLUE COLLAR SECTOR (Operatives, semi-skilled production and maintenance workers, etc.)	20.6%	17.3%	18.6%	20.1%
MARGINAL SECTOR (Laborers, Household Service, Service Workers)	13.5%	14.6%	47.9%	46.6%
AGRICULTURAL SECTOR	11.7%	6.7%	18.4%	9.4%

In 1962 of the nearly 7 million Negroes employed, 46.6 out of every 100 working were employed in the marginal sectors of the U.S. labor force. In 1950 there were 47.9 Negroes out of every 100 employed in this low income area. In a 12 year period only 1.3 Negroes out of every 100 were able to move out of the category. Among white workers in 1962, only 14.6 out of every 100 were employed as laborers, household employees and service workers.

At the other end of the employment pole which is composed of craftsmen, figures for 1962 indicate that 5.7 Negroes out of every 100 were working in this "blue chip" job sector as compared with 13.7 out of every 100 white workers.

In the white collar sector Negroes have made some gains over the past 12 years. In 1950, ten out of every 100 Negroes working were classified as professional, technical, clerical or sales workers as compared with 40 out of every 100 white workers. In 1962, eighteen out of every 100 Negro workers are in this area as compared with 47 out of every 100

white workers.

A levelling area of employment in terms of the Negro-white percentages in found in the blue collar sector today. This would include semi-skilled production and maintenance workers. Here 20 out of every 100 Negroes working are found as compared with 17 out of every 100 white workers. Twelve years ago, the situation was reversed. In 1950, twenty out of every 100 white workers were in this category as compared with 17 out of every 100 Negroes. The trend of technological change indicates that the white worker is fast vacating this sector and the Negro is pushing in.

GENERAL EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF NEGROES IN 1960

	Total	Urban	Rural Non-Farm	Rural Farm
Total, 14 Years & Over	13,154,000	9,721,000	2,501,000	931,000
Labor Force	7,399,000	5,775,000	1,182,000	442,000
Civilian Labor Force	7,259,000	5,701,000	1,116,000	422,000
Employed	6,629,000	5,188,000	1,019,000	422,000
Unemployed	630,000	513,000	97,000	20,000
Percent Unemployed	8.6%	9.0%	8.6%	4.7%
Total Not in Labor Force	5,574,000	3,946,000	1,319,000	489,000

UNEMPLOYMENT

While the employment problems of the Negro is deep-seated and critical, the grave matter of unemployment among Negroes is bordering on economic disaster.

A birds-eye view of the overall problem shows that since 1945, the civilian labor force has increased by 27 percent, the non-agricultural labor force has increased by 38 percent, the agricultural labor force has decreased by 44 percent, and unemployment has increased by 320 percent or more than tripled its rate since World War II. Under ordinary economic circumstances, these changes would suggest that the American economy has been somewhat depressed since World War II. Nothing could be further from the truth as reflected in the substantial increase in productivity, the gross national product and corporate profits.

The Gross National Product in 1945 was $213 billion as compared with $521 billion in 1961 or a 144 percent increase. Corporate profits moved from $18 billion in 1945 to $46 billion in 1961 or an increase of 155 percent.

What the figures suggest in a very sober way is that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer.

Since 1947, four business recessions have interrupted business prosperity. And in each case business has fully recovered, but the "recovery" left in its wake a larger residue of permanently unemployed persons. This is an entirely new economic phenonomen within the long history of our competitive economy. Some economists have dubbed this new kind of unemployment as "structural" unemployment, reflecting the structural changes taking place in the national economy.

The Negro worker has emerged as the prime victim of "structural" unemployment. In 1960, the Negro constituted about 9 percent of the total work force. During the same year total unemployment amounted to 3,931,000 of which approximately 630,000 or nearly 18 percent were Negroes. The real depth and utter hardship lurking in these figures were reflected in the major industrial centers with large concentrations of Negroes.

An Urban League survey of 30 major industrial centers in 1960 showed that total unemployment in the selected areas amounted to 7 percent, but Negroes unemployed represented 15.5 percent of the Negro work force. Of the total unemployed in the 20 cicites, 33.9 percent were Negroes.

In Chicago, 44.1 percent of the unemployed were Negroes although the Negro worker only constituted 14.7 percent of the work force.

In Detroit, 61 percent of the unemployed were Negroes although they represented only 19.5 percent of the work force.

In Philadelphia, 54.7 percent of the unemployed were Negroes although they represented only 13.0 percent of the work force.

In St. Louis, 48.5 percent of the unemployed were Negroes and they represented 20 percent of the work force.

In Louisville, 61 percent; Washington 68.5 percent and Cleveland 30.3 percent.

Throughout the industrial centers of America these disproportionate patterns were set.

EDUCATION

INVENTORY OF THE NEGRO EDUCATIONAL FRONT - 1960

Enrollment In 1960	Total Non-White	Urban	Rural Non-Farm	Rural Farm
Total, 5 to 34 years	5,446,000	3,771,000	1,147,000	528,000
Kindergarten	223,000	207,000	15,000	2,000
Elementary School	3,972,000	2,658,000	802,000	422,000
High School	1,058,000	736,000	220,000	102,000
College	192,000	170,000	20,000	3,000
Years of School Completed				
Total, 25 years & Over	9,857,000	7,478,000	1,764,000	614,000
No School Years	555,000	315,000	179,000	62,000
% No School Years	5.6%	4.2%	10.1%	10,8%
Elementary				
1 to 4 years	1,759,000	1,079,000	481,000	190,000
5 to 7 years	2,303,000	1,623,000	488,000	192,000
8 years	1,264,000	1,018,000	185,000	61,000
High School				
1 to 3 years	1,842,000	1,559,000	226,000	57,000
4 years	1,356,000	1,194,000	133,000	29,000
College				
1 to 3 years	431,000	388,000	36,000	8,000
4 Years or More	347,000	304,000	37,000	7,000
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEAR COMPLETED	8.2	8.7	6.4	5.7

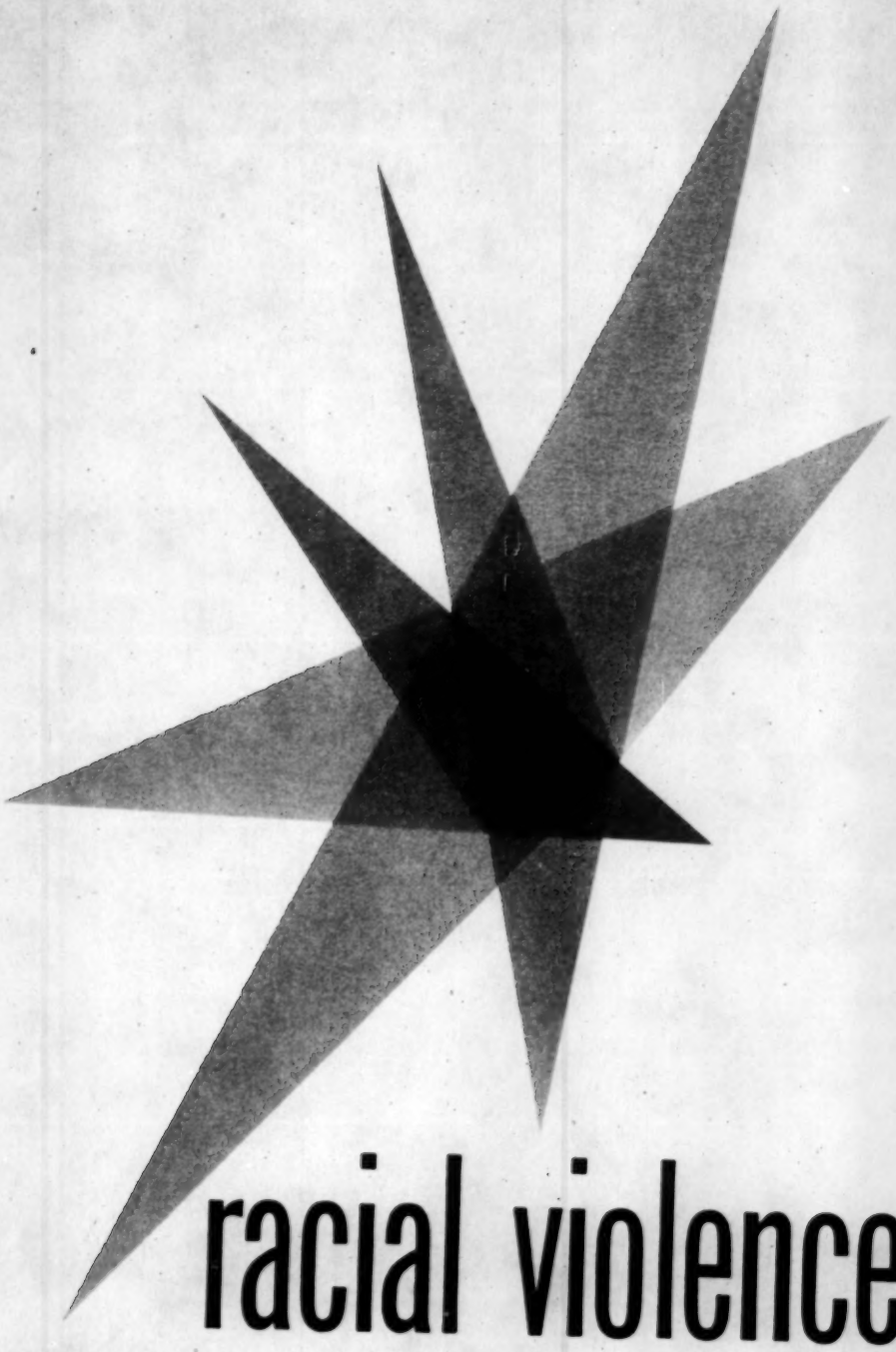
In 1960, the U.S. census figures indicated that there were 9,587,000 Negroes in the country over 25 years of age. Of this number 5,881,000 or 59 percent had 8 years or less of schooling. Figures also revealed that 555,000 of these were illiterate. The illiteracy rate showed up highest in the rural areas with one out of every 10 Negroes over 25 years of age with no schooling at all.

We think that the basic evidence and patterns of inequity have been presented. While there are many other supplementary factors and by-products that feed upon the structure of Negro economic inequality, it is clearly indicated that income, employment, unemployment and education form the bulwark of this problem.

Consequently, with 58 percent of individual Negroes with income below $2,000 ; with 46 percent of Negro families receiving income below $3,000; with 46 percent of all Negro workers confined to the marginal areas of employment and constituting nearly 20 percent of the permanently unemployed, and with 8.2 years of schooling, we are presented with the simple, but brutal economic equation of institutional poverty.

It is a hard-core poverty that not only involves approximately 80 percent of the Negro sector of the population, but reaches out to suffocate nearly 35 percent of the total American community, Negro and white alike. It is a poverty that flows from the inter-action of the "natural" forces of inequity in a traditionally competitive economy which has assumed a fixed predatory stance through increased national monopolies and world cartelization. Insofar as the Negro is concerned, these "natural" forces of inequity have been compounded by the "subjective" forces of racial discrimination. Both of these forces seek the same end, and that is to maintain this peculiar economic in-balance in perpetuity. One is coldly and aggressively predatory because of its inner nature, and the other is not only predatory, but demeans the human personality because of fear and other subjective factors.

[1960]



racial violence and law enforcement

racial violence and law enforcement By GEORGE McMILLAN

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GA., 1960

Foreword

LAW ENFORCEMENT is, as Mr. McMillan states early in his report, an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crisis of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists or segregationists.

The recent sit-in demonstrations have shown that professional standards of police work are practiced in many cities of the region. The police in a number of Southern towns and cities, though certainly not all, have handled these difficult situations with skill, and have earned the gratitude of all. Good police work, however, requires more than professional training. The basic necessity is the support of elected officials and community leadership, expressing a clear-cut community respect for law and order. For too many years in the South the police were assumed to be an arm of the white race to keep the Negroes in their place. Where this attitude lingers there is scant chance for the orderly resolution of racial controversy.

This pamphlet is concerned with one problem of law enforcement, its most serious testing: riot prevention and control. Three actual episodes are described. Each represents a type of situation which can occur in any Southern locality. One is an example of a riot almost by accident which, though it reached dangerous proportions, was primarily a task of clearing the streets and allowing tempers to cool and good sense to prevail. The second is a case where the police, in the name of preventing "trouble" and acting their traditional role of guardians of a segregated society, crushed a Negro demonstration, in effect doing the bidding of the white mob. The third is a story of police resistance to a planned effort by a mob to supersede the law.

What has happened more recently in Jacksonville,, Florida, has had elements of all three of these situations. To prepare for riots—as Jacksonville did not—even to discuss the possibility, is distasteful. Yet not to do so is unrealistic. Segregationists, of course, have

always warned that the reform of racial practices would cause "trouble"; that the violence and disorder we have had has been of their own doing makes the warning a prophecy of the way the prophets and their followers will act. More than a year ago, the Southern Regional Council joined with the National Council of Churches and the American Friends Service Committee to publish a record of violence and intimidation in the South from 1954 through 1958. This unwholesome account revealed again that Southern resistance to racial equality too frequently degenerates into lurid lawlessness.

The Council has on many occasions since 1945 stressed the need for trained, expert police forces in the South. Now, the publication of this study of riot control is a restatement of our conviction that the tensions of race relations in the South require that law enforcement be firm, skilled, and above all impartial. Mr. McMillan's narrative of events in three cities can be of value to municipal officials as illustrations of police problems and tactics. Civic discords can be made to yield to fair solutions, but only if civic peace and order are meanwhile preserved.

George McMillan is well qualified to interpret these issues. A Tennessean by birth and rearing and a South Carolinian by residence, he writes frequently on Southern topics for national magazines. He is the author of *The Old Breed,* a history of the First Marine Division during World War II.

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Introduction

THIS is a study of Southern law enforcement.

The Southern racial crisis is deepening into a new and potentially more dangerous stage. There is no doubt but that a strong current of dissatisfaction is running through the Southern Negro community. A young and more aggressive generation of Negroes is coming of age while the racial attitudes of many white Southerners remain largely unchanged.

The situation is reaching an impasse out of which one of the alternatives is clearly violence.

Thus one of the most important questions in the South today is this:

What is the region's capacity for preserving law and order in the foreboding months that lie ahead?

This study is an attempt to answer that question fairly and objectively, without seeing ghosts, and without retreading old notions and stereotypes.

This is an examination of three turbulent episodes that grew out of racial disputes. They happened several months ago. But they cast their shadow over the region's presently unsettled issues of law and order. Between the time this study was researched and the time it was written, ugly riots occurred in Jacksonville. As this goes to press the problems there are still unsolved. What's more, there lie still ahead the potential risks to public peace involved in desegregation of schools in the Deep South.

Unpleasant as it may be to say so, the nation and the South must realize that law enforcement and riot prevention are essential factors in race relations.

This is NOT a statistical study of the size and scope of Southern law enforcement agencies—of state highway patrols, of county sheriff staffs, or of city police departments.

The problems of Southern law enforcement are too complex and too subtle to be approached that way.

Nor is this an attempt to decide whether the Negroes are "right" or those whites who oppose them are "right." It is not an attempt, either, to judge the actions of any single police officer or any group of police officers or public officials.

This study is based on specific and actual events and episodes because that has seemed the best way to approach a subject which is beset with intangibles of culture and attitude, a subject in which image and reality are easily and often confused.

Each of the episodes chosen for this study involved a racial dispute. Each involved one or more agencies of Southern law enforcement.

And each shows what is probably a characteristic Southern posture or reflex to racial disorder. Together, they may very well illustrate the three alternatives that are open to Southern communities in the months ahead.

The first episode covers several days' rioting in Chattanooga, Tennessee, which followed the sit downs there in February, 1960.

The second episode covers the near-riot in March, 1960, in Montgomery, Alabama.

The third episode covers the incident that grew out of the second attempt to desegregate the schools of Little Rock, Arkansas, in August, 1959.

Chattanooga:
Drift and Disaster

THE MOST IMPORTANT thing that happened in Chattanooga when young Negroes tried to sit down at variety store lunch counters there was—what didn't happen.

The *Chattanooga Times* described the climax as "the most massive racial clash in the history of Chattanooga."

But it promised to be one of the worst racial disasters in American history, as well as Chattanooga's.

At the height of the clash—it was the end of five days of rioting and public disorder—platoons of angry Negroes and whites were running, walking, now pushing against each other, coursing through the heart of Chattanooga's downtown shopping district.

Some of the crowd were armed. Others, just how many nobody was ever to know, "came to fight." Nobody can say, in fact, just how many of the several thousand people there on the afternoon of February 23, 1960, would not have joined in if the imbroglio had spread. When a crowd becomes a mob, nobody is a bystander, nobody is neutral.

Fortunately, nobody was killed nor even seriously injured in Chattanooga that afternoon. That isn't an answer, however, to the question of why the police let the rioting continue, and mount in intensity, day after day. What happened to law enforcement in Chattanooga, a prosperous and relatively cosmopolitan Southern city of more than 100,000 people?

These questions are especially valid because what happened that climactic Wednesday was, really, only a direct result of what had happened before. Almost any trained law enforcement official could have predicted the near-catastrophe; the event had a logical inevitability.

Or, is this only hindsight?

What happened the first afternoon, Friday, February 19, was, when seen as a problem in law enforcement, fairly simple after all.

"Just 15 or 20 kids from Howard High went into a dime-store and staged a good-natured sit down," is the way one city official described that first episode.

Howard High is a modern, million-dollar Negro high school. At least 300 of its students ride tax-supported means of transportation into the main downtown shopping district of Chattanooga every afternoon of the school week. They get off, either to walk to their homes or to transfer to other buses, at an intersection (9th and Market) only a block or two from the main downtown variety stores. Many of them walked down the street to visit the stores as a matter of custom and habit in the afternoon, to buy candy, school supplies, or notions.

This gives credence to the claim by Principal C. C. Bond of Howard High that the first sit down was spontaneous, or at least "they did it without their teachers knowing about it," as Mr. Bond said. "That first group was made up almost entirely of our honor students."

What's more, they were *high school* students. "This made the mayor and the police take the thing less seriously," a Chattanooga newspaper man has remarked. "The other sit downs had been led by college students, presumably an older and more determined group."

Anyway, nothing happened that first day. The students sat down. The store managers closed the counter. The students left. All of this took place under the watchful eyes of police who had been called to the scene by somebody.

The next day was Saturday, February 20, and nothing really did happen that day, nor the next, Sunday, February 21.

On Monday, February 22, however, the Negro students appeared again in the dime stores in the afternoon after school—this time some 200 of them. There was besides a sprinkling of adult Negroes. One group went to the stools at one variety store lunch counter and sat down. Some of them ate soda crackers which they had brought with them. Others quietly opened school books and either studied or made a pretense of concentration.

At another store, however, there was a little to-do. Some white

students had decided to come downtown, too, and they got there ahead of the Negroes. It is a fact of economic life that many white students had their own and faster transportation, and were able to rush ahead for the lunch counter seats.

For a moment, there was a jam in the aisle, some brief physical contact.

The police were there as they had been on Friday. They ordered both groups to clear the aisle. This apparently was considered to be enough. They "had no orders except to prevent any outbreak of violence," said the newspaper account.

Anyway, "both Negro and white customers were shopping throughout the sit-down activity," the newspaper said. Business, in other words, went on as usual.

Monday seems to have been the best moment of opportunity for preventing what followed on Tuesday and Wednesday. What happened later raises the question of whether the police were right simply to await overt physical conflict.

"If the police had been firm Monday, shown the crowd that they were not going to tolerate any nonsense, there would have been no Tuesday and Wednesday," one Chattanooga observer said.

Having, however, committed themselves to a policy of waiting for violence, the police got it on Tuesday. Police officials themselves do not admit that the crowd ever got out of hand on any one of the four days there were demonstrations in Chattanooga. The mayor believes today that "we handled things pretty well as they came up." But, speaking about this particular moment in the span of tension, he said: "On Monday, everybody sort of laughed about it. We didn't know they were coming down there on Tuesday, on both sides."

But both sides did. The young whites got there first again. By 3:30 Tuesday, February 23, an estimated 300 of them were already downtown, gathered in the 700 block of Market around two of the dime stores, waiting. Nor were all of them high school students. "A goodly percentage," says a newspaper account, "were over high school age, and many had the appearance of 'young toughs.' "

For some unexplained reason, the whites gathered in a dime store

that was *across* the street from the side (two blocks away) where the Howard High students were debarked. They were in Woolworth's. They filled every seat at its lunch counter. Outside the store the crowd gathered, more young whites, more adults of both races. The sidewalk outside Woolworth's became crowded, overflowed into the gutter.

But the dime store nearest the Negro bus stop was Kress's.

"Shortly before 4 o'clock," according to the newspaper account, "the white boys spotted the Negro students from Howard approaching. They rushed headlong across Market Street, interrupting motor vehicle traffic. The two groups reached the Kress store about the same time. The white boys entered through a door nearer the lunch counter than the Negro forces and beat them to some of the seats."

The Negro youths got to others. The contest for seats became a melee. The store manager rang the closing bell, then cut off the lights. The police ordered everybody to leave the store. The Negroes started out the rear entrance.

"Most of the outnumbered Negroes hastened out the doors and followed policemen's directions away from the scene," the newspaper says. "Some fought back and joined in throwing things, mostly flower pots."

At least one white youth got to a Negro. He was a repeat juvenile offender who had been in and out of "homes" and jails since he was 13. He had come downtown armed, and he had used his weapon—proudly.

"We bullwhipped him," he told police.

At this point the police converted a fact of racial geography into a tactical advantage.

Like many Southern cities, Chattanooga has a black ghetto and like many of them (Atlanta, Knoxville are examples), its ghetto lies hard against the main downtown shopping center. In Chattanooga, the main thoroughfare of the Negro district is East Ninth Street, and the point at which East Ninth ceases to be exclusively a Negro street is at its western junction with Lindsay Street. This is only a few doors from the office of the *Chattanooga Times,* only something more than a block from city hall and the police station. In other

words, there is no tapering off from black to white: 9th Street east of Lindsay is solid black, and west of that intersection it is solid white. It is, of course, no accident that the dime variety stores, depending heavily on Negro trade, are located at the end of Chattanooga's main shopping street (Market Street) *nearest* this junction of Lindsay and East Ninth—nearest their Negro customers.

Urged on by the police, taunted and threatened by the white youths, the Negroes now retreated, back the block and a half to the intersection of Ninth and Lindsay, to the racial boundary.

The streets that led into that intersection, the area around it, including a small public park, became a no-man's land with whites and Negroes jeering back and forth at each other, hurling stones. Finally, the police had enough of it, and forced the white youths back.

Now the police, perhaps unwittingly, certainly not realizing the consequences of their act, or their failure to act, let the whites convert the situation into a moral victory. The police had attempted to arrest everyone who was fighting, black and white impartially, but they had ended up by putting the Negroes in their place.

And, now, what was worse, they allowed the white youths to run amuck through downtown Chattanooga, back over what was nothing more nor less than the battlefield, for what could only be considered a victory celebration.

"After the riot had subsided," the newspaper says, "gangs of white boys visited the Woolworth, Grant and McClellan stores . . . going through the aisles jeering at Negro customers. Some of the white boys noticed a group of Negro boys moving south on Broad Street [one block away] . . . and rushed across to give them chase . . ." They chased them back to East Ninth.

If the whites were triumphant when it was all over on Tuesday, the Negroes "were utterly leaderless, frustrated, unhappy and for the first time surly, ugly in their mood," remarks a Chattanooga newspaperman. "Up to this time they had been passive."

Thus Tuesday paved the way for Wednesday as Monday had paved the way for Tuesday. The issue of the Negroes' right to sit down with whites at lunch counters was lost in direct conflict between the two non-mobilized groups. The police had attempted to be impartial, to

keep the two races apart, "to keep 'em moving." In this they had finally succeeded, but what they had not done was establish an atmosphere in which law and order clearly prevailed, and of which they were the acknowledged agents.

What happened Wednesday (February 24) proved this.

In the first place the nature of the crowd was different. Those honor students at Howard High stayed home. Older—and tougher—Negro youths appeared. Many Negro adults turned up. Many in both groups were armed. The composition of the white group took a decided turn for the worse. The country whites came to town.

"They poured in from Soddy-Daisy and Sand Mountain," said a Chattanoogan who is familiar with these rural precincts, "looking for a Negro head to bust."

Others, many others, according to a newspaper account, came to town "just to see." Considering the circumstances, this was a very dangerous form of spectator sport. In fact, the act of coming to see a race riot is probably in most cases in itself a form of commitment, an inarticulated partisanship that will be articulated if the riot spreads—when the crowd becomes a mob.

What is in a sense more frightening is that some uncounted number of people actually came downtown to shop, unaware that there was any danger in doing so. Not until Chattanooga's racial crisis had passed was a serious attempt made to keep shoppers and people going about routine business out of the area that had—certainly by Wednesday, the fourth day—become a clearly-defined and well-marked battlefield.

Nor, for that matter, did anyone do anything on the fourth day to stop a situation that had obviously gathered momentum, that was ominous and threatening. The buses brought the Howard students downtown as usual, and dumped them, as usual, on the battlefield; and, as usual, the white youths (and adults) were already there, ready for action.

It was only a matter of minutes before the mobs had taken over. The sidewalks of Market Street were packed (the crowd was estimated at 3,000), and through these throngs tore platoons of Negroes and whites, now running, now walking, now threading through

packed sidewalks of "disinterested bystanders," now pushing against each other. For more than an hour (between 4 p.m. and 5 p.m.) they coursed and revolved through an eight-block area, orbiting around the two-block cluster of variety stores on Market Street.

The mayor and Safety Commissioner Herbert Dunlap stationed themselves on a concrete traffic island in the middle of Market Street, in the heart of the demonstrating throngs. They soon attracted to themselves the radio, TV, and press corps, causing Dunlap to comment later: "You would have thought it was the Kentucky Derby the way the radio people handled it. They eavesdropped on everything we said." Mayor Olgiati said: "Wednesday the whole thing was on the air and a lot of people came to town."

As for police doctrine, it was what it had been on Friday, on Monday, and on Tuesday—to keep 'em moving. The difference on Wednesday was that there were more police—75 according to Commissioner Dunlap—and that they were willing and equipped to reinforce their doctrine with fire hoses.

When, about 5 o'clock, the sidewalks became clotted, and the crowds grew threatening, the firemen turned on the water.

"The crowd eddied and surged forward again," said a *Chattanooga Times* account, "and the water was turned on the sidewalks where there were the thickest crowds and guilty and innocent alike were doused and turned to run and trample on others crowded thickly against plate glass windows and walls. And they screamed."

But, fortuitously, nobody was hurt.

Meanwhile, police set up and held a blockade at that critical Ninth and Lindsay intersection. It did two jobs. In the first place, it was a plug that prevented Negroes from coming out of the Negro district and moving into the downtown shopping area a few blocks away. For more than two hours, police fought off attempts of Negroes—young and old—to get out. In fact, some of the estimated 1,100 nearly broke out twice, down side streets, but alert policemen outflanked them, and turned them back. In the second place, the barricade served as a wall of containment behind which to push the Negroes who were being more or less herded there from downtown,

herded in some cases with fire hoses. In fact, fire hoses were brought to that point and used there, finally.

That worked, and Wednesday's riot ended there.

From any of a dozen things that happened in the 24 hours that followed the Wednesday afternoon riot, it is apparent that almost everybody in a responsible public and private position in Chattanooga was shocked, and finally moved to take some action.

The police doubled their strength (by using firemen as auxiliaries). Where there had been a force of 75 on Wednesday, 150 patrolled the downtown area Thursday. Some were even issued new, unpainted billies. Appeal for a restoration of law and order came from many civic clubs, including the Chamber of Commerce. There was some evidence, besides, that the most influential economic forces in the community brought their weight to bear on public officeholders.

The superintendent of schools (then John W. Letson) called a meeting of his principals Thursday morning and handed them a document which said:

"Courts have clearly established the schools' authority in directing pupils' activities from the time they leave home in the morning until the time they return home in the afternoon. In keeping with this authority, I am requesting all principals to take whatever measures are required to see that pupils go directly home upon dismissal from school."

This statement was read at the high schools. At Howard, those honor students who had led the first sit down demonstration got up and appealed to all students not to go to the downtown area Thursday afternoon. Furthermore, Principal C. C. Bond sent his men teachers downtown before school was out, and promised to administer exact "stern discipline" to any students who disobeyed. What is perhaps even more important, he ordered that the school buses be rerouted. "I arranged for the buses to carry the students on through the downtown area," Principal Bond said. The white high schools took similar measures.

When a few hoodlums did turn up downtown Thursday, the police quickly frisked and arrested them—six Negroes and three whites.

The streets grew quiet, then, and they have remained so ever since.

* * * * * *

The biggest trouble with the situation at Chattanooga was that, for some reason, the people responsible for preserving law and order there always—at every stage of its development—underestimated the gravity of their problem.

The police seemed always to be doing things one day too late,

They should have done Monday what they did Tuesday; they should have done Tuesday what they did Wednesday; and they most certainly should have done Wednesday that whole assortment of things they finally did Thursday to break the riot.

The reason they didn't lies in an attitude, a characteristically Southern attitude, one that has affected, and may very well continue to affect the quality of law enforcement in other Southern cities when they come face-to-face with new racial disputes.

A Chattanooga newspaperman and longtime resident of the city put it this way:

"It is evident that Chattanooga underestimated the lack of satisfaction with the state of segregation."

Police Commissioner Dunlap expressed it this way:

"We were suddenly confronted with a situation without any real warning that such conditions were going to exist."

Mayor Olgiati put it like this:

"We haven't had any racial trouble here before."

Principal Bond of Howard High said:

"The whole thing was completely a surprise to me."

A whole host of peculiarly regional attitudes comes into play in any Southern racial dispute. One of these explains the failure of Chattanooga officials to act more promptly and decisively in the city's crisis.

When the Negro asserts himself he is doing something more than merely creating a new problem in law enforcement: he is challenging a fundamental tenet in the South's "case." It is an essential part of the South's rationale that the Negro Southerner is happy and contented with his lot. One of the troubles in the South, one of the troubles in Chattanooga, is that many white men have been saying this so long that they believe it. They are genuinely surprised at the

sit downs, and their first reaction is to take them as representing a small, irresponsible (and manageable) group.

That is why it is extremely difficult for Southern public officials to come face-to-face with the fact that the Negro is in earnest, that he is serious, and that he is willing to risk violence to himself to achieve gains he is convinced are his due.

That is why it is difficult for white Southerners to realize that the initiative and the discretion in the racial situation are no longer wholly theirs.

A Southern public official who is insisting publicly that the Southern Negro is happy is not likely to be making plans for Negro demonstrations, non-violent or not.

This attitude—these attitudes—explain the lack of advance planning in Chattanooga. And, the lack of advance planning allows other attitudes, traditions, stereotypes, assumptions to enter in, and to affect law enforcement. The traditional, the unspoken rule of Southern law enforcement is, when in doubt, to enforce and uphold segregation—which is, indeed, the law in many Southern states and municipalities.

The Chattanooga police department made obvious attempts to be fair, to arrest trouble makers from both sides. No one from either side charged the police with "brutality." It probably never occurred to the policemen themselves or to police officials or other city officials that there was anything unfair or discriminatory in forcing the Negroes back of East Ninth Street, into the Negro section.

To have put the Negroes back into their ghetto was one thing, perhaps an almost excusable tactical improvisation. But to have let the whites stage what amounted to a victory celebration afterwards was quite another—a far less innocent omission.

One of the most important—often the most important—problem in law enforcement in racial disputes is the problem of dealing with lawless whites.

This is not a problem of numbers. It is even more profoundly a problem of Southern attitudes and Southern social history.

Certainly since Reconstruction, perhaps even before that, there has been a strong and active tradition in the South that some forms

of racial problems might acceptably be handled outside the law. The Ku Klux Klan is only the most blatant form of this kind of extra-legality; lynching was the most dramatic.

At almost every point when some change in the Negro's status in the South has been proposed, the reply of Southern officials has been that the change would bring on "trouble."

And "trouble" everyone understood, or was supposed to understand, meant that a certain group or class of Southern whites would rise up and take the law in its own hands and punish the Negro. The difficulty with this argument was that it was an acknowledgment that Southern law enforcement agencies were incapable of maintaining law and order. For officials to keep acknowledging it was, in practical effect, to encourage the lawless whites to take the law in their own hands whenever they chose.

This they have done time and time again. There were "530 specific instances of intimidation, reprisal, and violence in the 11 Southern states during the four-year period from January 1, 1955 to January 1, 1959," according to a recent study. And this period, notably, does not cover the period of the student sit downs.

Thus, the threat of "trouble" has often become an invitation to the most violent elements in the South.

And thus it is that the first thing the Southern police must do in a racial dispute, like the sit downs, is deal, in one way or another, with the lawless white group that has appeared in every open racial conflict in the past decade—wherever there has been a sit down, wherever a school was being integrated—at Clinton, at Little Rock, at Jacksonville, as well as at Chattanooga.

The police can either let this group of whites "help" them put the Negro "in his place" (their mere presence on the scene is a form of intimidation), or the police can assert themselves as the true guardians of law and order.

This is a lesson the Chattanooga police learned by doing, learned in action, learned on the battlefield. "They seemed to get a little more sure of themselves every day," a police reporter said. And the more steps the police took to get in control of the crisis, the more support they and city officials received. After Thursday, when the growing

tension came to such an abrupt halt, "I received about 25 calls from prominent people praising the police," said Mayor Olgiati. "I was surprised at the resoluteness of the chief of police when he realized somebody was behind him," added the reporter.

In fact, there is evidence that the riots did for the morale of the police force what battle experience does for combat troops. "We were all down there on the street together, the chief among the men," said Commissioner Dunlap later. "There is no question that the morale of our force is higher than it has ever been. We were all very proud of the fact that the people of Chattanooga believed we enforced law and order fairly. After the disturbance, I sent out a questionnaire to our men, asking them to rate morale. Two said it was Very Good. Twenty said it was either High, or Very High. Only one man who answered said it was Low."

"I think the police did an excellent job," said Principal Bond of Howard High. "I was down there every day, and I think they were fair. They actually ended up arresting more whites than Negroes. I also think that this experience has alerted the community to what can happen. In the future, the police will be more sensitive to these situations.

"The trouble always is that most white people don't understand how Negroes feel," he continued. "Nor, for that matter, do the Negroes understand how the whites feel. The whites assume only bad Negroes want trouble. The Negroes assume only bad whites want to deprive them of their rights."

Montgomery:
The Big Stick

THE OUTBREAK in Chattanooga was a riot-by-accident. Nobody there—the Negroes, the police, the city administration, not even the young white participants—had given it any forethought. No Negro organization was behind what happened and neither was any white organization. The police did not anticipate the riots and they certainly did nothing to provoke them.

The difference between Chattanooga and Montgomery is that in Chattanooga nobody except a few racial extremists wants violence, while in Montgomery everybody seems to expect it, to take it for granted as part of the process of racial relations.

The sit down protest movement first reached Montgomery on Thursday, February 25, 1960, when a group of students from Alabama State College, a Negro school in Montgomery, took seats in the lunch room of the Montgomery County Courthouse. The shop closed immediately. The sheriff soon arrived with a club in hand and ordered the Negroes to line up in single file. While deputies patrolled the halls outside the basement shop, state highway patrolmen lined the Negroes up against the wall and took pictures of them. Governor Patterson asked for an investigation; he insisted that the students be expelled.

This was followed the next day (Friday) by an order from the Governor to the President of Alabama State to expel any student involved in the sit down. The reaction of the Negroes to this was to hold a campus rally at which they discussed entering mass applications at the state's white institutions of higher learning.

On Saturday, February 27, an estimated 25 white men moved as a group through Montgomery's downtown streets, swinging "toy" baseball bats, something that as a weapon was considerably larger and potentially more dangerous than a blackjack. They ended up by making an unprovoked attack on a middle-aged Negro woman by-

stander. The police made no arrests, although a news photograph of the episode, and the bat-swinging man, was taken.

On Monday, February 29, Governor Patterson issued this statement:

"There are not enough police officers in the United States to prevent riots and protect everybody if they [the Negroes] continue to provoke [the whites] on that matter."

That night, nevertheless, a group of 800 Negroes held a rally (addressed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.) to make plans for a second demonstration the next day.

The second protest went off quietly, if dramatically. On Tuesday, March 1, between 1,000 and 1,200 Negroes marched in orderly pairs from the campus of Alabama State College to the state capitol, assembled quietly on the steps where Jefferson Davis was inaugurated, said the Lord's prayer together, sang the "Star Spangled Banner," and marched quietly back to their campus. "We now know where the student body of Alabama State is" on the question of the student sit down movement, one of their leaders told them as they were dismissed.

Several high state officials watched the ceremony in front of the capitol, and one of them was widely reported in the newspapers to have said:

"Can't we do anything to get rid of those black b------s?"

Negro leaders announced a prayer meeting for Sunday, March 6, at 2 p.m. on the capitol steps.

When this plan was announced Montgomery Public Affairs Commissioner L. B. Sullivan said that, if the Negroes attempted to meet again there, his forces and those of the state and of Montgomery County would disperse them.

"Apparently it is the desire and purpose of the Negro troublemakers to further incite the tense situation that exists in Montgomery," Commissioner Sullivan is quoted as having said.

At noon on Sunday the crowd began to gather. As in Chattanooga, the "curious" had decided to come, too. "Some onlookers brought their wives and children," said one press account. "Others, in rough

country dress, discussed loudly what they would do if the Negroes appeared."

About 1 p.m. high city, county, and state officials began arriving. Fifty highway patrolmen were stationed on the sidewalk around the capitol and city policemen lined the sidewalks along Dexter Avenue, the broad promenade that leads from the downtown plaza in Montgomery up to the capitol which overlooks the town.

A small church, the Dexter Avenue Baptist, is the last building on Dexter where the street dead ends into the capitol grounds. The Negroes began to gather at the church, as the crowd grew on the capitol lawn across the street.

While the Negroes stood there uncertain, a "police captain," (according to the *New York Times*) shouted tauntingly toward the church:

"Can't you tell the time? It's 2 o'clock. Somebody loan 'em a watch."

Then some of the Negroes did come down the steep steps of the church, down to the sidewalk. They were led by the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, president of the Montgomery Improvement Association.

Some in the crowd of whites, estimated to have risen by then to 5,000, yelled "Let them come! Let them come!"

But the police (including a mounted patrol) held the Negroes back at the curb, across Bainbridge Street.

Some whites rushed at the Negroes. The Negro leaders held their ground for a moment. Then, behind them, some of their followers fled back to the church, back up the steps.

Some who didn't flee at once were struck by whites. Then it became a rout, with some Negroes falling on their knees, some stumbling, in their headlong flight.

Two fire trucks drove up to the church, firemen connected hoses, and pointed them toward the Negroes. The whites shouted, "Pour it on 'em!"

Then the police encircled the leading ministers and led them back, through the white throng, to the church. Twenty mounted deputies held the crowd until the Negroes were in, and then the police dis-

persed the whites. Later the Negroes emerged from the church and went home.

A photographer was picked up, but no arrests were made.

* * * * * *

In the midst of Montgomery's difficulties, the local ministerial association issued a statement. Among other things, it asked:

"Let us continue to depend upon law and order administered with a concern for all citizens to stabilize our society."

It is not clear whether the ministers meant to describe the way they thought law and order was in fact being administered in Montgomery, or whether they were simply expressing a prayerful hope.

If Chattanooga illustrates how a type of Southern city can *drift* into chaos, Montgomery illustrates the type of Southern city that is openly, candidly, and consciously willing to risk chaos—to preserve the racial status quo.

The situation, then, in cities whose outlook is that of Montgomery is something like this, as regards law enforcement:

Faced with increasing demands from their Negro citizens (often supported by national legal, social, political, and religious institutions) no other course is open to the police, and to the forces of law and order, but one of *continuous coercion.*

The evidence of police intimidation in the sit-down episodes at Montgomery is present everywhere. Governor Patterson's announcement amounted almost to an invitation to violence; the lining up and photographing of Negroes was clearly an act of intimidation and not of enforcement; the jeers by a police officer, amounting to a taunt to the Negroes to come out and face the white throng, had self-evident implications; the threat of expulsion from a state tax-supported institution was punitive; the failure to arrest the white youth who assaulted a Negro woman with a bat was a promise of prejudiced enforcement. The country people had not only not been told that their help was not needed, they had been deputized and formed into mounted posses on horseback.

Thus, whereas in Chattanooga everyone was *surprised* by the violent turn events took, in Montgomery almost everyone—except perhaps the ministerial association—*expects* violence.

"The real difficulty in preserving law and order here," a veteran Montgomery newspaperman said, "is that the whole public attitude is that nothing will stop these troubles but violence. Most of our law enforcement officers don't really want to stop the mob, and the public attitude doesn't do much to change their outlook."

In fact, as the dynamics of the riot were handled, the event became an act of coercion in itself. The white crowd was *used* to intimidate the Negroes. It was not until the whites had met the Negroes at arms' length, fought with them, and turned them back, that the police turned the whites back.

Thus, the classic threat to Negro safety was enacted.

For this time, at least, it seems to have "worked." But, only for this time. No one who understands the determination of the young Negroes (nor the degree of support which they are receiving from their elders) believes that this will be the last time Montgomery will hear from its united Negro population.

"I don't mind going to jail because I suppose that will be the only way we will ever get our rights," a young Negro college girl told an interviewer from *U. S. News and World Report.*

The kind of civic leadership that usually reinforces law enforcement has stood aside, like civilians when war is declared. "The organizations leading the Negroes today have discouraged white people who would like to help," is the comment of the Rev. Arch L. McNair of Montgomery's Memorial Presbyterian Church.

Public policy toward racial disturbances thus remains the same, and as adamant. "The Negroes will be dispersed every time they try to have a mass public demonstration," says Montgomery City Attorney Calvin M. Whitesell.

This kind of stalemate creates an agonizing dilemma for the law enforcement officer. Some of these problems came to light when Montgomery Public Affairs Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, head of the police and fire departments, was interviewed.

Sullivan sits in a paneled office on the second floor of the Montgomery city hall, a round-faced, stocky, quiet-spoken man.

"I might as well tell you right off that I believe in total segregation," he began. "From here on out, we don't intend to allow any demon-

strations on the part of either Negroes or whites. I feel we are justified in saying that publicly, as we have been saying it. After all, I'm sure in my own mind that Montgomery Negroes would be content with local conditions if it weren't for agitators.

"I want a force of men, however, who will be fair, firm, and impartial. I don't want a bunch of men who think the law is at the end of a night stick. Now, I tried to locate that boy who swung the baseball bat. That's assault and battery. But, we couldn't find him or the woman, although I asked some of the Negro leaders to help me.

"I like to believe that I've done a good deal to improve our police force. Every man on the force has now had some training. Today, we have one man in school at the Southern Police Institute, one at the Bureau of Narcotics. I think our biggest problem is turnover and that is pretty much the result of low salaries. We have a minimum of $276 and a maximum of $330.

"I think we proved a big point that day up at the capitol. The people who might be inclined to take things in their own hands *have let us know they now believe we can handle matters.**

"You know our present administration was elected on a platform of bringing new business to Montgomery. We honestly believed that was the way to improve the standard of living for both white and colored. We got a New York firm to come down here and make a development study.

"But things haven't been normal here since the bus boycott in 1956. I feel business doesn't like all this turbulence. I'm sure this new outbreak has jeopardized our program."

Such are the diverse and conflicting ideas that probably cross the minds of many Southern law enforcement officials, especially in those communities like Montgomery which are caught in a stalemate between the conflicting claims of race, of culture, and of the political and economic structures through which these forces interplay.

The question in Montgomery is whether the end of the night stick is going to be used to lengthen the hold of the past or to clear the way for the future.

*Italics supplied.

Little Rock:
A Lesson Learned

ON ITS FACE, the statement *sounded* tough:

"The Board of Directors of Little Rock has instructed the Police Department to deal firmly and quickly in protection of life and property should the need arise."

The trouble was, there had been statements before, plenty of them, back in 1957, when the first attempt was made to integrate Little Rock's schools. And, what had happened then? The whole world knew the answer.

Besides, this one was issued only by an Organization Man, a newcomer to Little Rock nobody had ever heard of before, a fellow named Dauley, hired for a new post in Little Rock. He was the city manager, and who was going to pay any attention to him?

It was true that earlier some citizens had formed an organization called STOP—a committee to "stop this outrageous purge" of a group of local school teachers who had been dismissed in one of the many side controversies that had grown out of the attempt to desegregate the Little Rock schools. It was also true that 179 professional and business leaders of Little Rock joined this group—and told newspapermen defiantly that they would "gladly give their names to the press." Also, in July, 1959, a month before the second attempt was to be made to integrate the schools, a somewhat similar group of people, perhaps even more "respectable"—or powerful in Little Rock civic affairs—formed the Committee for Peaceful Operation of Free Public Schools.

But when the chips were down and the stuff was flying what would groups like these do, or matter? Wouldn't they be the first to fly before the wrath of Governor Faubus and his hundreds, if not thousands, of racially-extremist confederates and supporters?

In the last weeks before the second try, as the whole world focused its eyes again on Little Rock, the only speculation outside Little Rock was over Governor Faubus and what move *he* would

make this time, and whether it would provoke President Eisenhower into sending troops again. The governor was reputed to be a "wily dog," fearless, with the battle stripes of a man who has proven he could hold the world at arm's length.

Nevertheless, the counterpoint of anti-disorder, anti-Faubus comment continued. A "prominent business leader" of Little Rock told a reporter who had come from the *Atlanta Constitution* that "the city police are not going to stand for any foolishness this time. They are just going to cart those people off to jail. We've changed to the city manager form of government and we've got a new police chief."

But, if Governor Faubus could hold off the President of the United States he could certainly ignore the city manager or any other municipal official, including police chief, of the city of Little Rock.

Then, another newspaper reported that the Little Rock city police "were charting semi-secret strategy to stamp out any spark of crowd lawlessness."

This got under the skin of at least one segregationist. He was the Rev. Wesley Pruden and he called on the city manager to say publicly whether or not "the police were going to try to prohibit peaceful assembly of persons at the high school."

Pruden and his friends, Governor Faubus and his following, pretty much the same group, went on with plans for that kind of "peaceful assembly" the Reverend referred to.

The drill for these irregular troops was to be this: they were to meet on the lawn of the state capitol at 9 on the morning that the Negro children were to enter the schools. When they had assembled, the governor would address them, and then, with his message under their belts, they were to march in a body to the scene of integration.

Hints, reports, rumors were circulated, according to a local newspaper, "that caravans from east Arkansas will converge on the state capitol."

On August 11, 1959, on the eve of integration, Governor Faubus appeared—on only an hour's notice—on a Little Rock television station. Although he said he saw "nothing to be gained tomorrow by disorder and violence," he insisted that integration was being forced on the people of Little Rock.

"If local authorities, school boards and police would not relieve federal authorities of the unpleasant task of forcing integration, then the federals would soon withdraw."

He focused his attack on Police Chief Eugene Smith. "The city police force is in charge of one who will make every effort tomorrow to apply the force necessary to forcibly integrate the schools. He and his associates will call it law and order. That's the same term used by the Hungarian puppet and his Russian masters."

As if having staked out for advance attack the man who would be his most formidable opponent, Governor Faubus earlier that day said of the new police chief:

"The general consensus around town is that Gene Smith has been bought and paid for to see that integration is effected."

Smith himself had been busy during the day with a press conference. More than 100 newspapermen, from all parts of the world, assembled to hear him offer them "the hospitality of our city." Anybody who wanted to cover the events of the next day would need a press card, Smith said. To get the cards, newsmen had to sign an agreement:

1. That they would not go on school property;
2. That they would not "set up" poses for pictures;
3. That they would not interview students within two blocks of school property;
4. That radio and television men would not bring their sound broadcasting and telecasting trucks within two blocks of school property;
5. That any newsman who violated these provisions would have his special press card withdrawn without notice.

Smith also told the newsmen to be on the scene at least an hour before school opening time and that they would then be told "where they could stand."

There were many omens of the trouble almost everybody seemed to expect the next day.

The chief of Little Rock's uniformed division, Captain W. H.

Maack, serving under Chief Smith, ordered all of his men to duty the next day.

Attorneys for the segregationist groups announced that they would defend anybody arrested during the expected demonstration, while attorneys for STOP said for their part they would seek court injunctions against "persons who attempt to prevent or interfere" with reopening of the schools.

In the eyes of those who knew the South, one of the most ominous and foreboding signs of what might be coming the next day was the presence of two policemen sent from Birmingham, Alabama, by the famed Public Safety Director of that city, Eugene "Bull" Connor. They were there, said Connor, so that some Birmingham "public safety career officers" could be fully aware of all contingencies.

The stage was set for what could be the worst race riot in American history.

And the next day the segregationists did come in from miles around, they did hold their rally on the steps of the state capitol, Mr. Faubus did come out and address them, they did "march" from the capitol *toward* the schools that were being integrated that day.

But they never got there.

"Smith and his men blocked the path of the demonstrators and firmly ordered them to disperse," said a newspaper account which quickly summarized the well-known sequence of events. "When some defied law and order, the police cracked a few heads, arrested 24 persons—including women and children—and routed the disorderly crowd with streams of water from fire hoses.

"The determination of the police kept the crowds away from the schools, which went peacefully about the business of starting a new term.

"Little Rock demonstrated that mobs cannot operate in the face of police firmness. Had the police acted two years ago as they did Wednesday, federal troops need never have been called on to preserve order, and a disgraceful chapter in our history need never have been written."

* * * * * *

The explanation for this almost wholly unexpected turn of events is simple.

Little Rock had learned its lesson. It had learned the hard way the economic cost of chaos.

Despite the impression of Little Rock that may have grown up out of the trouble there, that it must be a backward, benighted place, the town actually is open, bright, cheerful, and progressive-looking. In fact, its downtown area looks a little more Western (or Southwestern) than it does deep Southern. As a town that suffered miserably from The Depression Years, it is a town that was all the more grateful for the post World War II years of prosperity—grateful *and* proud and hopeful of the future.

That pride diminished, that hope faded, that prosperity ground to an abrupt halt in 1957 with the disastrous rioting that year.

From September, 1957, until September, 1959, not a single new industry had located in Little Rock.

"We were really going great guns when this thing hit us," said Everett Tucker, Jr., secretary and executive director of the Little Rock Industrial Development company. "Now we hardly even get any inquiries."

This led to some hard thinking in Little Rock's business community. One local businessman expressed his feelings this way to a reporter from the *Nashville Tennessean*:

"Little Rock is being taken for a ride on school desegregation. The rest of the South tells us: 'Fight to the last ditch. We know we can count on you. Don't be traitors.' But their high schools are not closed. And meanwhile cities like Nashville and Charlotte and Greensboro are making minimum adjustments to the situation and getting by. Nobody calls them traitors, and I say the hell with it! Why should Little Rock bleed and die for Memphis and Vicksburg and Montgomery."

And thinking like this led to action at city hall.

The result was that Little Rock's law enforcement facilities, indeed the structure of city government, were keel-hauled. The counterplay of stimulus and reaction in bringing this about is too complex a subject for this study—except to say that everyone in Little Rock

seems to agree that, in the end, it was the economic and business leaders of the community who played the leading part, helped by many civic and religious leaders. It was a determined consensus of Little Rock "power structure" opinion that brought about the change.

"There's no doubt at all but that Faubus simply stepped into a vacuum in 1957," said one of these Little Rock leaders. "Our mayor was discredited and our aldermanic government was on its last legs."

The spectre of Governor Faubus, and 1957, seems to have hung heavy over the heads of Little Rock's civic reformers, for not all that they did between 1957 and 1959 seems to have been made public—even up through the second integration attempt, or until today, for that matter. It even appears that there may have been an attempt to lull Governor Faubus and his associates into thinking the city was still as weak as it had been in 1957.

However that may be, almost everything in the book was done to improve the police department and sharpen police technique and method.

Until now, much of *this* story has never been told.

To begin with, Dauley and the city fathers brought in Donald S. Leonard, former police commissioner of Detroit, to make an exhaustive *Survey of the Little Rock Police Department,* the title of a 314-page report Leonard handed in. Almost every imaginable aspect of police administration was reviewed in this unvarnished study.

"Perhaps the greatest single weakness of the Little Rock Police Department is the complete lack of recruit training and department operated in-service training schools," the survey said in one of its many comments.

The result was that in 24 months, "every man on the force got at least 300 hours training," according to Dauley. Seven went to the F.B.I. Academy in Washington, three went to a community relations school conducted by Texas A & M University, four went to the Traffic Institute at Northwestern University, and many others got forms of specialized training. Detectives were sent two at a time to homicide and pathology schools. In addition, the police department set up its own school where, for example, it conducted intermittent

8-week cadet schools whose students grind out an 8-hour day for a total of 384 hours of work. Many veteran officers were brought back in to headquarters and put through school.

No less importantly, pay increases were spread through the department so that in the two-year period they averaged at least $100 a month per man.

"Whatever Smith, or anyone else on the force may have thought about the Negroes or school integration didn't matter so much as what was getting to be their pride in the force," said an observer of some of the changes. "In fact, the vast majority of them were ardent segregationists."

Using his newly-trained experts as a staff, Chief Smith began detailed planning for the problems that would arise in the second school integration "months before it took place," according to an authoritative source. It was as secretly done as the planning of a military operation.

They wrote down possibilities of things that might happen. It is presumed that they had information about the habitat and identity of some of the leaders of the 1957 movement.

Smith, with his traffic men, made, to take one example, a detailed study of 40 critical street intersections in Little Rock at which he anticipated trouble.

He had aerial photos taken, especially of the areas where he thought crowds might gather.

With the help of newly-trained communications men, Smith set up a communications plan by which he was to maintain control of his forces throughout the intersections where they were to be stationed. To prevent crowd excitement, he created a code so that no bystanders would know what the police were saying to each other.

"In short," said Dauley not long ago, "we had a detailed tactical plan, with all our men and equipment pre-assigned. We thought we were just about ready for anything that might happen, and the events proved us right."

It would have perhaps been too much to expect that all of Little Rock's troubles would have ended at the barricades in one day.

There were bombings later. But there has never again been a mass demonstration, or any threat of a race riot.

In August, 1959, Little Rock faced open defiance of its laws and of its municipal government. The Little Rock riot was not an accidental riot, like the one in Chattanooga. In Little Rock, the mob came to test the strength of the city's will and its law enforcement arm. Because of good police morale and professional organization, Little Rock withstood this test. The seeming ease with which it was done ought not to hide the seriousness of the threat of a deliberate, planned challenge to public order—in Little Rock or in other Southern cities to come. Against such challenges, the police are the final defense.

Summary

THE PROBLEM of law enforcement in the South in 1960 and beyond is not simply a problem of angry mobs nor of brutish, bigoted policemen.

Fundamentally, it is a question of public policy. In the South today law enforcement is like war was in old Clausewitz' definition, an extension of politics.

The point must be stressed: the South is not an anarchy. It is not a region where government is weak. It is not a region where the lines of political and economic power are loosely held. The breakdowns in law and order in the South are an outcome of public policy—no less because it is sometimes oral and traditional rather than written in statutes and police manuals.

This makes it a community problem.

If the lessons of Little Rock, Chattanooga and Montgomery are to be learned, then each community must reappraise its public policy in racial disputes. It must decide for itself what it is going to do, and what it wants its public servants to do, in racial disputes.

For, three points are obvious.

1. Negroes in the South are prepared to take overt steps to change their status, even at the risk of personal safety.

2. Negroes may demonstrate in any Southern town. None can now count on immunity.

3. Existing, traditional, Southern police attitudes and training are not likely to be adequate for dealing impartially with the young generation of Negroes, committed to the method of non-violence. They have forced a reversal of roles on the Southern police officer—now he must protect the non-violent Negroes from the whites. And, he must do it quickly.

Because there is no greater danger to law and order in the South today than a Southern public official, police officer or not, caught offguard when trouble comes, and trying to meet the new problems with old, unassessed ideas.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[1961, May 30]

THE FREEDOM RIDE
MAY 1961

THE FREEDOM RIDE

MAY 1961

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Chronology i

Violence in Alabama, from May 14 - 25, revealed the truth about "massive resistance." The defiant words hurled by state and community leaders at the law of the land after 1954 received their final definition in the terror of Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery. Alabama in May, 1961 reproduced in a few long days a lot of southern history, let loose again a history which most of the South is successfully overcoming. But there it was: the mob and its sadism. The silent, acquiescent "good people"; the inflammatory public spokesmen; the disdain for law and, the inevitable defeat. As the Charlotte Observer said (May 23):

> ...the people of the South will continue to live under tension and suffer anguish and tragedy until they support a different and a better kind of public official. Our region has been led by false prophets since the Civil War and especially since the 1954 Supreme Court decision. By their policies, by their own angry, emotional statements on race, they have contributed substantially to building the kind of climate favorable to raw and ugly violence.
>
> ...it has become painfully apparent that some states simply must experience the terror of mob violence and the chaos of closing schools to realize how bad both really are. Arkansas had to have its Little Rock, Tennessee its Nashville and Clinton, Virginia its Norfolk and Prince Edward County, Louisiana its New Orleans, and now Alabama its Birmingham and Montgomery.

THE FREEDOM RIDE

In mid-March, the Congress of Racial Equality, from its New York headquarters, announced that it would recruit a small, bi-racial group to ride Greyhound and Trailways

buses from Washington to New Orleans, with the purpose of challenging any segregation of interstate travellers encountered. On May 4, the Freedom Ride began, with 13 participants: six white, seven Negro, ranging in age from 18 to 61. The number fluctuated during the course of the Ride. Through Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia there were few obstacles.

On May 14 came the events of Anniston and Birmingham. Mobs gathered, passengers were intimidated, a bus was burned and people were savagely beaten while police were either inactive, not present, or strangely late in arrival. The response of Governor Patterson was to issue the following statement:

> In view of the tenseness of the situation, it is impossible to guarantee the safety of the agitators. Our advice to them is to get out of Alabama as quickly as possible.
>
> We will escort them to the nearest state line; however, we will not escort them to any other cities in Alabama to continue their rabble-rousing.

The mobs and official hostility broke the back of the first Freedom Ride. The participants flew on to New Orleans and there disbanded. But this was not to be the end. Angered and inspired by the example of these first Riders, a second group was organized in Nashville, and took bus for Montgomery, via Birmingham. They were incarcerated on arrival in the latter city. Released on May 19, they managed the next day to travel on to Montgomery. That city received them with riots which will forever disgrace the state, and which caused the intervention of federal marshals to establish order and protect constitutional rights, and finally a declaration by the Governor of martial law.

On May 24, with fantastic precautions, the National Guardsmen of Alabama and the state police of Mississippi escorted them to Jackson, where they were quietly arrested and, for the most part, remain today.

Other Riders continue to come into Montgomery and Jackson.

On May 29, the Attorney-General -- who more than any other person or agency has defended public order and common sense during these travails -- requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to issue regulations at once requiring the full desegregation of terminals of buses engaged in interstate traffic. On the same day, martial law was ended in Montgomery.

THE LEGAL BACKGROUND

There is a long line of cases relating to the rights of travellers to be free of racial discrimination. The Supreme Court's decision of last December in the Boynton case is the only one which needs to be cited in reference to the particular aim of the Freedom Ride.

In 1958 Bruce Boynton, en route from Washington to Selma (Ala.), was refused service in the white section of the Trailways Bus terminal in Richmond; when he declined to leave he was arrested for trespass. Trailways did not own or control either the restaurant or the terminal. On Constitutional grounds, Mr. Boynton and his NAACP attorneys argued that the arrest was illegal. The Court entirely disregarded the Constitutional arguments, and ruled instead that under the Interstate Commerce Act segregation in terminals -- whether or not owned by the carrier -- violates a clause of the statute which forbids buses to "subject any particular person to any unjust discrimination or any unjust or unreasonable prejudice."

RELATION TO THE SIT-INS

The Freedom Ride occurs against the background of the student protest movement, which, from its beginning in

February 1960, has already led to the desegregation of lunch counters and other facilities in well over 100 southern cities and towns, outside of the Deep South. Few if any episodes in American history have so typified and enlarged the national ideals of justice and individual worth.

The Freedom Ride is an extension of the sit-ins, and is sustained by the same enthusiasm and many of the same persons. There are, nevertheless, pertinent distinctions.

Characteristically, the sit-ins were demands by local residents that they share in the privileges of their communities. The persons who were asking for service did themselves want to use it. With only a few exceptions, the demonstrations were locally planned.

The Freedom Ride, on the other hand, has started from the premise that all Americans have a right to demonstrate against discrimination in the South.* Many of the participants do not themselves apparently need or intend to use the services demanded. They have been recruited by national and regional organizations whose plans they follow.

One of the finest of the features of the sit-ins has been an evident invigoration of the bonds of community in the South. The sit-ins succeeded where other means had not in opening the eyes of whites to what Negroes were thinking and what they wanted. There has been an awakened respect among white southerners, especially those in urban

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*It is moderately interesting that professors from a great university which has not a single Negro on its faculty felt a call to crusade in the South.

centers, for their Negro neighbors. The sit-ins have not engendered lingering animosities, but on the contrary have frequently produced a readiness on the part of whites to move on to further steps of desegregation. Without exception, settlements of the lunch counter and other issues have been without compulsion of court order: by the act of bringing the white South into agreement that old customs were unfair, the student protest movement helped the South find its footing more than had any other influence.

Although sit-ins in too many places were initially met with violence and repression, violence was never essential to success. There was little or none in the majority of towns which desegregated.

The sit-ins cleared the air of the South, and they succeeded without violence. That these two things would be so was not, however, apparent during the first month of the 1960 movement.

This is still the first month of the Freedom Ride, and no man's judgment can be more than tentative. The question is whether, with its differences of technique, the Freedom Ride can bring to the South the same values which the sit-ins did. There did seem to be cause for concern as to how well the statement of one of the leading Riders represented the mood of the others. On the bus from Montgomery to Jackson he asserted that, "it is only when the hostility comes to the surface that the people will see the true character of our nation. Only through non-violent demonstration in the acceptance of violence without returning it in kind can we accomplish our purpose."

PRESS REACTION

Two questions dominated discussion in the press. The first was the revelation of how much cooperation there is in Alabama and some of its cities between elected officers and the mob. The second was the wisdom of the Freedom Ride.

Only a few newspapers, such as the Alabama Journal, defended or did not criticize Governor Patterson and the Birmingham and Montgomery police. There were others too enraged by the Ride to be able to put much heart into criticism of Alabama's law enforcement. A true southern conservatism, however, was expressed by Eugene Patterson in the Atlanta Constitution (May 22):

> The point is not to judge the beaten, but to take a look at the beaters, ...
>
> Either a community is going to believe in civilization or it is going to revert to the jungle. And when the jungle reversion occurs, erasing heed for restraint and placing its premium on the teeth most ruthless at the jugular, then no man is safe from a predatory pack.
>
> ... The craven police reactions in Birmingham and Montgomery do not represent what the people of Alabama expect. They represent what frightened politicians have trapped themselves into promising.
>
> To blame the violence on the demonstrators is sophistry of the most hurtful order. These people who have gone barnstorming across the South in buses are curious. If their aim had been to change segregation practices, orderly

systems were at their disposal. If their aim had been to demonstrate, braver people resided in each precinct they touched and were prepared to make more meaningful tests. If their aim had been to create a scene deliberately for destructive rather than constructive purposes, then it is time somebody told them, in this Southland where both races are having to work at change, that their theatrical approach violates the valid precept that all change requires a little dab of sense.

But that is not the point of what happened in Alabama. Any man in this free country has the right to demonstrate and assemble and make a fool of himself if he pleases without getting hurt. If the police, representing the people, refuse to intervene when a man--any man--is being beaten to the pavement of an American city, then this is not a noble land at all. It is a jungle. But this is a noble land. And it is time for the decent people in it to muzzle the jackals.

It was noteworthy how much of the press comment in the South sounded the theme: "Our politicians have led us to this!" Thus the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News said: "Failure of public officials to provide intelligent, courageous leadership is the principal reason for the current crisis in our state." It is, of course, an old and not very appealing trait for people to blame their politicians for their own weaknesses. But in the South, where representation is so grossly undemocratic, there is justification. At any rate, there are already evident more than the first signs of revolt from the kind of political leadership the South has so long endured.

On the whole, however, the young editor of the Auburn (University) Plainsman (May 24) probably was closer to the unpleasant fact:

> ...the horrifying; revolting thing about it is that the vast majority of the people of this state let them /the rioters/ have their way. If they have not supported the hatred and bigotry and violence directly, they have winked at it and covertly supported it by their silence and refusal to act....

Certainly the best line of the month was got off also by Auburn students, in a letter signed by 26 of them to the Montgomery Advertiser (May 24):

> Gov. Patterson referred to the freedom riders as "rabble rousers." He is entitled to his opinion, but is Alabama to glory in the fact that it furnished sufficient rabble to be roused?

Both North and South, the press mostly endorsed Attorney-General Kennedy's request that the Freedom Ride take a "cooling off" period. The New York Times (May 26) held that "non-violence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction." The Washington Post and Times-Herald (May 27) said that the sponsors of the Ride "ought to take it easy." The Charlotte Observer (May 27) noted that,

> The Attorney-General does not expect the American Negro to renounce his natural rights or even to relax the pressure for them. He does not expect anyone to accept the kind of system that has lately been on display in Birmingham,

Montgomery and Jackson. No enlightened person could.

> But he does ask that the Negro take note of the bonfires that are crackling across the lower South. Nothing can be gained from throwing more sticks upon them at the moment....

The Norfolk Journal and Guide (May 27) stated, "We do not feel very optimistic about ...exposing fine young men -- white and colored -- to brutal mob violence." But the paper went on to note with approval that the Ride "focuses world opinion upon the failures of democracy in some parts of the United States."

As in all of the South's laborious swing toward juster race relations, there arises the question about speed and methods. Instinctively the South says "go slow," "not yet." Expressions of concern about the Freedom Ride are almost wholly directed at methods, and not at their objective, which is widely conceded even throughout the South. The concern is, nevertheless, in part the old, instinctive, and usually exaggerated, caution.

White and Negro Americans ought to consider well what Walter Lippmann has said, in his column of May 25:

> What has been a movement of gradual reform is showing unmistakable signs of turning into a movement of physical confrontation....
>
> We are witnessing a non-violent rebellion, ... non-violent in that the agitators are unarmed and passive. This rebellion marks a lessening of hope and faith in the processes of the courts, of

> elections, of Congress, and of education....
> It would be vain for anyone to expect that
> there can be a quick and easy end to the kind
> of courage and determination which has been shown
> in the bus rides and in the lunch counter sit-ins.
> No one should expect this kind of thing to
> disappear....

CONCLUSION

Is Walter Lippman right, that there is a decline among Negroes of faith in the regular processes of government and education? If so, the fault lies with white Americans, particularly those of the South.

There would be no Freedom Ride, if there were compliance with law and decency in the South. This is the fact that is basic to any thinking about this latest demonstration of the courage and vitality of the Negro youth movement.

For generations, white people determined what would be the racial relations of the South. No longer is this true.

Yet it is true that only if white people will resume leadership -- but this time as co-leaders -- can the South escape other May 20's, such as this year's in Montgomery. The white South has got to acquire the habit of introducing change before it is demanded. If to say this is wishful thinking, it is also a statement of fact.

There are those who regard the Freedom Riders as "extremists." It would be more intelligent to realize that they are pointing out to the South what must be done, and done quickly, if we are to forestall the emergence into power of real, genuine extremists.

The white South rejected the sane, responsible NAACP, deprived itself of its useful counsel, and instead forced the NAACP to fight for its life. The NAACP remains strong and those who have combatted it most viciously are the losers for it. And now they have to adjust also to new types of organizations, less ready to be patient. The Freedom Ride this year. If white southerners have any good sense, it will not have to be a truly "extremist" group next year -- and there are such lurking in the wings.

The Freedom Ride will continue. If not in its present form, in some other similar style, and soon. There is momentum within it too great to be held back. The South and the nation are now critically dependent on the quality of Negro leadership, and its ability to direct that momentum and not to be overrun by it.

The South is now receiving assistance that it keenly needs. A national administration devoted to civil rights is energetically stripping away some of our racial inequities, and removing some of the frustrations that face our Negro population.

The big problems, however, can be tackled only by the South itself: by white southerners coming to deserve the trust of Negro southerners; by Negroes maintaining their most valuable outside asset, the confidence which the country as a whole has had in their cause and their methods of pursuing it.

The Freedom Ride is another indication that whites in some states are not trusted by Negroes, and do not deserve to be. It has furnished proof also that much of the South is now disgusted by the sort of lawlessness deputized by

the authorities in Alabama. The Freedom Ride has emphasized as well that the struggle for civil rights in the South can quickly degenerate into violence, and that it is everybody's responsibility -- whites and Negroes -- to avoid that whenever they can.

CHRONOLOGY

March 13 - Announcement by C.O.R.E. of Freedom Ride.

April 28 - C.O.R.E. wrote to President Kennedy, informing him of plans.

May 4 - Ride began from Washington; arrived in Richmond.

May 7 - Arrival in Danville (Va.); dispute over restaurant service settled quietly at Trailways terminal.

May 8 - Arrival in Charlotte; arrest of one Rider for trespass while demanding shoe shine at Union Bus Terminal.

May 9 - Arrival in Rock Hill (S.C.) and attack in Greyhound terminal; white waiting room at Trailways terminal was closed when bus pulled in.

May 10 - Defendant in Charlotte trespass case acquitted. Two Riders arrested in Winnsboro (S.C.) and released after several hours; charges dropped.

May 12 - Arrived in August (Ga.); used all facilities.

May 13 - Travelled through Athens (Ga.) where all facilities were used, and arrived in Atlanta; restaurant closed at Greyhound station.
The Court of Appeals of the Fifth Circuit directed a lower court to "obliterate" the distinction between interstate and intrastate passengers at the train terminal in Birmingham. This is one of the many stations in the South with one waiting room for whites and Negro interstate passengers, and a second for Negro intrastate passengers.

May 14 - Some Riders were served at Trailways terminal in Atlanta. Entire group left for Birmingham, riding in Trailways and Greyhound buses.
Department of Justice advised Birmingham police it had received warnings of planned violence when buses reached their city. Greyhound bus met by mob in Anniston; passengers prevented from getting off. Tires slit and went flat six miles out of Anniston. Men following in automobiles attempted to board but were prevented by a state law enforcement officer who had been riding bus. An incendiary device thrown through a window set fire to the bus which was completely destroyed. All passengers were removed, and 12 admitted to hospital, mostly for smoke inhalation; they later resumed their ride to Birmingham. The Trailway bus also encountered the mob in Anniston, and faced by it the driver ordered Negroes to the rear. One Negro and two white Riders beaten. Bus continued on to Birmingham, where Riders attacked when they got off; one of them required over 50 head stitches.

At neither Anniston nor Birmingham was anyone arrested. Despite warnings of probable trouble, no police were on hand at Birmingham, and none arrived until ten minutes after fighting began.

May 15 - Greyhound bus drivers refused to drive group on to Montgomery. Riders took plane for New Orleans, arriving there late at night. Governor Patterson issued his first statement, advising Riders to "get out of Alabama as quickly as possible." Attorney-General Kennedy asked the state to provide police protection; the governor first agreed and then changed his position.

May 16 - Riders stayed in seclusion in New Orleans. In Birmingham, three men were arrested for taking part in the attack of the 15th.

May 17 - Riders met at church in New Orleans and then disbanded. This ended original, C.O.R.E. planned Ride.
Bus arrived in Birmingham from Nashville, carrying new contingent of Freedom Riders. This was a group of college students affiliated with Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Two white students were in the group. Police met bus on outskirts of city, arrested two Riders who refused to change seats. Two policemen rode bus into Birmingham, where a crowd was waiting at the terminal. Drivers refused to carry group on to Montgomery, and ten Riders (8Negro and 2 white) plus five sympathizers taken into protective custody.

May 18 - Riders stayed in jail; one of the white students released in custody of her father. The five Birmingham Negroes released. Attorney-General Kennedy tried unsuccessfully to reach Governor Patterson by telephone.

May 19 - Two of the jailed students (1 white, 1 Negro) received suspended fines and were released. The remaining seven were carried by Police Commissioner Connor in the early morning 120 miles to the Tennessee line and were put out of the car. They were back in Birmingham in the afternoon, where joined by 10 or so others, including three whites, they unsuccessfully sought bus service to Montgomery. Spent the night in waiting room.
An Alabama court enjoined C.O.R.E. and its followers from further "freedom rides." Patrolmen read order on incoming buses. Both President Kennedy and the Attorney-General tried unusccessfully to reach the Governor by telephone; the President talked with the Lieutenant-Governor.

May 19 - (continued)

John Siegenthaler, administrative assistant to the Attorney-General, conferred in Montgomery with the Governor.

May 20 - The Governor said: "We are going to do all we can to enforce the laws of the state on the highways and everywhere else, but we are not going to escort these agitators. We stand firm on that position."
At 8:30 a.m., after 18 hours of waiting, the Riders were taken on a Greyhound bus for Montgomery. The F.B.I. advised local police in Montgomery of probability of violence; were assured that local authority sufficient. On arrival, a "race riot involving hundreds broke out." At least six Riders were beaten, three severely. The mob attacked Negroes who had no connection with the Riders, and whites who appeared sympathetic. News photographers were attacked. John Siegenthaler was knocked unconscious and left on a sidewalk for more than 20 minutes. Police arrived about ten minutes after fighting began, and did not for some time succeed in dispersing the mob, which continued its attacks. The police arrested at least eight "integrationists."
After again trying to reach the Governor, the Attorney-General ordered federal marshals to Montgomery, and also obtained in federal district court an injunction against the Ku Klux Klan, the National States Rights party, and other individuals interfering with "peaceful interstate travel by bus." President Kennedy appealed to state and local officials of Alabama for order.

May 21 - Federal marshals continued to pour in.
The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, cut short a speaking tour and flew to Montgomery from Chicago, to address a Negro mass meeting at a church. A mob, composed largely of white youths, formed outside. It was dispersed after bitter rioting by the federal marshals and state patrolmen, with some aid from the local police. The Negroes were penned in the church until early the next morning. Governor Patterson proclaimed martial law in Montgomery, and National Guardsmen appeared. Deputy Attorney-General White came to Montgomery to take charge of federal activities; the Governor angrily denounced federal intervention during a conference with Mr. White. The American Nazi Party announced plans to send a "hate bus" from Washington to New Orleans.

Alabama Associated Press Association condemned "the breakdown of civilized rule" in Alabama. It singled out Alabama Public Safety Director Floyd Mann as "the one notable example" of an officer carrying out his duties. Negro leaders at the mass meeting also praised Mr. Mann. Governor Barnett of Mississippi wired an offer of support to Governor Patterson.

May 22 - 800 National Guardsmen on duty. More federal marshals ordered in. The Attorney-General said that they would stay until the situation is brought under control by the state. He said further that the Public Safety Director Mann was acting with vigor and skill, but that the Governor was not cooperating.
The Montgomery Ministerial Association called for all "necessary steps" to prevent further mob action and violence.
The "hate bus" left Washington
Federal agents arrested four men on charge of firing the bus at Anniston.
Additional students began arriving in Montgomery, from Nashville, New Orleans, and New York.
Deputy Attorney-General White said that arrest of Freedom Riders for violating the state injunction against them would not cause federal intervention.
1800 pupils evacuated from two white junior high schools after phoned bombing threats.

May 23 - "Hate bus" passed through Montgomery; was escorted through the town by federal officers. Reached New Orleans, where occupants had difficult time finding lodging.
Montgomery was quiet; National Guardsmen patrolled city. One person arrested in connection with riots.
In reply to a protest from Alabama Congressmen, the Attorney-General called for action on the part of the Governor and local police, "not merely words of intention."
The Governor at a press conference blamed the Sunday night riot on the federal marshals.
Justice Department officials were in continuing telephone discussions with Mississippi officials.
A press conference was held by M. L. King, Jr., C.O.R.E. director James Farmer, Montgomery minister Ralph Abernathy, and students Diane Nash and John Lewis. They announced that the Ride would continue at no matter what cost. A few more students arrived in Montgomery.
The Rotary Club of Montgomery demanded withdrawal of federal marshals. The Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce called on local law enforcement

agencies to "maintain and preserve" law and order. The Junior Chamber of Commerce condemned agitators and regretted failures of local police.
The Alabama legislature convened in Montgomery; unanimously commended the Governor for proclaiming martial law, denounced the Freedom Riders and federal intervention.
The Louisiana legislature commended Governor Patterson.
Governor Barnett had Mississippi National Guard on stand-by alert.

May 24 - Heavily protected and escorted by National Guardsmen, some of the Riders left Montgomery on a Trailways bus about 7:00 a.m. Before leaving they ate at the bus terminal, thus achieving an objective.
Later in the morning a second bus carried the rest.
The escorts convoyed the buses to the Mississippi line, where patrol cars of that state took over.
On arrival in Jackson, 27 Riders were arrested when they sought service at the white lunch counters and use of the white rest rooms of the terminal; charges were breach of peace and refusal to obey an officer. There were no disturbances otherwise.
In Montgomery, additional Riders showed up, the small group including professors and students from the North.
The Department of Justice asked in federal district court for an injunction to prohibit the heads of the Birmingham and Montgomery police departments from interfering with interstate travel. The complaint asserted that all had been derelict in performing their duties.
The Attorney-General also issued a statement appealing for a "cooling off period;" i.e., an end to the Freedom Ride. Southern Christian Leadership Conference executive promptly said "no."
The Greyhound Corporation ordered disciplinary action against its employes in Montgomery who had refused food service to Negroes.
In New Orleans, the "hate bus" passengers were jailed for "unreasonably" alarming the public.
In LaGrange (Ga.), five men attempting to organize an obstruction to the bus carrying the latest group of Riders to Montgomery were arrested.

May 25 - The Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr., Negro leader, was shot in the wrist in Montgomery by a bullet from a passing car.
The latest group of Riders was arrested while eating at the Trailways terminal in Montgomery, along with W. T. Walker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and two Negro ministers: the Reverends Abernathy and Shuttlesworth. Charge: breach of peace.
The Rev. Abernathy and six Riders filed suit

in federal district court asking invalidation of Alabama's bus terminal segregation laws. The Department of Justice promptly agreed to the judge's request that it enter the case as a friend of the court; the Department also asked for a speedy hearing. The New Orleans city council urged police to escort Riders, if they came, through city non-stop.

May 26 - Meeting in Atlanta with a few others, M. L. King, Jr. announced that there would be a "temporary lull but no cooling off" in the Rides.
Police heads in Birmingham and Montgomery were under subpoena to produce records of their activities.
The Northern professors and students posted bail and were released from Montgomery jail.
In Jackson the 27 were convicted, fined $200 each, and given 60 days suspended jail sentence.
Stringent measures were enforced during the trial, including use of police dogs to drive persons away from the front of the courthouse.
Alabama and Georgia authorities arrested a man in Rome (Ga.) for attack on Birmingham TV reporter during riots there.
The Executive Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. dissented from the plea for a "cooling off."

May 27 - Six white teen-agers arrested in Montgomery for wounding of the Rev. S. S. Seay, Sr.; released in parents' custody. The vice-chairman of Americans for Democratic Action urged Freedom Riders to disregard the Attorney-General's plea for a "cooling off."
A Freedom Riders Coordinating Committee was formed in Atlanta, composed of representatives of S.C.L.C., C.O.R.E., the Nashville Student Movement, and the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; M. L. King, Jr. explained the non-representation of the N.A.A.C.P. on the grounds that it was primarily a "legalistic body."
Both the Negroes in jail in Montgomery and the Nazis in jail in New Orleans were fasting.
Five of the 27 in Jackson were released on bond: four accepted bail so that they could stand trial in New Orleans on earlier charges growing out of the picketing of downtown stores.

May 28 - 17 Riders, coming from Montgomery and Memphis, were arrested in Jackson when they attempted to desegregate the waiting room. The contingent coming from Montgomery had been escorted to the bus terminal by Guardsmen, where they found facilities closed.

May 29 - Trial began in federal court in Montgomery on the government's complaint against Montgomery and Birmingham police heads; C. V. Henley, a former Montgomery reserve policeman, had been brought into the suit. At issue also was the continuation of the restraining order against the Klan leaders.
Martial law was ended in Montgomery.
In Jackson, 19 of the first group of Riders were put to work at a prison farm; three others were released on appeal bond. The 17 who arrived May 28 were convicted on breach of peace charges, and sentenced to 60 days or $200; they chose jail. In LaGrange (Ga.), three of those arrested on May 24 were convicted and two bound over to a higher court.
Attorney-General Kennedy requested the Interstate Commerce Commission to ban by regulations segregation in interstate bus terminals.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[1961, September 29]

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT:
A RECAPITULATION

THE STUDENT PROTEST MOVEMENT:
A RECAPITULATION
September, 1961

SRC: 21
September 29, 1961

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OVERVIEW

It is now little more than a year and a half since four Negro college students sat at a lunch counter in Greensboro and asked for service. A solitary instance of spontaneous rebellion has now become a movement of truly massive proportions which has stirred the conscience of the South and of the nation.

At the start of a new school year there is value in reviewing the phenomenon known as the sit-in movement*, where it occurred, who participated, and what it accomplished. A few generalizations first:

The movement, first begun as a protest against segregated lunch counter facilities, has, in the year and a half, embraced parks, swimming pools, theaters, restaurants, churches, interstate transportation, voting registration, libraries, museums, art galleries, laundromats, employment, beaches, and courtrooms.

The economic boycott, a natural by-product of reluctance to buy where not served, soon emerged as a powerful--and successful--means of achieving equal facilities and equal treatment.

More often than not, students began their protest without the knowledge of the established Negro leadership. They soon sought, and usually received, the cooperation of this leadership. In some places there were and are differences of opinion regarding pace and method, reflecting both disagreement and divergence of interest.

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* Note: This summary covers sit-in activity between February, 1960 and September, 1961. The Freedom Ride to Jackson (Miss.), which began in May, 1961, has not been included.

peace, has any issue or idea so aroused American students. The methods and principles of the Negro protest movement have been adopted in other student protests, such as the demonstrations against the House Un-American Activities Committee and nuclear armament. The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., is correct when he points out that Negroes are the pacesetters of this college generation.

The year-and-a-half sit-in activity has penetrated racial barriers in public accommodations with unprecedented speed.

SOME SPECIFICS

Since February 1, 1960, each southern and border state, as well as Nevada, Illinois, and Ohio -- 20 in all -- has been affected by protest demonstrations.

Over 100 cities in the South and in the border states have had sit-ins or other forms of direct action.

An estimated 3,600 students andssupporters -- in southern and border states -- have been arrested.

At least 70,000 Negroes and whites in these states actively participated in some way; this figure counts persons who sat-in, picketed, marched, and attended mass meetings (sometimes in the face of intimidation). It does not account for thousands of others who supported the movement by letters to the editor, financial contributions, and expressions of moral support.

Numbers of students and faculty were dismissed, allegedly for sit-in activities. College administrations, however, generally gave other reasons for their leaving. At least 141 students and 58 faculty members were thus involved. In Baton Rouge (La.), 236 students withdrew in protest from Southern University after the dismissal of a group of sit-in leaders.

STATE-BY-STATE SUMMARIES*

ALABAMA

The movement began February 25, 1960 in Montgomery, when 35 from Alabama State College took seats in the county courthouse snack shop.

Cities affected: Tuskegee, Montgomery, Mobile, Huntsville, Birmingham.

Arrests: at least 86.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, failure to obey an officer, trespassing after being warned.

Demonstrators: estimated 5,500.

Participants: students from Tuskegee Institute, Alabama State College, David Payne College, Miles College, and Huntington College; Alabama Civic Affairs Association; Montgomery Improvement Association; local ministers.

Other demonstrations: consumer boycotts, kneel-ins, boycott of classes, mass meetings, parades, marches.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Montgomery, where a Negro woman, a Negro photographer, and a jailed student were beaten. There were other minor incidents in Tuskegee and Birmingham, which involved a scuffle during a march and the dragging of a Negro minister from his home to jail in the middle of the night.

Biracial committees formed to seek a solution to protests: none.

Desegregation: none. (The Freedom Ride resulted in availability of service at Montgomery bus terminal.)

ARKANSAS

The movement began March 10, 1960 in Little Rock, as 50 students from Philander Smith College sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Pine Bluff, Little Rock.

Arrests: at least 20.

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* These data are compiled from press and other sources; it is important to note that while estimates are as nearly exact as possible, they are only estimates.

Charges include: loitering, breach of peace, threatened breach of peace.

Participants: students from Philander Smith College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, boycotts, picketing, mass meetings.

Biracial committee: appointed in Pine Bluff.

Desegregation: one city.*

FLORIDA

The first sit-in occurred on February 12, 1960 in Deland and quickly spread to Tallahassee on February 13, 1960, when nine Florida A. & M. University students sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Deland, Tallahassee, Tampa, Gainesville, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Daytona Beach, St. Augustine, Ft. Lauderdale, Miami, Jacksonville, Ocala.

Arrests: at least 243.

Charges include: disturbing the peace, unlawful assembly, vagrancy, disorderly conduct, improper language, violation of state law which provides for ejection of "undesirable guests," inciting to riot.

Demonstrators: estimated 2,500.

Participants: students from Florida A. & M. University, Florida State University, Florida Normal and Industrial College, high schools.

Other demonstrations: marches, picketing, boycotts, wade-ins, kneel-ins, local Freedom Rides.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Tallahassee and Jacksonville. In Jacksonville, one person was killed and 70 persons injured during a three-day riot; a white sit-in student was attacked in jail and suffered a fractured jaw; a 16-year old boy was pistol-whipped by Ku Klux Klansmen. In Tallahassee, tear gas was used to disperse a march; several persons were burned. Minor altercations between Negroes and whites occurred in St. Augustine and Tampa.

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* Names of all cities which have one or more desegregated establishments as a result of sit-in activity are listed on page 14.

Biracial committees: Auburndale, Coral Gables, Daytona Beach, Delray Beach, Eustis, Ft. Lauderdale, Ft. Pierce, Miami, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg, Tampa, West Palm Beach, Orlando.

Desegregation: 15 cities.

GEORGIA

The movement began in Atlanta March 15, 1960, as 200 students sat-in at ten eating places simultaneously, including the State Capitol, city hall, and county court house.

Cities affected: Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, Columbus, Augusta, Marietta.

Arrests: at least 292.

Charges include: refusing to leave private property, disorderly conduct, loitering, violating city ordinance against picketing without license, violating local statute against disrobing in public, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 7,000.

Participants: students from Atlanta University Center, Emory University, Paine College, and high schools; Committee on Appeal for Human Rights.

Other demonstrations: picketing, mass marches, laying of wreath at capitol, kneel-ins, stand-ins at registry, mass meetings, boycotts, picketing for fair employment, riding front seats of city buses, picketing golf course.

Major acts of violence occurred in Atlanta and Savannah. In Atlanta an acid-like substance was hurled at a student picket; in Savannah, a white youth fractured the jaw of a Negro, and five persons received hospital treatment as the result of fighting between Negro and white teen-agers. Both of these cities also experience minor disturbances.

Biracial committee: Savannah.

Desegregation: three cities.

KENTUCKY

The movement began February 27, 1960, when 20 Negro students from the University of Kentucky sat-in at a variety store in Lexington.

Cities affected: Lexington, Frankfort, Louisville.

Arrests: at least 374.

Charges include: breach of peace, disorderly conduct, blocking entrances to theater, delinquency.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,000.

Participants: students from University of Kentucky, Kentucky State College, University of Louisville; Lexington Ministers and Deacons Association.

Other demonstrations: stand-ins, boycotts, picketing, parades.

Violence occurred at Frankfort, where the gymnasium at Kentucky State College was burned.

Biracial committees: Louisville, Lexington.

Desegregation: nine cities.

LOUISIANA

The first public demonstration took place March 8, 1960, when more than 200 Negro students paraded on Dillard campus in New Orleans. The first sit-in occurred in Baton Rouge, March 28, 1960, as seven Southern University students sat-in at Kress'.

Cities affected: New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Shreveport.

Arrests: at least 71.

Charges include: taking temporary possession of a man's business, disturbing the peace, obstructing public passage, criminal mischief, criminal anarchy, violation of municipal ordinance requiring parade permit, holding unlawful assembly, vagrancy (by remaining in a place after being forbidden to stay), "open charge."

Demonstrators: estimated at 10,000.

Participants: students from Dillard University, Xavier University, Southern University; Consumer's League of New Orleans.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, prayer meetings, mass marches, boycott of Mardi Gras, picketing, picketing for fair employment, boycott of classes, picketing of library, read-ins, protests of Freedom Rider beatings.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.

MISSISSIPPI

The movement (exclusive of Freedom Riders) started with a boycott by the NAACP April 11, 1960 in Jackson. The first demonstration occurred March 27, 1961, when nine Negro students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College attempted to use facilities of the municipal library in Jackson and were arrested.

Cities affected: Jackson, Biloxi, Starkville (four Little Rock Negroes seeking service at an all-white cafe were arrested), Gulfport, Clarksdale, McComb.

Arrests: at least 40.

Charges include: breach of peace, contributing to the delinquency of a minor, trespass.

Demonstrators: estimated at 1,600.

Participants: students from Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Jackson State College, and students from Nashville, Tenn.

Other demonstrations: sit-ins, marches, campus prayer meeting, mass meetings, sit-ins at benches in zoo, attempts to use park, demonstrations at county clerk's office to register and vote.

Major acts of violence occurred in Jackson and Biloxi. In Jackson, police used clubs and tear gas to halt a march of students. Two police dogs attacked the crowd, inflicting injury on several persons. Negro women and children and a photographer were beaten by police and bystanders. In Biloxi, ten persons suffered gunshot wounds in street clashes after wade-ins. Negroes were attacked on beaches by whites with clubs and chains. Other manifestations of violence in Biloxi included stonings, police patrols equipped with riot guns, attacks on seven white airmen, and Negroes staying at their jobs all night in fear of violence on the streets.

Biracial committees: none.

Desegregation: none.

NORTH CAROLINA

The sit-in movement began February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, when four Negro students from North Carolina A. & T. College asked for service in Woolworth's and sat quietly when refused.

Cities affected: Raleigh, Fayetteville, Greensboro, Durham, Wilmington, Statesville, Winston-Salem, Charlotte, Chapel Hill,

Henderson, Shelby, New Bern, Rutherfordton, Elizabeth City, High Point, Concord, Monroe, Salisbury.

Arrests: at least 268.

Charges include: obstructing sidewalk, trespassing, affray, assault and battery.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,200.

Participants: students from North Carolina College, Duke University, Winston-Salem Teachers College, Wake Forest College, Shaw University, St. Augustine College, Fayetteville State Teachers College, North Carolina A. & T. College, Bennett College, University of North Carolina, Kittrell College, Barber-Scotia College, University of North Carolina (Woman's College at Greensboro); Negro Passive Resistance Group.

Other demonstrations: mass meetings, picketing of stores, movies, and swimming pools, boycotts, stand-ins, parades, prayer meetings, courtroom demonstrations.

Minor altercations were reported in Durham, Henderson, Shelby, High Point, Raleigh, and Greensboro. These included confiscation of newsmen's cameras; fist fights; hurling snowballs, bricks, bottles, rocks, and eggs at Negro demonstrators; and the setting of a Negro student's coat on fire. In Monroe, however, a more serious situation occurred. For two days, veritable battle lines were drawn between a white mob and followers of Robert Williams, a Negro advocate of retaliation in kind against intimidation; a white couple was held hostage for several hours, leading to indictments against Williams and others for kidnapping.

Biracial committees: Asheville, Chapel Hill, Charlotte, Durham, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Greensboro, High Point, Kinston, Laurinburg (Chamber of Commerce committee), Raleigh, Winston-Salem.

Desegregation: 17 cities.

OKLAHOMA

Sit-ins have been held continuously since 1958. Although non-violent direct action techniques have appeared sporadically for almost twenty years in the United States, the first concentrated employment of these techniques began in Oklahoma City.

Cities affect: Oklahoma City, Enid, Tulsa, Stillwater.

Arrests: at least eight.

Charges: disorderly conduct.

Participants: high school students.

Biracial committee: On March 30, 1960 Governor J. Howard Edmondson appointed a state-wide Governor's Committee on Human Relations.

Desegregation: 116 eating places have been opened to everyone as the result of the three-year campaign of sit-ins and other demonstrations in Oklahoma City. Some desegregation has occurred in five cities.

SOUTH CAROLINA

The first demonstration in the state, a sit-in, occurred February 12, 1960 in Rock Hill, when about 100 students from Friendship Junior College and Clinton Junior College entered Woolworth's and McCrory's and asked to be served.

Cities affected: Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Denmark, Columbia, Sumter, Florence, Myrtle Beach, Charleston, Hartsville, Greenville, Spartanburg, Darlington.

Arrests: at least 947.

Charges include: trespass, breach of peace, loitering, obstructing sidewalk, conspiracy to breach the peace, distributing leaflets without license, disorderly conduct.

Demonstrators: estimated 4,000.

Participants: students from Friendship Junior College, Clinton Junior College, Carolina State College, Claflin College, Voorhees Junior College, Allen University, Benedict College, Morris College.

Other demonstrations: kneel-ins, picketing, marches, boycotts, wade-ins, distribution of leaflets, read-ins.

Major acts of violence occurred in Rock Hill, Orangeburg, Columbia, and Greenville. In Rock Hill, ammonia was thrown at sit-in students. In Orangeburg, students were hosed; a Negro sit-in student was almost fatally stabbed in Columbia; a Negro girl was knocked down by police in Sumter; and in Greenville a white sit-in demonstrator was beaten by white men. Minor disturbances in these same cities were also reported.

Biracial committees: Florence, Rock Hill.

Desegregation: none.

TENNESSEE

The movement began in Nashville on February 13, 1960, when 40 students from Fisk University, Tennessee A. & I. University, and American Baptist Theological Seminary took seats in Woolworth's and requested service.

Cities affected: Knoxville, Memphis, Oak Ridge, Nashville, Chattanooga, Jackson.

Arrests: at least 692.

Charges include: disorderly conduct, committing an affray, breach of peace, vagrancy, loitering, threatened breach of peace, conspiracy to obstruct trade and commerce, obstructing sidewalk, creating public annoyance.

Demonstrators: estimated 16,000.

Participants: students from Tennessee A. & L. University, Fisk University, American Baptist Theological Seminary, Vanderbilt University, Howard High School, Lane College; Associated Council for Full Citizenship; Memphis Ministerial Alliance.

Other demonstrations: ministers' seven-day march in downtown Knoxville, boycotts, picketing, read-ins, attempts to enter art gallery and municipal museum, kneel-ins, ministers' riding front seats of city buses, stand-ins, picketing for fair employment, mass meetings, sit-ins at jail, mass marches, mass prayer meetings, demonstrations at courthouses and at mayor's office, picketing of Vanderbilt University, parade to courthouse protesting violation of voting rights in Fayette and Haywood counties.

Major acts of violence occurred in Chattanooga, Nashville, and Knoxville. In Chattanooga, a massive three-day street brawl was described by the Chattanooga Times as "the most massive racial clash in the history of Chattanooga." In Nashville, a Negro defense lawyer's home was bombed; Negro sit-in students were burned with cigarettes; and a white sit-in student was beaten. In Knoxville, a white professor was beaten. Minor incidents took place in these same cities, as well as in Memphis and Jackson.

Biracial committees: Athens, Chattanooga (merchants and ministers), Knoxville (good-will committee of white leaders appointed by Mayor and Chamber of Commerce), Memphis, Nashville, Oak Ridge.

Desegregation: seven cities.

TEXAS

The movement began in Houston, March 5, 1960, when 100 Negro students from Texas Southern University staged an orderly sit-in at a supermarket lunch counter.

Cities affected: Austin, San Antonio, Houston, Amarillo, Galveston, Marshall, Dallas, Beaumont.

Arrests: at least 317. (Note: this figure includes 55 who were arrested and 200 who were taken into custody in Marshall.)

Charges include: assault, loitering, unlawful assembly.

Demonstrators: estimated 6,500.

Participants: students from University of Texas, Rice, Texas Southern, Wiley College, Bishop College, high schools; Progressive Youth Association.

Other demonstrations: picketing, stand-ins, mass meetings, boycotts, wade-ins, sit-in at laundromat, attempts to enter city-owned park.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Houston and Marshall. After a sit-in in Houston, a Negro man was stabbed by a white man in a parking lot. Another Negro was flogged with a chain by three whites; the symbol KKK was carved on his chest and stomach; and he was hung by the knees from an oak tree. In Marshall, a crowd of Negroes was hosed by policemen accompanied by three K-9 dogs. Minor occurences also were reported in Austin and San Antonio.

Biracial committees: Houston, Dallas, Galveston (informal, all-white committee), San Antonio (group of white religious leaders acting as mediating committee, later set up as an interracial committee), Texas City, La Marque.

Desegregation: ten cities.

VIRGINIA

The first demonstration in the state took place February 11, 1960 in Hampton, when approximately 25 students from Hampton Institute sat-in at Woolworth's.

Cities affected: Arlington, Hampton, Norfolk, Hopewell, Portsmouth, Alexandria, Fairfax, Newport News, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Middleburg, Martinsville, Suffolk, Whaleyville, Petersburg, Danville, Lynchburg, Lawrenceville, Charlottesville.

Arrests: at least 235.

Charges include: trespass, violation of municipal ordinance against passing out handbills, disorderly conduct, and violation of city code prohibiting public parades, demonstrations, or speeches in public places without written permission of the city manager.

Demonstrators: estimated 11,000.

Participants: students from Hampton Institute, Norfolk Division of Virginia State College, Norfolk Division of William and Mary, Virginia Union, Howard University (in Washington, D.C.), Hampton Extension of Virginia State College, Sweet Briar College, Randolph-Macon Woman's College, St. Paul's College, University of Virginia, Virginia Theological Seminary, Lynchburg College, high schools; Hopewell Improvement Association; Petersburg Improvement Association; Lynchburg Improvement Association.

Other demonstrations: rallies, marches, stand-ins at theatres and voting registry, prayer meetings outside jails, boycotts, picketing, withdrawal of Negro children in elementary school in protest, sleep-in at hotel lobby, mass meetings, read-ins at public libraries, petitions, boycott of segregated theatre.

Major incidents of violence occurred in Portsmouth, Petersburg, and Danville. In Portsmouth, Negroes were attacked by white teen-agers carrying wrenches and hammers. Violence continued for two straight days in a parking lot outside a supermarket, and police used the K-9 Corps to restore order. In Petersburg, a store manager threw ammonia at three Negro high school students. In Danville, crosses were burned in front of a Negro church and a local Negro leader's home. Minor violence was reported in these same cities and in Richmond and Whaleyville.

Biracial committees: Arlington, Lynchburg, Norfolk, Roanoke, Richmond.

Desegregation: 23 cities.

PROTESTS IN OTHER STATES

Protest against segregated facilities occurred in Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, and West Virginia.

Cities affected: East St. Louis, Deerfield and Murphysboro (Ill.); Kansas City (Kan.); Baltimore, Chevy Chase, and Laurel (Md.); Jefferson City, Kansas City, St. Louis, St. Joseph, and Maplewood (Mo.); Las Vegas and Reno (Nev.); Xenia (Ohio); and Bluefield, Charleston, and Morgantown (W.Va.).

Desegregation: 14 cities.

DESEGREGATION:

Listed* below are cities in which at least one establishment has desegregated its eating facilities. Desegregation of other public accommodations has occurred only where specifically noted.

ARKANSAS:	Ft. Smith	
FLORIDA:	Bradenton	Orlando
	Cocoa	Sarasota
	Daytona Beach	Largo
	Ft. Lauderdale (also beaches)	Jacksonville
	Key West	Clearwater
	Miami	Dunedin
	Tampa	St. Petersburg
	West Palm Beach	
GEORGIA:	Savannah	Columbus (buses only)
	Atlanta	
ILLINOIS:	East St. Louis	
KENTUCKY:	Henderson	Lexington
	Owensboro	Ashland
	Paducah	Frankfort
	Hopkinsville	Louisville
	Richmond	
MARYLAND:	Salisbury	Chevy Chase
	Baltimore	
MISSOURI:	Clayton	St. Joseph
	Columbia	St. Louis
	Jefferson City	
NEVADA:	Las Vegas	Reno

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* This list may not be complete. Similar lists, previously released by merchant organizations and action groups, have included some places which we have been unable to verify, and in some instances have classified suburbs and unincorporated places as cities. In several cases in Florida our efforts to verify reports of desegregation have not succeeded in erasing doubts, as, e.g., in Coral Gables, where the city attorney said he did not know, he ate lunch at home. No one in the mayor's office in Lantana knew whether lunch counters had been desegregated. The mayor of North Miami Beach wrote that he had no official knowledge. In Hialeah, the mayor's secretary thought so. The assistant city manager in Pompano Beach said there were no signs or separate counters in the variety stores. In Ft. Myers, the mayor did not know of any desegregation. In Bristol (Tenn.), the mayor said he did not know whether desegregation of the lunch counters had taken place; he never ate there himself and had no more idea than we did.

NORTH CAROLINA:	Asheville	Greensboro
	Chapel Hill (also movies)	High Point
	Charlotte	New Bern
	Concord	Salisbury
	Durham	Raleigh
	Elizabeth City	Winston-Salem
	Fayetteville	Wilmington
	Gastonia	Goldsboro
		Wilson
OKLAHOMA:	Enid	Tulsa
	Oklahoma City	Bartlesville
	Shawnee	
TENNESSEE:	Chattanooga	Madison
	Kingsport	Nashville (also movies and employment)
	Knoxville	
	Johnson City	Oak Ridge
TEXAS:	Austin	Houston
	Brownsville	La Marque
	Corpus Christi	San Antonio
	Dallas	Texas City
	Galveston	Temple
VIRGINIA:	Arlington	Portsmouth
	Alexandria	Richmond
	Charlottesville	Roanoke
	Falls Church	Staunton
	Fairfax	Suffolk
	Fredericksburg	Williamsburg
	Hampton	Winchester
	Harrisonburg	Hopewell
	Manassas	Annandale
	Newport News	Middleburg
	Norfolk	Leesburg
	Petersburg	
WEST VIRGINIA:		Morgantown
	Bluefield	Charleston

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT FOR THE SIT-IN MOVEMENT

It would be almost impossible to enumerate the many thousands outside the South who joined sympathy protests, rallies, and picket lines. However, the broad appeal of the sit-in movement can at least be partially illustrated by the following:

1. There are on record favorable statements from over 40 religious groups, representing every major faith.

Addition (April, 1962):

At least one eating establishment in the following cities has desegregated since the publication of this report:

FLORIDA:	Pensacolaa
GEORGIA:	Augusta Columbus Macon
TENN.:	Memphis
TEXAS:	San Angelo

2. Support came from numerous labor organizations -- locals, national unions, and district councils.

3. Students in at least 70 colleges outside the South actively campaigned in behalf of the southern students, either by financial collections or by sympathy rallies, picketing, and mass demonstrations.

4. Many organizations concerned with civil rights gave endorsement.

FOR THE FUTURE

In the last year and a half, emphasis was placed on the desegregation of eating establishments,although considerable energies were devoted to other forms of public accommodations. The enthusiasm generated by the student movement will not die out. Students and adult supporters will undoubtedly continue their campaign to help the South overcome racial injustice in public accommodations, in voter registration, in employment, and in churches.

[1962, July]

A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

TOWARD REGIONAL REALISM
NO. 2

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL



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A HUNDRED YEARS LATER

FOREWORD

A while ago James McBride Dabbs, President of the Southern Regional Council, wrote out some thoughts regarding the Centennial of the Civil War, now being observed throughout the country under the auspices of the national and state governments. He shared these with a few of his colleagues. Mr. Dabbs' letter, full of concern that the Civil War is still today an intellectual and psychological problem for Southerners, and the thoughtful responses which it elicited from his fellow members of the Council, make up this publication.

The Centennial may or may not have been a wise venture for a nation again in the throes of a great struggle over human rights. It may or may not have been soundly planned and conceived. We nevertheless have it with us. Having it, there is need, we think, for some voices from the South to speak calmly, and with awareness that it must not longer be a stumbling block to national unity.

The Civil War is and has been a deep emotional problem peculiarly for white Southerners. For this reason, all but one of the contributions to this pamphlet are by white men. The concluding piece, by a distinguished Negro Southerner, is in a sense a response, written with charity and a clear vision of the national purpose, from one of the peoples of the South to the other.

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

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President since 1957 of the Southern Regional Council, is author of THE SOUTHERN HERITAGE and THE ROAD HOME. He lives and farms near Mayesville, South Carolina, where his family has resided since 1750.

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was President of the University of North Carolina from 1939-49, U. S. Senator from 1949-51, and is now on the staff of the United Nations. To thousands of former students and friends, he is the gallant "Dr. Frank."

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is a Pulitzer prize-winning playwright ("Abraham's Bosom"), a novelist, teacher. and author of pageants that celebrate, among other things, the history of his native North Carolina.

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is a prominent South Carolina attorney, now living in retirement in the North Carolina mountains. Celebrated as a speaker for civil rights and liberties, he is a former President of the Alumni Association and Law Alumni Association of the University of South Carolina.

From JAMES McBRIDE DABBS

We are now observing the Centennial of the Civil War. We are not celebrating that war; we are commemorating it, bringing it soberly to memory. We do this to honor the men who suffered that experience; but we honor them not merely by recalling the bright image of their heroism but also by understanding them and, even more, by understanding what their fight means to us who are their descendants and who possess the land they loved.

I am therefore taking this occasion to write to you, my friends, to raise several questions about the meaning of the Civil War to the South today. I think the nation should raise parallel questions, for it was also the nation's war; but we of the South were the more deeply involved, and I as a southern American am raising these questions for the South. I hope they will stimulate your thinking and suggest a pattern for your responses.

Any past event has both recognized and possible meanings. As our understanding of such an event changes, its impact upon us changes. As for the participants in our Civil War, the meaning of that conflict has long been fixed. We honor them by trying to understand what it was. Any change in our understanding of an event as close to us emotionally as the Civil War changes the impact of that event upon us.

Let me first comment upon the recognized and acclaimed meaning of the Civil War in the South.

To judge from the commemorative centennial events that have already occurred, it is apparent that the Civil War is remembered in the South primarily as an heroic or epic action. To suggest it by an image, it is horsemen charging across a sundown sky and vanishing in the darkness—splendid horsemen, heroic and shining figures, but the light they reflect is an evening light, and they go down with the cause they defended. These figures are touched with Homeric splendor, but we are too close to them, still too involved with them, to observe them with Homeric detachment. The surging emotions of those days are not recollected in complete tranquillity, the men who suffered them not poetic personages but human actors in our own history.

Because we see them primarily in this simple, epic light, as heroic defenders of a noble cause and a sacred soil, because their fading bugles still echo in our hearts like Roland's horn at Roncevaux, we are likely to return to the present with a renewed determination to defend, even as they seem to have defended it, without question and without reserve, our way of life.

In brief, this highly emotional meaning says only, "Defend, defend!" But the question arises: Is simple defense always intelligent? Is this what it means to be a Southerner in the modern world? Remembering that that earlier defense failed, we must question whether simple devotion is enough, whether the ardent memory of an heroic past is all that we need for a distinguished future.

I raise the question too as to what place this kind of meaning allows to the Negro Southerner. I think it is fair to say it practically excludes him. I think it is fair to say also that a reading of our history—and the Civil War is the core of it—that cannot find a place for the Negro Southerner sets before the South the impossible task of getting along with a people, by definition foreign, whom it cannot get rid of.

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the simple epic struggle we have tended to remember, but more complex, more—let us say—tragic? Is it possible that such a meaning, apprehended by us, might fit us to play successfully our part in the world today? This would be defending the South by understanding it, a necessity for any sound defense.

But why do we seek a new meaning? Partly, because we are forced to. Why are we being forced to? Because increasingly the old meaning does not work. When a man finds that his interpretation of life—that is, of his experience, his past—does not work, he seeks a new interpretation, molding the theory to the facts. Our old theory of a static, caste society becomes increasingly ineffective in the dynamic, democratic West. It is this driving modern world, with its democratic-communistic struggle and its array of new nations, that forces us to search our past for the strength we need today.

Let us admit that the South may have begun the Civil War with an epic sense of splendor and innocence. It is al-

most certain that with the passage of the war years she became increasingly doubtful of her position in the world and before God, and increasingly aware, therefore, of the tragic fate that had befallen her: good men, caught in the trap of custom and interest and regional pride, not wise enough to find a peaceful way out, and therefore involved in a death struggle of brother against brother. This is the tragic, as distinguished from the epic view. It is possible that the post-war leaders of the South remembered for a little while this tragic view of their past life, with all its superficial unity cracking under the strain of war; if they did, they forgot it in the fires of Reconstruction, and came out of that experience with the Civil War remembered as a foreign doom thrust across the happy pathway of the South. This is the view we have tended to hold since; we have already noticed its growing ineffectiveness.

But suppose, as we have suggested, it was really a tragic struggle, raising, as tragic struggles always do, the question of justice? The tragic hero goes down in defeat. Why? Where was he in error? Simple epic splendor has no place here. Splendor remains; courage remains—perhaps, indeed, a more anguished courage, of men with divided hearts giving their lives in action, but not the simple courage of the hilltop horsemen at sundown.

If this is what the war was, then we, who would honor its participants, must first try to understand their destinies; and then, since out of these tragic destinies they bequeathed to us so many unsolved problems, we must try to recognize our own tragic uncertainty and involvement. The war seen as an epic struggle against un-southern forces touches us only with nostalgia for the lost cause; seen as a tragic struggle against both the world and ourselves, it involves us in that continuing struggle.

I suggest that we were struggling then both against the determination of the Western World to move toward democracy and industrialization and against our own unrecognized desire to go with it. We couldn't admit this desire because we didn't know what to do with the Negro in our midst.

This is still our problem. As I have suggested, the view of the Civil War as epic simply excludes the Negro. Oh,

perhaps he has some place as a sort of retainer or liege man of those ancient heroes; but such an image only confuses us in the world into which we are now hurrying. But if the Civil War was a tragic event, expressing both man's nobility and his littleness, his great courage and his foolishness, then the Negro is involved as the central, though not always evident, object of southern concern. Since this view of our past fits our present, it can be translated into a present meaning. Underlying everything else, it is the presence of the Negro that challenges us.

Challenges us all, whites and Negroes together. For we are together in the South. The tragic view of our history—and of its core, the Civil War—shows how close together. Each race has suffered because of the other's presence, but each has found some wisdom. The basic wisdom we have acquired is the wisdom of those whose lives have been entwined in suffering and defeat. I don't think it makes much difference what causes the suffering, who causes the defeat. We have been together in it; and we have learned, at our best, a certain tolerance, a certain gentleness, a certain understanding. Unhappily, we have emphasized so much our separateness that we are largely unaware of this; and our memory of the Civil War as just an epic struggle, excluding as it does the Negro from the picture, tends to keep us unaware. If, on the contrary, we could see it for the tragic event it was, with all of us, North and South, whites and Negroes, common builders of a nation we were blindly tearing apart, we should be better able to see ourselves today as basically one, engaged in the endless quarrels of kinsmen, who have to quarrel because at heart they are so close together.

The future we strive for is the future we glimpse by the light of the past. The flame of the Civil War still flickers along the horizon. What does it mean? What light does it cast upon our future? I invite your comments.

From PAUL GREEN

Is it possible for the Civil War to mean other, more positive things? Is it possible that it was not the

simple, epic struggle we have tended to remember,
but more complex, more—let us say—tragic?

—James M. Dabbs

It was a sweet warm morning in May. Uncle Reuben, the old Negro cradler, and I were out in the field harvesting my father's oats. He was eighty and I was twelve. Round and round we went, his cradle dipping with a whup-swish, whup-swish, and he laying the handfuls of cut oats behind him and my following with all my manful might tying these handfuls into larger bundles later to be hauled to my father's barn there across the dew-wet fields.

I was feeling good that morning and Uncle Reuben felt extra spry. I could tell from the way he swung his cradle. And the reason we both felt good was because my Uncle Heck was coming up from Wilmington where he was the postmaster to pay us one of his rare visits. I had waked at the rooster-crow that morning with a little sweet feeling inside my breast remembering the letter that had come from him the day before saying that he would be up to visit us. And when I told Uncle Reuben that Uncle Heck was coming he beat his old hat twice against his leg and said, "Hot dog. I'd rather slap these two eyes on that man than anybody that walks this wide earth."

"And he'll bring you a plug of that good Apple tobacco, won't he?"

"That he will, bless his sweet heart," said Uncle Reuben. "He allus does."

Uncle Heck was a wonder to me—my hero. He had been in the great Civil War, had actually fought at Gettysburg and lived to tell the tale—except that it was hard to get him to tell it. Once though he had unloosed and talked with me about it. We were sitting by the fire one winter night and I had worn him down, I guess, with my pleading. For he had relented enough to get started by saying there was a lot of killing that went on those three days at Gettysburg. I already knew this from my little Confederate history. And the worst thing about it for him, he continued slowly, even worse than the wounded men lying out in the hot sun and calling for water and the young boys stretched all about shouting down and

calling for their mothers while they died—worse than that, he said, was the whickering and the wild neighing of the horses that were jerking and lunging about with broken legs and their stomachs all tore to pieces and their insides dragging in the dirt.

Uncle Heck loved horses and he always kept a nice limber-legged one for his buggy.

"And you were lying out there wounded too, wasn't you, Uncle Heck? Yes sir," I declared.

"Yes, I was lying out there," he said.

"You were tough, tough," I prompted jubilantly, "they couldn't kill you."

"Yeh, tough is the word, and I got over it somehow. I was brought home in a wagon on a bed of wheatstraw. And I stunk so bad from my wounds that your grandmammy wouldn't let 'em bring me in the house. Dr. John had to work on me in the barn till the rotted parts of my flesh got cleaned up and healed some." He stopped and looked up at the clock on the mantelpiece. "Time for you to go to bed, boy."

"And you got wounded in six places, didn't you, Uncle Heck, in that charge across the wide field? Six bullets hit you, didn't they? Papa said they did."

He chuckled. "I got peppered all right with them minny-balls. But I lived. Don't you reckon I lived? Yes sir, tough you said." And he laughed and smoothed back his handsome cleancut gray moustache. Uncle Heck always wore nice clothes, kept himself trim and neat, carried a cane and in the summertime he always had a flower in his buttonhole, a cape jessamine bloom if he could get one. My hero!

I laughed a bit too and hurried on. "Did you ever see General Lee, Uncle Heck, did you?"

"Many a time, boy, many a time. And a sorrowful, bothered man he was too."

"What was he bothered about, Uncle Heck? Oh, I know—losing all so many of his boys in gray, that's what."

"Maybe that too. But I reckon what bothered him most was trying to make heads and tails of the whole thing he was tangled up in. Oh yes, that bothered him considerable." He

looked up at the clock again. "I've told you it's bedtime. Go on, boy."

But I was quick with my big question. "How many Yankees did you kill, Uncle Heck? I bet a lot. How many?"

"Maybe I killed some, maybe I didn't. I did a lot of shooting. I've prayed on my knees though many a time that I didn't kill a single solitary man. And if I had I begged God to forgive me for it." Then he called through the house to my mother, "Betty, come get this young'un and put him to bed. He's pestering me to death about that old Civil War and I don't allow that."

And pulling a cheroot from his vest pocket, he bit off the end with his fine gold-filled front teeth, bent over, stuck a splinter into the fireplace of coals and leaning back brought its frying flame up and lighted his smoke with great manly puffings. I watched him with the saliva working in my mouth. The rattling of the dishes in the kitchen where my mother was washing them after supper suddenly stopped, and she came in and in spite of my pleadings sent me sternly off to bed.

Some of these things flitted through my mind that sweet May morning as I followed Uncle Reuben in the oat field. Whup-swish, whup-swish went his blade. The sun mounted the sky and the sweat poured down. After a while he slung the cradle over his shoulder and said it was time to get some water to drink. And we went over to the apple tree at the edge of the field where our water jug was shaded in a bunch of pawpaw bushes. We sat down and fanned ourselves, and I took a long drink from the jug first because I was white and Uncle Reuben drank second because he was black, and that was the way of things with no questions asked. As he tilted the jug back I watched the water go gluk-gluk in wads down his stringy, wrinkled old throat—a throat as black and scaly as the hide of that alligator I had seen in the circus once at Dunn. And then I noticed another thing. The sleeve of his ragged homemade shirt slipped back and there were two round scarry spots showing on his forearm.

He set the jug down, reached back in the shade, fanned himself a bit more and pulled out a piece of his petrified rock and began sharpening the cradle blade. And once more

his old sleeve slipped back up his forearm from his lifted hand and there were those spots again. I happened to notice them, idly at first. And then I stared at them. He saw I was looking at his arm. He pushed the cradle from him and slid the whetstone back into his pocket. He pulled his sleeve down and sat scrubbing his stubby old white beard with the hard palm of his hand which was the yellow color of a mulberry root. And then he pulled out a piece of homemade tobacco twist and gnawed off a bite with his hard gums and stuck the twist out to me. I shook my head though I was dying to try it, and my saliva was working again. He sat there munching contentedly for a moment then squirted a bit of slightly stained yellow juice out to one side. He began chuckling.

"You notice things, don't you?" he said.

"I dunno, Uncle Reuben," I answered uncertainly.

"Yeh, you do. You got sharp eyes. I noticed that 'bout a lots of things. And now you done crossed the line of 'countability, ain't you?"

" 'Countability? I don't know."

You know what 'countability is—the teachers and the preachers tell about. That's the time when a young'un gets up where he can think for hisself, like grown folks, gets responsible for his actions."

"Yes," I said.

"So I reckon I mought as well tell you about them spots you been looking at, now that you got up so far in the world. I noticed you kept looking at 'em."

"Yeh, I bet you've had bad carbuncles like that peddler had."

He chuckled once more. "No, not carbuncles," he said.

"I had a bad carbuncle back on my thigh," I said, "and it left a round scar, just the same."

"Carbuncles don't make marks like that," he said. "I know."

"What was it, Uncle Reuben? What caused it?"

"Sump'n a lot worse'n carbuncles."

"What? What was that?"

"Hot lead, boy," he said abruptly, "bullet lead."

"Bullets?"

looked up at the clock again. "I've told you it's bedtime. Go on, boy."

But I was quick with my big question. "How many Yankees did you kill, Uncle Heck? I bet a lot. How many?"

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"That's what I said. That's where I was shot 'way back in them days."

"You shot? Good gracious! When?"

"Back in the Ku Klux times."

I had heard about the Ku Klux, and I'd also heard that Uncle Reuben as a young man had been mixed up in some kind of trouble, some kind of killing. But I had never heard the story. Nobody would talk about it. My father wouldn't. And now maybe I was going to hear all about it. I squirmed up a bit closer.

"Did the Ku Klux shoot you?" I asked eagerly.

"Yeah, one of them Ku Klux did."

"Who was it, Uncle Reuben?"

"Now ain't that a come-off! You know good and well I ain't going to tell you 'bout no particular person. It was just the Ku Klux shot me. I'll show you sump'n else." And creaking to his feet he undid his homemade britches, pulled up his shirt and showed me another spot on his side. And then he turned around and shamelessly dropped his trousers farther down disclosing another mark low on his stern. "Yes suh, son," he went on, "that's where them bullets hit me." He stuck his shirt in and buttoned his britches again. "They sho' poured the lead into me that time."

I sat there staring at him horrified—yet thrilled too. I was all in a shivering tumult to hear more.

"How did it happen? How did it, Uncle Reuben?" I said. "They didn't have any right to treat you like that. Lord a'mercy, you oughta got a gun and killed somebody!"

He stared at me. "I did kill somebody, son," he said. I blinked at him. He went on. "When I heard them Ku Kluxers outside my door I told 'em not to come in 'cause I was right inside there and Ihad my axe handy. 'Don't come in here,' I said, 'I'll kill the first man breaks in my door!' But that didn't stop 'em. They whoomed and lunged against the door and they broke it down. And the first man that tumbled in was Mr. Ed Gaskins and what did I do with my axe but I split him clean down to the belly-button. Lord, Lord, I split him down.' "

And now I remembered that I had heard something about a Mr. Gaskins that had got killed long, long ago in the Ku

Klux trouble. Speechless I gazed at Uncle Reuben. And he was no longer just Uncle Reuben but a man with something suddenly mysterious and strange about him. He had killed somebody. He seemed farther away than before.

He chuckled again and dug into the ground with one of his long-nailed bony fingers. "Course I been sorry for that a long, long time. I been sorry. But I been done forgive for it by the old Master up there," and he gestured toward the sky. And then a medley of little whickering chuckles broke from him and he spat a spurt of brown juice now off to one side. "But tough, I was tough! They couldn't kill this nigger, no sir! And there I was lying on that floor that night and that Ku Klux man standing over me with the smoking pistol in his hand and the other dead body lying there all split open, bleeding on the floor. Well, I could see that man against the door light and I could smell the powder in the room too, even smell the fresh blood. I still had my good senses about me. And you know what that Ku Klux with the pistol said while he was standing over me?"

"No, I don't," I said breathlessly.

"I heard him say, 'I reckon that's done for you, you damn black scoundrel. But I'll make sho' of it.' And he bent over in the dark and he fired that last bullet smack at me. He'd already shot me five times. And that made six. But maybe in the dark his hand was too trembly, so he just grazed the side of my skelp here." And Uncle Reuben lifted his old black hat back, pushed up a bit of his kinky white hair and there sure enough just along the side above his ear was a slick hairless mark.

"Lord," I breathed, "Lord!"

"Yeh, they shot me down like a dog," he went on, "maybe I was deserving of it some. I was a young buck then and I had just got my freedom. Maybe I was shooting off my mouth round and about a little too much. And that's how come they come waiting on me in the dead of night, them Ku Kluxers."

"It must have scared you 'bout to death. How did they look, Uncle Reuben, how?"

"Lord, boy, they had bedsheets over their heads and they had horns sticking up through that headgear and they had great booger goggle-eyes. Oh, my goodness! Makes me shiver

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thinking of it now. Long time ago is was since it happened, but still makes me shiver. I tell you one thing though, it made the niggers, the sassy niggers keep in their place."

"Did you know who it was shot you, Uncle Reuben? Who?"

"Sure I knowed him. He pulled off his old sheet headgear and he looked down at me lying on the floor that night and I would've knowed his voice anyhow, 'cause him and me had worked in the fields together many a time, in fact—ah—yeah, many a time."

"Who was it?"

"Now behave yourself. You know I ain't gonna tell you that."

"Please. Do I know him?"

"Hush, boy."

"After that what happened? What happened?"

"Well, they carried that dead man off there, away from my house, and I crawled out through the door and across the fields and got into a ditch. And I lay in that ditch all that night and the next day and that's where Nedgelena, the gal I later married, found me. And she and her mammy in the deep dead of night pulled and toted me to their cabin and they hid me in the hayloft and treated me with poultices and with tallow and turpentine salve till I got well."

"And then what, Uncle Reuben?"

"Well, I laid mighty low, hid out, as I say, and I'm here to tell you. And by the time I got well the feeling had sort of blowed over. People had learnt better. But I moved off to Sampson County anyhow and farmed there for a few years, then come back here on your daddy's land and I been here ever since. Yes sir, people were riled up back in them days and all on account of us niggers."

"No, no, it was more mixed up, was deeper than that, Uncle Reuben," I said, remembering my history. "The two parts of the country had just grown apart, different sorts of civilization. They thought differently about things. And the North kept imposing on the South, taking her trade away from her, passing laws in Congress against her."

"Maybe so, son—Lord help my life, what do I see yonder!" And he sprang to his feet quick as a young man. I turned my

head and then I jumped up too, for there coming across the field all dressed out in his white linen suit and Panama hat and swinging his gold-headed cane in the summer sun was Uncle Heck. Both Uncle Reuben and I had been so intent on the Ku Klux story that we hadn't heard the sound of the buggy or the trotting horse coming up the lane at all. Uncle Reuben now quickly spat out his tobacco juice, cleared his throat, spat again, wiped his face, pushed his kinky gray hair up and finished buttoning his trousers—primping himself.

"How you there, Reuben?" Uncle Heck called, stepping along toward us. And already Uncle Reuben was bowing up and down, his hat in his hand while he answered back.

"Bless the Lord, there you is, Mr. Heck—a sight for sore eyes. Yes, sir, glory be to the Lord on high!" And he scrambled out to meet Uncle Heck. And I stood there, a little twelve-year-old sweat-sodden fool, watching those two older fools. For as they met there in the middle of the lone oat field—Uncle Heck with his fine summer clothes and his gray cleancut military moustache and gold-rimmed eyeglasses and Panama hat, a gentleman great and airy, and Uncle Reuben smelly and dust-begrimed and a Negro at that—Uncle Heck threw his arms around him and hugged him and Uncle Reuben hugged him back. Without hardly knowing what I did I picked up the water jug and went nearer to them.

"Well, you old black scoundrel, you ain't aged a day since last year," said Uncle Heck.

"And you, Mr. Heck, you look like sump'n stepped out of the bandbox of heaven, always a spick and span gentleman." And Uncle Reuben peered at him. "One thing I miss though," he said. "That purty flower you allus wears in your buttonhole."

"Well, I've stopped that, Reuben, stopped it," Uncle Heck laughed. "The gay girls have quit smiling at me since I'm so old, so I said to myself, 'What use is there in buying a flower any more?' You keeping well, Reuben?"

"Yes suh, yes suh."

And then Uncle Heck looked out at me and gestured with his fabulous cane. "Which one is that?"

"That's the one named Paul, suh."

"Hi, Paul son, how you doing, boy? My goodness, you've grown!"

"All right, Uncle Heck," I stammered, my head swimming with joy. Lord, I loved that man!

"It's hard to keep up with 'em all," he said to Uncle Reuben. "Brother Bill has so many. How many has he got now?"

"Mercy me, I don't know, Mr. Heck, a whole passel."

"How many are you now, son?" Uncle Heck called.

"There are seven of us now, Uncle Heck," I stammered.

"Well, well. And here I have got only one and she married off at that. Is he smart, Reuben?"

"Yes, he do the best he kin," Uncle Reuben chuckled. "But stories—that's what he likes best—stories. He's all the time after me about things--about darky songs, whether I done seen a hant or not, old folks tales."

"Uhm, Paul you say. Yes, I remember him now well enough. Always pestering me to tell him about the war."

"Yessuh, that's him," said Uncle Reuben.

"Well, if he wants to hear a real tale, you ought to tell him about the Ku Klux times, Reuben."

"Yes sir, I told him something about that, seeings how manhood is about to come on him and he done crossed the line of 'countability."

Uncle Heck turned to me. "So Reuben told you about the Ku Klux?"

"Yes sir," I said.

"Did he tell you about poor Ed Gaskins?"

"Yes sir," I gulped, "the one that got killed with the axe."

"And what else?" And Uncle Heck was staring sharply yet smilingly at me now.

"That's all, Mr. Heck," said Uncle Reuben. "That's all."

"And a Ku Klux shot Uncle Reuben down in the floor," I added.

"That's right, that's right," said Uncle Heck." And did Reuben tell you who the Ku Kluxer was?"

"Now Mr. Heck, you know I know better'n that."

"No sir, he didn't."

"Tell him, Reuben," and he laughed. "He and his line

of accountability! That would be a story to last him for awhile."

But Uncle Reuben shook his head. "Lord, no sir," he said.

And then Uncle Heck pushed the end of his cane at Reuben and laughed again. "You know what today is, Reuben?" he said.

"No, sir."

"It's an anniversary. It's the sixth day of May." Then he looked over at me. "Forty-two years ago it was, son, when he was shot. Walking along down town yesterday I thought of it. And in honor of that occasion, Reuben, I brought you a whole box full of Apple tobacco, there in the buggy." And he gestured off toward the house.

"The Lord bless you, the Lord bless you from his heavenly bosom," said Uncle Reuben. And he grabbed Uncle Heck's hand and held it and kissed it. And Uncle Heck laughed again and called out to me, as he winked his eye all merry like.

"Look here, son," he said. "Look, see Reuben kissing my hand. Well, this is the very hand that shot him down one night forty-two years ago."

I dropped the water jug with a bump.

And now the bell in the yard of our little house across the field began to ring for lunch, and Uncle Reuben and Uncle Heck turned and moved on across the field, and forgetting the waterjug I followed after. And as I went the word "six" came foolishly to my mind—"six." Uncle Heck had been shot with six bullets on the field at Gettysburg. And six times he had shot Uncle Reuben. And they both lived. Six for six. Tough, yes, both of them tough.

And yonder they were walking in the summer weather ahead of me. And Uncle Heck's arm was around Uncle Reuben's shoulders, and they both were laughing and talking over the old days, cronies, bosom buddies.

And Uncle Heck was saying as they walked and as I followed behind—I could hear him plain as day even as I hear him plainly now after fifty years—and he was saying that the Civil War times were crazy times and people had lost their senses, and as for the war itself it was a great big piece of foolishness.

"Plumb damn foolishness the whole thing, Reuben!" he said.

"Yessuh, Mr. Heck, yessuh, you got it ezzactly right!" Uncle Reuben said.

From MARION A. WRIGHT

Your thoughtful letter presents a convenient occasion for reconsidering the significance of "The War" and re-examining southern policy since Appomatox. Certainly a century is not too short a time for mental stock taking.

Secession took the South, not merely out of the Union, but out of the stream of national thought. While physically we have reentered the Union, in the area of thought we have remained somewhat apart. We have clung with almost pathetic desperation to those things we regard as peculiarly southern.

We want to enjoy, and do enjoy, all the benefits of organic identity with the rest of the nation. At the same time, we seek to enjoy all of what we mistakenly believed would have been the benefits of secession. It seems obvious that such ambivalence will not much longer be tolerated by other members of the Union of which we form a part.

For example, we never hear of a northern, or an eastern, or a western, "way of life," as a status which citizens of those sections are determined at all hazards to preserve. We hear constantly of a southern "way of life" to the preservation of which we are told we should pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The most distressing feature of this almost pathological attachment to a regime is that it takes the form of suspicion of, or hostility to, the national government. Southern white children are having planted in their minds the belief that the government of the United States is something alien, foreign, oppressive; that it is constantly seeking ways of injuring the South; that it is incessantly "ramming something down our throats."

What is meant by "our way of life" is never clearly spelled out. But one would be quite naive if he did not perceive that the phrase connotes freedom to deal according to

white views with our Negro citizens; freedom to employ law and custom to assign them to an inferior status. In this claim of special privilege the South is set apart from the rest of the nation; it is unique.

The Negro is not merely a citizen of a southern state. He is also a citizen of the United States. The entire nation, therefore, is properly concerned with the treatment he is accorded. In this shrunken world there can be no "outside meddling in our affairs," because there is no longer an outside. Interior and exterior are occluded and indistinguishable.

The struggle over desegregation is the War all over again. The South lost the War because it had inferior resources and was on the wrong side of a moral issue. In the context of the times, its position is the same today. The massive strength of world opinion makes relatively puny all the forces that Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana are able to muster. In the entire globe their only ally is the Union of South Africa.

Man's search, in William James' phrase, is for a "moral equivalent of war." There seems to be an inborn martial spirit, an instinct for struggle. Without the excitement of combat, life is stale and flat. The problem is to sublimate the impulse; to turn its energy into useful activity; to have as its end results not fire and blood but works of beauty and beneficence.

In the 1860's, the period of what Mr. Churchill calls "the last war fought by gentlemen," the South demonstrated the possession of the martial instinct in superlative degree. The blood of gallant sires still courses through southern veins.

We need to find substitutes for Sharpsburg, Antietam, Bull Run, and Gettysburg. They exist in every forum and upon every occasion in which full justice for all citizens is an issue. There the southern citizen may display the gallantry and courage which conferred nobility upon his ancestors.

The reward is not the capture of a trench or reduction of a fortified point—not cracked skulls and broken bodies and a field littered with corpses. The reward is life—life lived more abundantly and with more beauty and grace than the South has heretofore known.

From JAMES STOKELY

You pose some searching questions, friend and neighbor, and they are each resolved into one huge impertinence: what relevance does a celebration or commemoration of the Civil War—the Centennial as we know it today—have on the current crisis in southern race relations and our continuing struggle with international Communism?

Yes, the flame of the old incivility, between North and South, still flickers along the sundown horizon but the flame of a world civil war, between East and West, is beginning to inch its flickering tongue farther along the sunrise of the razor's edge where earth and sky meet. Perhaps one way to help keep the first martial flame from merging into the precincts of the second is for the human beings involved in the struggle of the 1960's to understand just what the human beings of the 1860's were fighting about, and what they accomplished. Search for such understanding might, indeed, be the key to our observance of these Centennial years.

For anyone who has been born and bred in the South, and lived here a major portion of his life, it is obvious that the War a hundred years ago—or the memory of it handed down by ancestral osmosis—has remained a central experience in the lives of many of the people. For the Negro, it is a memorable experience because, for the first time in human history, a war had been fought that he, a black enslaved "property," might be free to become a man. Until the war and the sectional controversy which was its forerunner, nobody had particularly noted his presence, except as his sweat had mingled with rain and sun to produce the magical cotton bloom; he had had no identity other than faceless laborer of the eroded fields or smiling houseboy of the magnolia terrace. But after the Emancipation Proclamation, after Appomatox, he was somebody, he was an individual in the annals of American recognition, he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Citizen.

For the southern white, the War is an inescapable and blood-soaked sponge in the memory because, for the first and only time in American history, he had known defeat on the battlefield, and denial of his most basic racial principles.

No longer, with any degree of certitude or abiding pleasure, could he imagine himself Stonewall Jackson or Jeb Stuart haunting the Shenandoah at sunset, or Nathan Bedford Forrest disappearing and emerging through the early morning mists of Cumberland coves. After Grant had accepted Lee's surrender that April day, the white Southerner stood naked to the wind; he was no longer absolute master of all he surveyed, including human beings; he had his foot on the first rung of a ladder labeled Justice.

It would be a mockery to the true meaning of the War if, instead of emphasizing the bringing together of black and white, and North and South, into a common humanity, a stronger, more unified nation, the focus should be turned upon the prettified plantation legend of gallant lords and ladies and happy, singing slaves, of dashing cavalry and the rout at Bull Run or Shiloh, of Pickett's glorious yet ill-fated charge, of Sherman's scorched earth march. Rather, our sober reflections should center upon the meaning and disaster of any attempt to divide and break up the United States of America. We must consider the guilt, North and South, that pervaded the ancient practice of traffic in slaves, and we must search out today the roots and shape of the treason, political as well as moral, that would deny full democracy to any segment of our nation's citizenry.

We must no longer seek to defend, before the bar of world justice, the "southern way of life," but amend it, liberalize it, revitalize it, enrich it with democratic—Judeo-Christian, if you will—thoughts and deeds. Thoughtless devotion to a lost cause is not heroism; it is suicide.

The Negro Southerner cannot be ignored, or excluded, in world deliberations today anymore than the South African Bantu can be. Each is here to stay, and must be reckoned with, and must be integrated into the human family of the twentieth century, with its color TV and its far-ranging space ships.

Our primary act in appraising the South—dissecting our own misconceptions as well as others'—is simply to understand it; and to understand it is to reject much of it, and to cherish much of it. We must reject the static and embrace the dynamic; reject the ignorance and cruelty which have penal-

ized too many of our people; embrace the hard unselfish wisdom which recognizes all men as either the children of a divine creator or fellow pilgrims adrift on a turning star, in limitless space.

We must no longer be at war with ourselves here in the South but move on from a common heritage, often heroic, often wasteful, to creation and conservation of a future in which every man may walk as tall as his nature and abilities permit. Thomas Wolfe expressed the essence of this democratic hope in *You Can't Go Home Again:* "So, then, to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him—this, seeker, is the promise of America."

We cannot escape back to a rural Eden-that-never-was. We must face up to the crucial fact that America in the 1960's is a new nation, that she as well as the world is neither black nor brown nor red nor yellow nor white, but only blood and bone and spirit, of human flesh touched by a spark of the divine, speaking with many tongues and faiths. We must know that we are the fruit of many conflicts—none more embedded in our conscience than the Brothers' War of 1861-65—and that we must move on to new frontiers, fresh adjustments, unsung liberations.

What this republic needs, and demands, is a sobering reenactment, in each individual mind and heart, of the tragedy of war itself, in any language, in any blood of the common race. We need to commemorate the tragic past as a living challenge for an ominous and swiftly-changing present, in order that we might better shape a just and enduring future. We need to recognize that this perennial blood-letting and flesh-burning, on the battlefield of the human spirit, this irrepressible outcropping of cannibalistic zeal, on this shrinking planet in this expanding universe, is an intolerable anachronism and a stench in the nostrils of sane and dedicated men.

What those of us who live in the South must do is to make clear and absolute our contempt for a system of *apartheid*: that we believe every human being, of whatever color

or creed, should have equal opportunity to pursue life, liberty, happiness, and spiritual survival upon this planet. What we must celebrate is not the terrible act of Cain in mortal combat with his brother; rather, it is for us the living to so dedicate ourselves today, each on his own battlefield, in the crucible of his own community, in his own individual psyche and personal chaos set against the backdrop of the larger social outrage, that these Americans, North and South, united at last, shall not have labored in vain, shall, in fact, have yielded up their bubbling blood to form a lifeline to later generations—and to the Russians and the Chinese, and to the emerging nations in Africa and throughout the smouldering globe.

How shall we, in 1962, A.D., delineate our guilt, discharge our debt? What is our compulsion? To abolish — by proxy — poverty, ignorance, disease, oppression, the seeds of war and suffering? To pay some sophisticated diplomat or cornpone mercenary to preach the gospel of love and human dignity around the world? Or to do more — to give ourselves, in our own frail witness, in our own inadequate art, in our own microcosmic backyard, in our own Tombigbee Congo, which is the South, the burning promise, the living seedtime, of America? We live alone by dying. Beyond the darkness of unexplored time and space, sloughing off the mole-eyes of Jim Crow and clinging to the spirit of the far-ranging eagle, we emerge into the light.

From FRANK P. GRAHAM*

The commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the Civil War has made vivid again to the people of the South and the North the glories, the tragedies, and the hopes of that fateful struggle. In the nostalgia for the glory, associated in the North with a victorious cause and in the South with a lost cause, the tragedies and the hopes of the struggle should not be submerged. We would not gainsay the glory which "the red badge of courage" and the suffering of millions have deepened in the familial and historical

*An enlarged and revised version of this contribution appeared in the Winter, 1962, issue of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*.

memories of the American people, most personally in the white and colored people of the South.

The glory, the tragedy, and the hopes have fresh meaning for us today. The transcendent meaning for all is that it is wiser to do better without war and desolation what has to be done after war and desolation.

Persisting in the mid-twentieth century are prejudices and tensions between white and yellow, yellow and brown, brown and black, people in many parts of the world. Consciousness of kind has long been a powerful factor in human affairs. What was different in color, race, or region was long considered alien and what was considered alien was considered dangerous. Group prejudice and racial discrimination are not the original creation or special monopoly of the southern white people. They are as old as history and as wide as the world.

Modern scientific and social studies find that neither what is called race nor the shape of the head nor the color of the skin is a valid sign of the innate superiority of persons or people. All people, brown, red, black, yellow, and white, have in common, as biological organisms, an inheritance of hundreds of millions of years; as primitive men, of hundreds of thousands of years; and as self-conscious personalities in human history, of only a few thousand years. The rise, fall, and shifts in the main centers of civilized power from fairer to darker or from darker to fairer people, and from continent to continent and region to region, have depended upon other factors than the cephalic index or the pigmentation of the skin. They have proceeded in large part from the freedom of the individual mind and the free reach of the human spirit, the interaction of ideas, the response to the challenge of environment, and from geography, economics, and historic circumstance.

Yet there still persist honest fears and heavy resistance within the minds and hearts of people against any decisive change in the bi-racial structure of Southern society.

Confronted with the demand of millions of advancing people for the removal of the stigma of inferiority, the federal guarantee of the equal protection of the laws in the

states, the widening conception of freedom, the lag of equalization in many states, and the onrush of totalitarian tyranny across the earth, the Supreme Court made its epochal unanimous decision.

It is well for us Southerners to recall that this decision was joined in by three Southerners; that the principle that "separate" meant "unequal" was set forth in the opinion of Chief Justice Vinson, a Southerner. It is timely to recall that George Washington, a Southerner, stood for the supremacy of the federal government; that Thomas Jefferson, a Southerner, stood for the universality of human rights; that James Madison, the chief framer of the Constitution, used states rights as did Thomas Jefferson, both Southerners, in defense of and not against basic human liberties; and that John Marshall, a Southerner, established in American jurisprudence that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States is the law of the land in all the states. In our centennial commemoration of the heroic men and events of another century, we in the South, remembering Robert E. Lee of the Civil War years, should also remember the Lee seeking a reconciling peace.

Most needed now is for the southern people not continuously and tragically to isolate themselves from or against the main stream of the modern world, but to recover their great creative leadership in the nation and the world. Jefferson should be living at this hour, to retranslate and interpret his declaration of human rights in the wider perspective of the present world. In this world over two-thirds of the people are colored, they are on the march, in the Jeffersonian idealism of the on-going American Revolution, a part of a world revolution against colonialism. Our ideas of freedom and self-determination have orbited the earth and come home again. They must now not be renounced in the house of the fathers.

The southern youth movement had its origin not in Moscow but in Greensboro, N.C. Its deeper sources are in the idealism declared in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, on July 4, 1776. Its distant headwaters are in the Judean Hills where the carpenter's son preached the gospel of equal freedom and sacred dignity of all persons as children of

one God and brothers of all people. This youth movement is a contemporary expression of the unfulfilled idealism of the American Revolution and is a local expression of the on-rolling revolution of colonial colored and exploited people of the earth.

In the old South where human slavery made one of its last stands in the modern world, industrialism has made fresh beginnings on productive soil. The people of the South have the tragic lessons of one and the opportunities of the other to build a fairer civilization than the races in the South or industrialism in the world have seen. In a pleasant land under a southern sun between the Chesapeake and the Gulf, a friendly folk will, we trust, work out together our integration.

From the rebirth of freedom, and from the rising intellectual and spiritual communion of all people can come more abundant production and nobler creations of mind and spirit in a southern Renaissance. This great adventure in cooperation of the different peoples can preserve their racial identity and diversities to the enrichment of the South, release and unite their highest energies in the upbuilding of America, and compose their interracial tensions in working together in equal freedom and opportunity in local communities and in the world neighborhood.

With human liberty in peril around the earth, may the people of the United States, in cooperation with free nations, light up the hopes of all peoples with new great declarations of equal freedom and dignity. Now is the time to make clear to friends in the East and West that freedom, equal justice under law, and equal opportunity and welfare of all people are the living sources of the faith of the American people in themselves, and of America's moral influence and power in the world.

The most fitting commemoration of the Civil War would be the progressive ending of the arms contest and all wars in order to save the human race. May this commemoration mean the rededication of us all, North, South, East, and West, to the attainment of the great goals of the United Nations, including effective universal disarmament, universal human rights, universal self-determination of peoples, universal

economic development for the disinherited people of the earth, and peace under the law on all the Earth as the God-given home of the family of man.

From BENJAMIN E. MAYS

I am one of those who believe that the Civil War was inevitable, unavoidable. It had to be. And as we observe the Centennial of that War all the wounds accruing therefrom have not been healed. And yet I believe that what we have gained from that event far outweighs the losses. Profiting slowly from the experiences of the Civil War, America is a stronger nation and the South a better South. Unless conquered and divided by a foreign foe, the United States is firmly united and indissoluble. Although the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court was a shock to the South, which resorted to many efforts to get around implementing that decision, no Southerner has considered seriously secession as a way out. Southern patriotism cannot be questioned. In two World Wars and in Korea, the North and the South have stood as united as the clenched fist. This may have been true without the Civil War, but the War has tended to cement the North and the South against any and every foreign foe.

The ties between the North and the South are growing stronger as evidenced by northern industries that are coming into the South and by the fact that thousands of southern students study in the North and thousands of northern students are educated in the South. Northerners are numerous on the faculties of southern universities and many Southerners hold high positions in northern universities. The wounds of the Civil War are being healed.

Negroes and white people in the South understand each other better now than ever before. A century of segregation did not create better understanding between Negroes and whites as some people want to believe, nor did it bring equality in education and other areas. During the first three quarters of a century of Negro-white relations after the Civil War, Negroes and white people were not honest and frank with each other. The South had lost the War, northern

soldiers around 1877 withdrew, and the inevitable happened: the Negro became the object of the southern white man's wrath which was probably meant for the Yankee. As a technique of survival, the Negro learned to say the right thing and to act the right way in his segregated shelter.

When communication between white and Negro Southerners began to become straightforward and honest, the relationship between the races began to improve progressively. More progress in good Negro-white relations has been made in the last 25 years than in the 75 years before. Many factors make this progress possible. But I would like to date it at 1935 when inequality in education was challenged for the first time. In that year Murray sued to enter the University of Maryland and won. This was the beginning of the South's effort to advance drastically the public education of Negroes. Suit after suit was filed for equal educational opportunities. Victory after victory resulted, and instead of interracial ill-will, a better spirit of respect and cooperation has developed.

Relations were strained after the May 17, 1954 decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, but only the stupid would argue that race relations have grown worse since 1954. Despite Little Rock, New Orleans, and Virginia, human relations are improving in the South. The sit-ins and Freedom Rides have improved Negro-white relations.

The second century after the Civil War will be a century of desegregation and integration. Human relations in the second century will improve in proportion as barriers of race are destroyed and the South utilizes to the full its talent, irrespective of race. This the South will do. The Negro will rise to meet the challenge of the new opportunities that will open to him in industry, government, and education. The South will get rid of its social fears and Negroes and whites will work together for a greater South. Negroes will no longer need to seek greener pastures in the North. Green pastures will be in the South.

NEWS RELEASE

FOR RELEASE TO ALL PAPERS
Sunday, May 26, 1963

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 2-8764

The Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council made today the following statement:

"By its decisions of May 20, 1963 in the 'sit-in' cases, the Supreme Court moved our law a long step nearer the American ideal of equal rights.

"These decisions confront the South again with an historic choice. They set before us a renewed opportunity for the kind of magnanimity -- and intelligence -- which we turned our backs on in 1954. The South nine years ago was called on by the national will for greatness; instead, it responded with a self-blighting display of malice and futility. The recent events in Birmingham are only the latest episode of this impoverishing of the regional spirit.

"The Court's decision of May 20 came, however, at a time of promising events as well. In several southern cities -- Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, Knoxville, and Nashville among others -- there has arisen an unprecedented awareness among civic leaders that segregation must end, without delay, in all public and business services.

"Equality is an American ideal. It has become also a practical necessity. But it is first of all an issue of human decency.

"In the United States, and particularly in the South, we are adopting measures which already are outgrown by Negro needs and impatience. Had we years ago vigorously defended voting rights in the courts, had we made beginnings in the desegregation of public accommodations and services, had we established rules to protect fair and equal employment rights, had we done these and other like things then -- which we are beginning to do now -- they might have been in time. They are not any longer.

"The legitimate unrest of Negro citizens requires a statesmanship adequate for the times, from national, state, and local governments, and from private businesses.

"We need to turn from the mere defense of voting rights against criminal violation to the positive assurance of voting rights; from token school desegregation to a loving concern for the education of all our children. We need in all of American life to accept and benefit from each other.

"Negro Southerners, supported by white people of good will, have been the South's moral leaders these last few years. The whole region and the nation owe them a debt for what they have accomplished, and for their continued faith in American institutions.

We need, in the spirit of Judge Tuttle's ruling of May 22 regarding the expulsion of Birmingham school children, to direct our thoughts and actions at the main issue: at how the welfare of the South's people can be enlarged. Vindictive policies are always self-defeating; responsible Southerners must not longer tolerate them.

"The Supreme Court defines the law of the land and the duty of citizens under it. Southern states and cities ought not again, or still, evade and avoid legal responsibilities which clearly are theirs. The South can recover its title-deeds in American democracy by now taking specific actions that would show its loyalty to the spirit of the law and to its own Negro citizens. These actions should include

--the immediate dropping of charges against peaceful demonstrators in any cities where charges are pending;

--the removal in all cities of segregated practices in governmental facilities and in stores, hotels, restaurants or other businesses serving the general public.

"Finally, we take note of the imminent desegregation of the University of Alabama, and of President Kennedy's straightforward remarks of May 22. The

disorders of last fall at the University of Mississippi must not be allowed to recur. We are confident that Alabama students will act with the dignity and good will shown in January by the students of Clemson. We trust that President Kennedy and his Administration will be prepared to act forthrightly to insure that the Negro enrollees will not be delayed or harassed as they enter on their studies, and that the integrity of federal courts will not again be defamed."

NOTE: The Southern Regional Council is a Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South. Members of the Executive Committee are:

James McBride Dabbs, Mayesville, S. C.
President of the Southern Regional Council

John H. Wheeler, Durham, N. C.
Chairman of the Executive Committee

Albert W. Dent, New Orleans, La.

Marion A. Wright, Linville Falls, N. C.

Josephine Wilkins, Athens, Ga.

Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga.

Paul R. Christopher, Knoxville, Tenn.

John A. Griffin, Tallahassee, Fla.

Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Ga.

John P. Nelson, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Raymond Wheeler, Charlotte, N. C.

H. Franklin Williams, Coral Gables, Fla.

Stephen J. Wright, Nashville, Tenn.

Thomas W. Young, Norfolk, Va.

Joseph F. Haas, Atlanta, Ga.

- END -

Publication

Civil Rights Strategy After the March

Marvin Rich

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Marvin Rich

Civil Rights Strategy After the March



A FEW YEARS AGO, civil rights news was relegated to the maritime section of the *New York Times* where it occupied a few paragraphs. Today, page after page of the *Times* and some other papers are filled with civil rights news. Yet, civil rights is poorly, if extensively, reported. Some of this is simply the lag of reporters shifted from Cape Canaveral to Birmingham. The reporters don't know the players and they don't have a scorecard. It is only natural that they will overplay a suggestion for a Negro political party which has no serious backing and ignore for months the brutality and denial of due process in Americus, Georgia.

But the civil rights movement must also bear some of the responsibility. The reporters don't know because there has been too little examination by informed people in the movement. There has been far too little analytical material on Albany, on Birmingham, on civil disobedience, on the implications of boycotts and "preferential hiring." This has confused the general public and the press; more important, it has also left many of the activists looking for direction.

The lack of analysis has two principle sources. Many of those engaged in the sit-ins, the picket lines, the Freedom Rides and the marches want to "make history, not write it." This is, in part, a reaction against a sterile academic background and should be understood as such. In part, it is the natural reaction of those caught up in the middle of a revolution and relegating all demands not of the moment to second place.

A more important reason, however, is the increased competition for funds and prestige. The emergence of new civil rights groups is another reason for the silence and it is far more important. I think that August Meier (*New Politics,* Vol. II, No. 3) is quite right in emphasizing that the competition between the groups

has stimulated all of them to more militant and more effective action. This competition has been on the whole positive. However, it runs in the face of the strong desire for unity. And it is this desire that makes organizational leaders hesitate to analyze lest criticism be mistaken for organizational in-fighting.

This has also tended to inhibit the publication of some of the self-criticism developed at staff meetings and seminars. These meetings thus affect only those present and a small circle of others but are soon lost as staffs grow and turnover. SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) has only one person now actively working for it who goes as far back as the sit-ins of 1960. Since 1960, the CORE professional staff has grown from 4 to 47.

The analysis that is most needed is not of the sort that pours from the university presses. It helps some to have statistical verification for the fact that Negroes as a group have not advanced relative to whites since the war. It helps to know how much the national economy is losing because we fail to use the skills of Negroes. But what we most need is an analysis of our own programs, of where we have succeeded and where we have failed, of what might happen if some of our proposals were actually put into practice, and of what problems we will face in a year and in a decade.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT is in great flux today. Birmingham and the March on Washington have each symbolized currents in the struggle. Each has had a great impact on the civil rights community and upon the broader community.

The mass demonstrations in Birmingham this spring evoked a surge of thousands into the streets in scores of communities. In May, June and July there were over 12,500 arrests of civil rights demonstrators. The use of fire hoses and police dogs in Birmingham did not deter, but rather stimulated the protests. The use of cattle prods in Gadsden and Americus and of horses in Plaquemine had the same effect. The daily television and news reports of Birmingham helped to stimulate the mass marches in Greensboro and then in Durham, High Point, Goldsboro, Wilmington and Lexington, North Carolina. As many as 6,000 participated in a single CORE demonstration in Greensboro. At one point, 900 sat down in the street and blocked traffic. The mayor who had been hesitant finally called the recalcitrant owners into session and said in effect: "You have a right to make a private business decision to segregate, But how long do you expect the city to pay for the extra police needed to support that private decision? How long do you expect your fellow businessmen to suffer because of your private decision?" The owners integrated. The same kind of thing occurred in many of the cities of North Carolina and, on a smaller scale, elsewhere.

These demonstrations did bring about changes. The Department of Justice esitmates that in a three-month period, 275 of the 574 communities of 10,000 population or larger in the South desegregated some facility. Many communities have changed from "southern" to "northern" in a few weeks. This is a massive change and should be recognized as such. No other period in our history can show such quick changes. And yet, the North is not free of discrimination and discrimination persists everywhere. The restaurants and movies of Greensboro may be open, but what of the jobs and the schools and housing?

For most Negroes, there has been no substantial change in the way of life. Nor is there likely to be one. When 13 Negroes entered the public schools of Atlanta "without incident" the mass media hailed it as a major change. Perhaps it was. Three years later, less than 200 Negroes are enrolled in formerly white schools For the tens of thousands of Negro youngsters still enrolled in the same old Atlanta schools there is no greater educational opportunity.

Birmingham also symbolizes the mass involvement of Negroes from every walk of life in the current struggle. One of the beauties of non-violent direct action is that it permits the uneducated and the unskilled to join with the more highly trained and make a personal contribution. You don't have to be a doctor, or lawyer or minister to walk a picket line or to sit-in. For far too long civil rights activity has been the near monopoly of the educated and the skilled. Now, significant numbers of working class Negroes are participating in demonstrations and some are taking leadership positions. It is fascinating to watch white and Negro university of Syracuse faculty members taking orders from unemployed Negro picket captains in housing demonstrations.

This particular demonstration is interesting for another reason. It is probably the first major demonstration in the nation aimed at urban renewal rehousing policies. Use of civil disobedience has been widespread to halt, at least temporarily, demolition of slum housing until the Negro occupants could be decently rehoused in non-ghetto areas. The urban renewal act calls for this but it has being ignored all over the country. When the CORE demonstrators (some of whom are graduate school students at Maxwell School of Public Administration and who know the law far better than those who locally administer it) called for its enforcement they got nowhere in months of negotiations. When they took to the streets they were called "anarchists." Who are the anarchists? The demonstrators or the city officials who ignore laws they swore to uphold?

But the changing character of the civil rights movement has brought many problems which have not been analyzed. For the

college professors and the intellectuals and the ministers who may have to take a back seat to others of lesser status in the general community, there are painful personal readjustments. It is frequently as difficult for the working class person to learn that his opinion is valued even if not expressed in perfect English.

For many, the civil rights movement is a struggle to achieve recognition of the intrinsic value of the individual as a human being. From that point of view, the direct action organizations have held that they must express this in the internal organization and actions of the local groups. The individual member who pickets, serves on a negotiating team, and makes strategy decisions, is also asserting his own self respect. He is acting to achieve his own freedom within him. In this sense, the nonviolent demonstrations are more than means of achieving specific demands. They are also ends in being. President Kennedy and others who often ask that the courts and administrative agencies act so that street demonstrations will stop seem to be unaware of this element. Yet, it has great importance in a complex society where there seems to be so little the individual can do about the great issues that affect him. For the Negro, who has been deprived for generations of all opportunity to master his fate and to assert his manliness and humanity, the demonstrations are especially important.

The involvement of thousands of Negroes has also tended to change the character of the civil rights organizations in other ways. For decades the NAACP has been a Negro-led group with many white members and supporters. The SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) has been, since its founding in 1957, a grouping of Negro churchmen, churches and religious organizations. CORE, on the other hand, has appealed primarily to a limited secular, intellectual and politicized group. This was primarily white though chapters have always been interracial. Now, most CORE chapters have Negro chairman and most members are Negroes, though substantial numbers of whites are involved (except in the deep South). In many ghetto communities of the North it would be practically impossible to elect a white person as chairman of a group though many serve as chairmen of important action and program committees.

The new membership also brings new problems. Everyone is in favor of mass membership, of closeness to the needs and problems of the community, and of true militancy. Everyone is also for responsibility and carefully thought out programs. These are not antithetical objectives but to make them compatible takes thought, time and energy and money. And there are far too few of all of these. Those who ask for responsibility without providing its prerequisites are themselves guilty of the most profound irresponsibility. The new members are attracted by the militancy and ag-

gressiveness of CORE and SNCC. They are also brought to these organizations by the brutality or the hypocrisy of the white power structures. Each day the TV screens show new evidence of our shallow commitment to the American ideal. Those attracted in this way require a lot of training and discipline before they are truly ready to turn the other cheek.

There is a need to prepare simple instructional manuals that relate behavior to objectives. Too much of the material is of the "Do" and "Don't" variety and far too little emphasizes the "why." There is a need for a tremendous expansion of the number of membership workshops, leadership training conferences and staff seminars. These ought to be an essential part of the program and not just possible when the budget permits. Staff members ought to be forced to take vacations in order to have time to think. It is possible to direct and control demonstrations involving thousands of people. But these methods are not widely known. In a few months as mass demonstrations increase they will be essential.

The alliance between the civil rights movement and the labor and liberal movements will be under greater strain as we attract more and more previously unaffiliated people to the civil rights organizations. Often these are people with little previous background. They are not union members and their lives have been little touched by the liberal organizations or their philosophy. If the "natural alliances" are to be strengthened it will take much work at every level. Liberal organizations cannot place a few Negroes on their boards and rest content. Nor will resolutions of support be enough. Or even financial contributions. Rather it will take intensive day-to-day program support at the local level.

Present lobbying efforts for the civil rights bill have developed an impressive working coalition of civil rights, labor, church and liberal organizations in Washington. But there is still not much duplication of this in Des Moines, Milwaukee and San Francisco. Civil rights organizations cannot rest content with the knowledge that their cause is just and therefore expect others to rally to their support. It isn't reasonable to expect others to drop their main concerns and come rushing to our aid every time we blow the whistle. We have to know more about the operations of other groups, their concerns, their strengths, their weaknesses. Further, these alliances will not develop and flower in a few weeks. There has to be real action not only on ending school segregation but also on the quality of the entire educational system; not only on fair sharing of the available jobs but on greatly expanding the total number of jobs; not only ending discriminatory barriers in housing but also increasing the housing supply for all our people. There has to be enforcement of the housing codes against slumlords as well as new housing developments.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS organizations to the Kennedy Adminstration is a curious one of interdependence, lack of understanding and disillusion.

The Administration has undoubtedly done far more than any previous administration. Yet, it has been Kennedy judicial appointees such as Harold Cox of Mississippi, E. Gordon West of Louisiana, and Robert Elliott of Georgia who have allowed some of the most flagrant abuses of constitutional rights by local officials. Their decisions have been overturned by the Circuit Court of Appeals but only after needless delay and expense to the movement. The effect upon morale has been incalculable.

The attitude of the Attorney General himself has been ambivalent. In the Freedom Rides and in Birmingham the Attorney General has said to us that he did not have the power to intervene on our behalf. Yet, he has discovered that he did have the power a few days later when public opinion had time to assert itself. The attitude of the Administration to the civil rights legislation has been equivocal. It was the Administration that opposed basing the public accommodations sertion of the 14th Amendment as well as the Interstate Commerce Clause. This simple procedural change was supported by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and would have gone far to meet some Republican objections. The attempt to water down the bill in the House Judiciary Committee can only be considered cynical. Before the Attorney General intervened there was a clear majority for the civil rights bill both in the full committee and in the rules committee.

It has been sadly true that the Administration has been counting votes while many of our members have been risking their lives. No amount of sophistication or understanding can explain to a Jerome Smith why it was that two agents of the F.B.I. watched while he was cruelly beaten by a mob.

How can you explain the failure of the Federal Government to intervene in Americus, Georgia where four young Americans have been imprisoned without bond since mid-August on an "insurrection" charge which carries a penalty of death in the electric chair? Why should anyone try to explain this failure of the American government to protect the rights of its citizens?

And yet the Administration has the power to help or cruelly hinder. It has done much and it will do more and so the cry of passion and outrage is muted.



THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON SEEMS ALREADY to have been expropriated. The 1,700 members of the working press present have given our country an impression of a huge gala with foot-dunking guys and strolling gals. The cause for which hundreds of thousands gave up a day's pay to demonstrate seems to have been lost in the self-congratulations of some that the whole thing was neat and orderly. Were Negroes really demonstrating that they were capable of organizing a mass action or that they could be orderly? A stereotype has been refuted but this was hardly the purpose of the March.

So the demands of the March for jobs and equal treatment have been pretty well lost in the shuffle. But other positive aspects of the March have made their point and been driven home. The success of the March as a major achievement of a united movement has intensified the demands for unity of action at the national and at the local levels. This has a basis in a very real and very strong desire in the Negro community itself. For too long the community has been divided by the efforts of some whites to develop and use "Uncle Toms" for their own advantage. Demands for unity also come from those individuals and organizations who want to support "civil rights" but don't want to take the time and energy to differentiate between the civil rights groups. There are also, of course, those who think that unity will be simpler and neater and reduce overlapping and confusion.

There is much to be said for all of these arguments. A united movement can be far more effective than one operating with the support of only a portion of the community. If civil rights legislation is achieved this year it will be because the civil rights, labor and religious groups were united in their lobbying efforts. We cannot really expect most individuals to make sober judgments as to the realistic contributions and claims for support of each of the four or five or six civil rights organizations. The facts are complex and not readily available and most people are busy and interested primarily in their own problems. So they wish to abdicate responsibility. And there are some examples of duplication of effort.

Yet, there is another side of the coin. And it is not simply that there are a lot of unity committees: Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, Joint Consultative Conference, Southern Interagency Conference, Leadership Council on Civil Rights, March On Washington Committee and Voter Education Project. Some of these have specialized functions and meet seldom but all require staff work. It sometimes seems that we spend more of our time coordinating than we do acting. A far more serious objection is the inevitable tendency for coordinated action to be on the basis of the least common denominator of the most acceptable and therefore the weakest action. When the March On Washington brought together the coalition of the groups that supported it it was inevitable that the

demand for jobs was downplayed. When the list of demands was promulgated there was a proviso that the 10 sponsoring organizations were not necessarily committed to these demands. Thus, at the very beginning the demands were weakened. Further, since there was no real agreement it was impossible to press them on other occasions.

The same kind of thing operates at the community level. When three or four of the civil rights groups get together to present common demands they increase their political power. But they often have disagreements upon tactics arising out of basic differences in ultimate objectives, methods, and even personality types. These tactical differences can quickly devastate a project. Before they begin a project, groups have to make hard decisions as to whether the advantages of united support will outweigh the difficulties. There is no easy formula to determine this in advance.

There are other difficulties as well. In any unity group there is a tendency to work on the basis of past patterns and associations. Thus the newer groups tend to find they have less influence than those longer established who can claim experience and personal contact and friendship. It's not easy for those who have provided much of the drive for the new civil rights climate to sit back and be considered poor relations or, at best, junior partners.

Then, too, some of the organizations operate in essentially different ways. Some can move in a day or two. Others require far more clearance and consultation. Action thus becomes a function of moving with the slowest. This is terribly discouraging at a time when every moment seems decisive.

The Voter Education Project is one of the best administered of the joint efforts. Wiley Branton and his staff know what they are doing and after some initial growing pains the project is increasing its effectiveness. But even here there are real difficulties. Each of the five participating organizations has a system of reports and accounting devised to meet its own requirements. The VEP has added a sixth system which all the others must use. This is perfectly justified in terms of the VEP's needs but it does establish a new bureaucratic element. Further, there has not been a meeting of the five participating organizations within a year to evaluate the program. Nor has there been a written report of the first year of functioning.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IS CHANGING in terms of its perspectives. If Birmingham meant anything it meant that tokenism is no longer acceptable. Wendell Phillips said of the Emancipation Proclamation: "It freed the slaves and ignored the Negro." Much of the civil rights activity of the past has been subject to similar criticism. The "first" Negro in an executive position has often been the only Negro in such a position. The "first" is important

as a symbolic achievement but all too often it did not mean any change for the Negro community as a whole. Less than 10% of the Negro school children of the South are in school systems which have formally desegregated. Far fewer are themselves enrolled in integrated schools.

A few years ago there was a rash of Fair Housing Committees in the suburban communities which ring our large cities. These committees carried on educational campaigns, distributed open occupancy pledges, supplied listings of available housing for Negroes. A large amount of effort was expended for discouragingly little result. A few Negro couples moved into a few suburban communities. Too often the housing which was available in this way was too high priced to interest significant numbers of Negroes. The existence of laws forbidding bias in housing has helped and President Kennedy's executive order on housing will also help. But it looks as if the ghetto will be with us for years. And now some of the civil rights groups are looking for ways to work within the ghetto—not in terms of accommodation to it but in terms of ultimately tearing it down.

Novel direct action methods have been devised to achieve this objective. One landlord had been convicted of more than 200 violations of the housing code. He was given a suspended sentence upon expressing contrition and promising to correct the situation. The situation has not been corrected. The CORE chapter entered into negotiations with the landlord, the city Department of Buildings and with the Sanitation Department. There was little to show. Then, the group rented a truck and shoveled some of the trash into it and dumped it near City Hall. Eight people were arrested. The two Puerto Rican residents of the slum (one was on welfare and the other had recently moved from another area) and the CORE chapter chairman were given 10 day sentences and five others received five days each. They were given a lecture about law and order by the judge as he sentenced them. If they had expressed contrition they would probably have received suspended sentences. If they had simply rented the truck and taken the trash to a rubbish heap they would probably have received the approbation of the community. But the problem of insufficient sanitation pick-ups would have remained. This is a simple example of the kind of work that will soon be going on to make our large cities more liveable.

The work of the Northern Student Movement in tutorials also points in one of the newer directions. The possibility of paternalism is obvious but so is the possibility of meeting a real need in a human non-bureaucratic way.

In employment there is increasing emphasis on ending discriminatory barriers for jobs where the skill level is low and where hundreds can secure jobs. Recently, CORE won a campaign at the

White Castle Restaurant chain in the Bronx. Two months after the agreement was reached more than 50 Negroes were working at new jobs. By most standards they weren't "good" jobs but they beat unemployment compensation. Traditionally, Negroes have not been bellboys at the New York City hotels. The prestige of the jobs isn't high and neither is the skill level but the income is excellent. And under pressure Negroes will soon have some of these jobs. But here again there is need for some real examination. In industry after industry our negotiators are receiving the answer: "Yes, we have discriminated in the past and we'd like to change now but we're constantly reducing our workforce because of automation." Of course there are answers—in every industry *some* new employees are hired. But it would be better if we could know in advance what are the expanding industries and areas.

The increasing interest of the civil rights organization in police brutality is another indication of concern with the problems of the great majority of Negroes. Police brutality is not a problem for the middle class Negro nor is it exclusively a problem of Negroes. In the more traditional view it is therefore not a civil rights problem. But the evidence is clear that Negroes, whatever the reasons, face far more brutality by the law than do whites. And so the civil rights groups are working to establish citizen review boards and other techniques to alleviate a shocking condition. There have already been two sit-ins at police stations in New Orleans and Rochester to protest police action.

These last few paragraphs are not to suggest that the old concerns are wrong in themselves. After all, America is a middle class country and if we succeed at all more Negroes will become middle class. It is important that some Negroes move into the suburbs which are now a white noose around increasingly black cities. It is important that Negroes get jobs as engineers and as stock salesmen. However, the new direction will be in terms of increasing the level of aspirations and particularly by Negroes in all aspects of American life.

In the South, greater emphasis will be on basic literacy and training programs, use of the ARA (Area Redevelopment Administration) and the manpower training, but on a truly non-discriminatory basis. The Voter Education Project will increase in scope and effectiveness as well as demonstrations for equal access to places of public accommodations. In the North, there will be greater concern with the reality behind the pledges of "equal opportunity in jobs and housing." The pace of demonstrations will accelerate and the demonstrations will take new forms as the civil rights movement uses the energies of working class Negroes and whites.

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
June 25, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

(This is a synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South from April 1963 through June 24, 1963, prepared by the Research Department of the Southern Regional Council. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.)

ALABAMA:

Attalla -- April 24 -- William Moore, a Baltimore postman hiking to Jackson on a one-man civil rights crusade, found murdered near here. His bullet-pierced body, still carrying anti-segregation signs, was discovered along U. S. Highway 11.

Alabama-Georgia Border -- May 3-10--Freedom marchers arrested as they entered Alabama to continue ill-fated march of William Moore. Found guilty of breach-of-peace charges in Fort Payne, June 3, fined $200 each and court costs. Their attorneys filed immediate notice of appeal.

Anniston -- May 12--Negro homes and a church fired into by a carload of whites. Former Ku Klux Klan member convicted for shooting into church (May 30), sentenced to 180 days in jail. City commission formed bi-racial committee of 4 Negroes, 5 whites, May 18.

Birmingham -- April 3 - June 21--Weeks of mass Negro demonstrations in which thousands were arrested ended May 10, when a truce was reached between prominent white businessmen and Negro leaders. Truce almost came apart May 11-12, when a riot broke out following 2 bombings of Negro property. Federal troops were alerted, remained near city until May 31. Initial steps taken in June to implement desegregation agreement included dropping of racial barriers in the fitting rooms of major downtown department stores and promotion of some Negro employees. Though unrelated to the agreement, three of City's four public golf courses slated to re-open June 29.

Gadsden -- June 18-21--More than 450 Negroes, many of them children, arrested June 18 for defying an injunction against sit-in demonstrations. Forty-two more arrested June 21. Several downtown churches accepted Negroes for services without incident June 16.

Mobile -- June 1 --Sheraton Hotel announced it will desegregate.

Montgomery -- May 27--Montgomery Advertiser-Journal announced that papers will cease to print Negro editions, incorporate Negro news with white news, effective immediately.

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ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville -- June 17--Local restaurant association began a 60-day desegregation test.

Hot Springs -- April 4--Negroes attempted to integrate local bath house, 4 arrested.

Little Rock --- June 3--Arkansas Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional 4 state laws that NAACP contended had been adopted to suppress its activities. Theatres desegregated the following week.

Pine Bluff -- April-June--1,300 Negroes participated in a march protesting all segregation (April 1). Thirty-nine arrested April 25 in demonstration to integrate local theatre. Four Negroes served at Woolworth's and Walgreen lunch counters May 5. Bi-racial committee formed in early June.

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FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Cocoa -- Late May - early June--Peaceful picketing of restaurants and hotels. Mayor has been meeting with owners.

Daytona Beach-- June 1-9--At least 7 street demonstrations, also picketing and sit-ins, involving in one instance over 100 persons, at least 12 arrests. Targets are theatres, hotels, recreation facilities and restaurants (beaches and some lunch counters are desegregated). Mayor has formed a bi-racial committee.

Gainesville -- June 2--Attempt of Negroes to buy movie tickets led to gathering of 1000 persons, some violence, 1 shooting, and mayor formed bi-racial committee during the 4-hour disturbance. Picketing of theatres and stores subsequently peaceful, continued.

FLORIDA (Continued)

Melbourne-- No demonstrations. Mayor has named bi-racial committee.

Miami -- May 25 - June 1 -- Peaceful picketing of chain stores for employment. All municipal facilities are desegregated. No demonstrations.

Palmetto -- Plans have been announced to picket stores and theatres.

Orlando -- June 8 -- City government forming a committee to meet demands and avert demonstrations, none to date.

Sarasota -- June 1 -- Picketing stores and theatres, peaceful, continuous to date.

St. Petersburg -- Theatre picketing threatened. No demonstrations. Has bi-racial committee.

Tallahassee -- May 23 - June 8 -- Large scale (75 pickets 1st day) demonstrations began, primarily aimed at theatres, but also chain stores (for employment). By May 28, 29, 30 protest marchers numbering 300 and 400, 500 arrests in 3 days, tear gas used. During the first week of June Court upheld the right to picket, limited number of pickets. Picketing subsequently continuous and with police guard.

Tampa -- Has had a bi-racial committee for some time, most facilities are desegregated, employment demands being met. No demonstrations.

Winter Haven -- June 1-7 -- Swim-ins, hostile white crowds, beaches closed.

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GEORGIA:

Albany -- May 7 - June 24 --Picketing and boycotting began May 7, with Negro employment the goal and lasted for three consecutive days, then sporadically through May 25, with over 100 arrests. On June 14, after Negro leaders had legally contested the sale and lost, the city sold one pool and tennis court to James Gray for $72,000, kept others closed. Early in day of June 19, 47 Negro ministers issued manifesto asking peaceful negotiation of differences. Late in day of June 19, 20, and 21, gathering to march and demonstrate, at least 140 Negroes were arrested, there was some violence. Negro stores were closed.

GEORGIA (continued)

Atlanta -- April 12 - June 24--After first sit-in attempt April 12, Atlanta had demonstrations - sit-ins, a prayer march (estimated 200 participants), kneel-ins, picketing - on at least 32 days from April 27 to the present, with at least 103 arrests. Demonstrations were usually in small groups, by June 7 drawing some crowds of hostile whites and occasioning one stabbing. Targets were restaurants and cafeterias. Highlights: 2 Negro Metropolitan Opera singers denied restaurant service May 5; Journal and Constitution dropped racial designations from obituaries, want-ads and amusements;and a night club integrated second week of May; students agreed to suspend demonstrations for bond issue vote May 15; Chamber of Commerce made public statement urging desegregation of accommodations May 29; city pools opened integrated June 10; 14 leading motels and hotels announced integrated policy June 20; leading restaurants expected to follow suit week of June 24. Some churches which previously turned away Negroes have admitted them to services. Mayor has met with Negro and white leaders without an official committee. Atlanta has a private, staffed Council on Human Relations.

Augusta -- April 5 -- A group of young people picketed municipal recreation facilities.

Brunswick -- June 20 -- Howard Johnson motel desegregation.

Columbus -- Demonstrations threatened, none to date.

Macon -- April 2 and 3 -- Two rows initiated by whites resulted in one stabbing, two arrests in integrated park. Mayor declined to close park, his mailbox bombed April 6. April 22, 5 Negro girls sat-in at segregated (some are integrated) lunch counter and were arrested. Has a Negro committee which has negotiated with whites with some success in past.

Marietta -- By mid-May reported to have a bi-racial committee. No demonstrations .

Rome -- April 2 -- Sixty-two high school students stood trial (51 of age received sentences) for lunch counter sit-ins of previous week, the first such activity in the northwest area of Georgia. June 12, 13, 14 - 15 students sat-in again.

GEORGIA (Continued)

Savannah -- June 3 - June 24-- Current wave of demonstrations -- marches, picketing, sit-ins, began June 3,continued daily through June 14, when the city announced some restaurants, theatres, and hotels had agreed to desegregate. (On June 4, 3 movies had desegregated for a few hours, then re-segregated after a protest demonstration by whites.) June 13 -- Negro home shot into. When owners reneged demonstrations resumed June 18, 19, 20. Over 1000 arrests in 2½ weeks. Four restaurants have been granted injunctions against demonstrators on their property. Mayor has been meeting with a recognized bi-racial committee formed during the month. June 20 -- Howard Johnson's desegregated.

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KENTUCKY:

Louisville -- April 9---May 16 -- The 11-member Louisville Human Relations Committee submitted to the Board of Alderman on April 9, an ordinance outlawing racial discrimination in public business places. The ordinance provided for fines up to $100 for violations. After three convictions, the City could get an injunction against the violator which could lead to jail sentence for contempt of court. The ordinance was passed on May 16, to go into effect in mid-September.

The new ordinance will include all remaining restaurants, barber shops, pool halls, and any other segregated public facilities. Public schools, parks, swimming pools, hotels, theatres and 268 of 410 restaurants have been desegregated in the past eight years, the restaurants two years ago after mass demonstrations and a Negro shopping boycott.

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LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- May 28 - June 4 -- City created a bi-racial committee, the first such group to be appointed in Louisiana (May 28). Committee met for first time May 31, following a march by 21 Negroes around the state capitol (May 29), and a sit-in (May 30). Negroes agreed to a 30-day truce June 4.

New Orleans -- April 3 -- Louisiana State University -- medical school cafeteria closed following a walkout by Negro employees after a Negro pre-med student was refused service.

April 26 -- State Attorney General Jack F. P. Gremillion declared there is no law in Louisiana which prohibits Negroes from occupying hotels or motels. But no hotels or motels accept Negro guests at the present time, with the exception of the airport hotel at New Orleans airport.

Shreveport -- June 1 -- Negro demonstration held.

Winnsboro -- May 30 -- Beaten by whites, a Negro teacher resigned his post.

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MISSISSIPPI:

Clarksdale -- May 4--June 22-- State NAACP President Aaron Henry's drugstore was damaged by an explosion which ripped a hole in the roof; no one injured (May 4). A similar firebomb was tossed into Henry's home April 12 during a visit there by Negro Congressman Charles L. Diggs (D., Mich.). Negroes threatened to broaden their boycott of downtown merchants May 26, unless bi-racial talks were held. Henry announced the launching of a series of spot picketing and demonstrations in the city (June 22).

Greenville -- May 25 --City Council voted unanimously to consider the possibility of forming a bi-racial commission.

Jackson -- May 27 - June 24 -- After talks between 13 Negro leaders and Mayor Allen C. Thompson broke off, a series of demonstrations began May 28, resulting in more than 600 arrests by June 6, when a state judge issued an injunction barring further demonstrations. Same day two Negro men integrated the municipal golf course, teeing off without incident. Local NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers murdered June 12. Following his funeral services June 15, Negroes clashed with police in downtown area; Justice Department Attorney John Doar helped bring demonstration under control. Next day four young Negro women were admitted to a white Protestant church without incident. Mayor Thompson announced June 18 that city will hire 6 Negro policemen, Negro school-crossing guards, and seven Negro sanitation workers. A 42-year old fertilizer salesman, Bryan de la Beckwith of Greenwood, was charged with the murder

MISSISSIPPI(Continued)

Jackson -- of Medgar Evers June 23. Jackson District Attorney William L. Waller said June 24 that he will seek the death penalty for Beckwith.

Lexington -- May 8 -- A Negro who attempted to register to vote reported that white men threw "Molotov cocktails" into his home about 3 a. m.; no one was injured.

McComb -- May 15 -- Injunction against CORE forbidding it to back sit-in demonstrations at local bus station struck down by Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

Winona -- June 9--Two Negro women and a 15-year old girl beaten by police at the local jail after trying to use the white facilities at town's bus station. The women, who were released a few days later, have been active in voter registration work in Mississippi.

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NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 formed this spring. Five lunch counters and 3 drive-in restaurants desegregated in late June.

Charlotte -- April 19-May 30--Proprietors of segregated hotels, restaurants, and theatres warned of mass picketing unless they agreed to desegregate (April 19). Chamber of Commerce urged immediate desegregation of all public facilities May 23, and eight major hotels and motels dropped all racial barriers four days later. A permanent bi-racial committee was formed by the mayor in May.

Chapel Hill -- May 24-25--Chamber of Commerce issued statement opposing discrimination May 24. Two hundred and fifty Negroes demonstrated next day.

Concord -- June 7--Bi-racial committee appointed. Seven drug stores and 9 restaurants desegregated.

Durham -- May 18-June 5--1,400 were arrested during demonstrations May 18-20. Temporary truce agreed upon May 21, with the appointment of a bi-racial committee by the mayor. City Council desegregated swimming pools May 30. Twelve motels and hotels, 55 restaurants desegregated June 4. Following day mayor's bi-racial committee announced that 31 retail businesses and several industrial concerns would institute or continue practice of hiring and promoting without regard to race. Public

N. C. (Continued)

accommodations ordinance currently being considered. Charges against some 1,400 students arrested were dropped.

Enfield -- May 30--Local theatre picketed.

Edenton -- April 5--Three Negroes arrested for picketing a theatre in March were acquitted.

Fayetteville -- May 14-June 19--Police dispersed mobs of Negroes and whites with tear gas May 14. Demonstrations lasting over a week began May 19, with some 1,500 persons participating in daily marches. Mayor's coordinating committee recommended immediate desegregation of restaurants and theatres May 27. Demonstrations resumed June 11, continued several days. Nine-man bi-racial committee appointed by mayor following week. 12 Motels and hotels desegregated June 19.

Goldsboro -- Four parades of demonstrators staged during week of May 30.

Greensboro -- May 10-June 23--Mass demonstrations began May 10, resulted in the arrest of some 440 persons by May 15. 420 arrested May 19 for sitting-in at a Howard Johnson parking lot. Demonstrations continued through May 24, with approximately 1,500 arrested. Mayor appointed a 16-member committee on Human Relations May 22 and two days later city's governing body unofficially endorsed an 11-point resolution urging integration of businesses. Truce arranged May 25, but demonstrations resumed June 2. Official end of truce came June 6, was marked by another demonstration in which 278 were arrested. S&W cafeteria desegregated during week ending June 22. Earlier four indoor theatres had tentatively agreed to desegregate.

Hickory -- June 6--Mayor formed a bi-racial Community Relations Council.

High Point -- May 28-30--Mass demonstrations began May 28, mayor's bi-racial (11-member) committee appointed two days later.

Lenior -- May 24--Mayor appointed five-member bi-racial committee.

Lexington -- June 3-6--Mayor Sink appointed bi-racial committee of 10 members. June 3, 15 or more Negroes requested and received service at drug store lunch counter June 5; but they were turned away at theatre and bowling alley. Demonstration by approximately 50 Negro students met by anti-desegregation group of 500 whites; one person killed and seven arrested June 6. The First Methodist Church recently admitted Negro worshippers.

Lumberton -- June 6--Mayor Hedgpeth appointed tri-racial committee of Indian, Negro and white members.

Monroe -- Mayor's bi-racial committee of 12 members formed sometime in May.

Mount Airy -- May 30--3 Negroes served in a drug store.

Oxford -- June 16--Truce declared after previous demonstrations.

Raleigh -- April 4-June 5--Demonstrations began April 4, continued for over a month. By May 10 some 250 had been arrested. Following day 1,000 demonstrated; May 14, 750 marched, were mocked and cursed by about 200 whites. 347 were arrested, with 15 charged with assault and one for carrying a concealed weapon. A 15-member bi-racial committee was appointed by the Mayor May 14, and the Raleigh Merchants Bureau adopted a resolution same day urging its 400 members to serve all persons. Demonstrations continued through June 3. Some 76 food and amusement concerns desegregated June 5.

Roxboro -- June 23--Mayor appointed a 20-member bi-racial committee.

Statesville -- June 9--Some restaurants and cafeterias voluntarily desegregated.

Thomasville -- May 10-June 1--Spontaneous sit-in by a group of teen-age Negroes at a restaurant May 10 followed by planned demonstrations beginning May 24. Two day later Negroes called off demonstrations until June 1, but 300 demonstrated May 30. City-owned pools opened on an integrated basis June 1; no incidents.

Wadesboro -- June 5--Windows of 2 business establishments, including one restaurant which had recently desegregated, were shot out in a pre-dawn shooting spree; no injuries.

Wilmington -- June 7--Some 75 high school students staged a protest demonstration at cafeterias and theatres; a bi-racial commiteee is studying the problem.

Winston-Salem -- May 21-June 5--About 25 students picketed theatre May 21, and mayor appointed an 18-member bi-racial committee. Demonstrations continued through May 27. Fourteen of 15 major restaurants, many smaller restaurants, and all hotels and motels desegregated June 5.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- May 31-June 4--Following sit-ins May 31 and June 1, Bishop's, a local restaurant, agreed to desegregate, was joined June 3 by city's largest downtown cafeteria. Three city hotels desegregated June 2, were joined by one other and 20 suburban motels June 3. City council approved appointment of a 15-member Community Relations Commission June 4. Two days later the board of managers of the Central YMCA recommended that Negroes be allowed to rent rooms at the downtown YMCA.

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston -- During the week of June 17-22, Kress, Woolworth and W.T. Grant department stores desegregated their facilities, two weeks after marches, sit-ins, stand-ins, and picketing. No official bi-racial committee has been formed as yet. Local groups have announced that pressure for additional desegregation will continue.

Columbia -- June 7--City Council began meeting with Negro leaders.

Greenville -- On May 27 city officials met with Negro leaders, and on May 28, in less than 15 minutes, City Council repealed segregation laws but passed a "trespass" city ordinance making it unlawful not to leave a business after being asked to do so by the owner. The new law does not mention race.

On June 3, 11 lunch counters were voluntary desegregated, two weeks after the Supreme Court made a Greenville case the key to a series of sit-in rulings by overturning the trespass convictions of ten Negroes arrested at a lunch counter in 1960. Small groups of Negroes ate in the 11 places without incident.

Greenville is the second South Carolina city to desegregate lunch counters, Columbia having opened some lunch counters on a non-racial basis last August. The Greenville stores affected were: S.H. Kress, W.T. Grant, H.L.Green, Walgreen Drugs, Eckerds Drugs, and Belk-Simpson; in shopping centers, the K-Mart discount store and a Woolworth and Walgreen store. Desegregation was effected by a committee of variety and drug stores, and restaurant operators.

Rock Hill -- June 1--16 Negroes demonstrated in front of drive-in restaurant.

Spartenburg -- June 1--Unofficial meetings were held to consider desegregation. On June 5 most downtown lunch counters and restaurants desegregated and Negroes ate in several places without incident.

Sumter -- A suit to integrate the Carnegie Public Library (class action) was filed June 5 in U.S. District Court by three Negro plaintiffs.

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga -- June 7--Following a series of demonstrations by Negroes at 4 local restaurants and 1 theatre, mayor appointed a bi-racial committee, and Negro leaders agreed to a truce.

Clarksville -- May 28-June 7--300 Negroes sought service in a drive-in restaurant, were turned away (May 28). All public parks and pools desegregated June 7.

Knoxville -- May 9-28--Demonstrations began May 9, resulted in arrest of about 100 by May 11. Three hospitals agreed to desegregate May 19, and mayor appointed a bi-racial commission same day. Two thousand citizens signed a petition May 22, to desegregate all public facilities; petition sponsored by Chamber of Commerce. Four leading hotels and 2 motels voted to desegregate May 28.

Maryville -- June 24--A mountain training camp sponsored by CORE was found burned to the ground; no injuries reported. Camp had been raided by sheriff's deputies previous week; 28 whites and Negroes arrested.

Memphis -- May 1-June 10--Normad corporation announced May 1, that it will build an integrated motel. All first-class hotels and motels desegregated May 20, followed by desegregation of all public recreational facilities May 30, except swimming pools (as a result of Supreme Court decision May 27). Voter registration drive began June 10. Has permanent bi-racial committee.

Nashville -- May 8-June 5--Following demonstrations May 8 and 9, a clash between Negro students and white hecklers May 10, another demonstration May 13 in which two persons were hospitalized, a permanent bi-racial Metropolitan Human Relations Council was appointed by the mayor May 16 "to recommend actions by the business community." City parks and wading pools opened to all on June 5. Earlier (May 13), seven motels and hotels, eight restaurants desegregated.

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TEXAS:

Dallas -- June 2--South's first integrated hospital opened here, will have completely integrated facilities including an open staff of Negro and white physicians. Following day insurance executive George L. Allen became the first Negro named to an important City Hall appointive body, the City Planning Commission.

TEXAS (Continued)

Denton -- April 6-Fifty Negro and white students from North Texas State University, picketed in the downtown area, carrying banners calling for the integration of local theatres.

Houston -- June 10--All city pools and municipal facilities desegregated.

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VIRGINIA:

Alexandria -- May-June--City Council banned discrimination in all municipal public facilities May 27, and instituted a merit hiring and promotion program for all city employees regardless of race. Movie theatres and some bowling alleys quietly desegregated June 14.

Arlington -- April-June--County Board established in Arlington County Human Relations Council in April. Arlington City Council eliminated all mention of race on job questionnaires June 3.

Charlottesville--May 25-30--Sit-ins began at La Paree restaurant May 25, but the main target became Buddy's restaurant near the University of Virginia, with groups of about 50 Negroes and whites demonstrating through May 30, when a local Negro leader was beaten up by two white men and hospitalized. The "stand-ins" were temporarily called off as a result of this incident. City's first Negro policeman was appointed in the midst of the demonstrations in which 5 persons were arrested. Efforts are being made to form a bi-racial committee, but have been unsuccessful this far.

Danville -- May 31-June 22--Fifty-sixty Negro youths started demonstrations to force hiring of a Negro policeman. Demonstrations continued through June 10, when 50 Negroes were arrested and a rally broken up by police using firehoses;about 45 persons were injured. City passed ordinance June 14 limiting number allowed to participate in demonstrations to 6; the following day 35 more Negroes were arrested. Ten leaders in the demonstrations, including 3 whites, were indicted by a special grand jury June 21 on a criminal charge of inciting to riot. Police seized three other leaders who had taken sanctuary in a local church June 22. Thus far, about 150 persons have been arrested. June 19, 29 demonstrators broke three-day truce by marching downtown; all were arrested. Mayor Stinson announced 10 Negroes had been assigned to white schools. Motel operators met to discuss desegregation.

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Farmville -- May 18--Small sit-ins staged, with no violence and no arrests.

Hampton -- April-May--A petition of 1000 signatures was sent to mayor April 1 charging "racial discrimination" and "police intimidation" after Hampton Institute students,10 of whom were arrested, attempted sit-ins. An 11-member bi-racial Council on Community Relatinns was formed May 18.

Lawrenceville -- May 29-30--Students quietly picketed downtown lunch counters.

Lynchburg -- May-June--Patterson's drug store announced May 22, following prolonged sit-in demonstrations,that it would serve anyone. Following week 10 restaurants voluntarily desegregated. In early June, 2 movie theatres and 2 bowling alleys also voluntarily desegregated.

Martinsville -- June 7--Martinsville - Henry County Christian Civic League called on local business leaders to voluntarily desegregate public facilities and employment, and requested City Council appoint official bi-racial committee.

Norfolk-Portsmouth-- Late May--Major movie theatres agreed May 25 to lower all racial bars after private meetings between white businessmen and Negro leaders. Norfolk City Council asked mayor to form a bi-racial committee May 28.

Petersburg -- April 25--Three Virginia State College students fined $25.00 and given 30-day suspended sentences for picketing.

Richmond -- May 28-June 18--Parker Field, local athletic stadium quietly admitted 9 Negroes to previously all-white section. All downtown movie theatres announced June 15, that they will desegregate by July 10. Three days later 35 of city's better restaurants agreed to serve all customers without regard to race. Another 25 restaurants had previously desegregated.

STATE ACTION

FLORIDA:

During the 1960 demonstrations there - Governor Fowler appointed the Statewide Fowler Commission on Race Relations. The Commission was not continued by Governor Bryant.

KENTUCKY:

Commission on Human Rights established under a General Assembly Act of March, 1960. Eleven members are appointed by the governors. Governor Combs stated June 4 he would "ask the General Assembly to pass a general civil rights act."

NORTH CAROLINA:

June 18--Governor Sanford moved on several fronts to head off North Carolina's growing racial crisis. In a statewide radio and television address (June 18) the Governor spoke sympathetically of Negro "requests and aspirations." He also asked for a halt to Negro demonstrations "to help avoid strife, ill will, danger to life and property, and damage to our state."

He announced he had called Negro leaders to the Capital for a meeting on June 25, "to place before the public in an orderly manner their requests and aspirations." He appointed retired Major General Capus M. Waynick, former commander of the N. C. National Guard and experienced in negotiating racial conflicts, to represent his office in continuing negotiations with Negro leaders. Two immediate targets are sought by the Governor's negotiators: statewide application of the "Durham Plan"; daily progress reports to local Negro leaders by city officials.

Also under intense negotiation: employing more Negroes in state jobs. In January of this year the Governor began naming of 24 prominent Negro and white citizens to the statewide North Carolina Good Neighbor Council.

VIRGINIA:

May 29--Governor Harrison rejected a proposal for a statewide bi-racial commission.

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden
Mobile

ARKANSAS:

Fayetteville
Little Rock
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Miami

GEORGIA:

Atlanta
Brunswick
Savannah

MISSISSIPPI:

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Asheville
Charlotte
Concord
Durham
Fayetteville
Greensboro
Lexington
Mount Airy
Raleigh
Statesville
Thomasville
Wadesboro
Winston Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Greenville
Spartenburg

TENNESSEE:

Clarksville
Knoxville
Memphis
Nashville

TEXAS:

Austin
Houston

VIRGINIA:

Alexandria
Arlington
Falls Church
Lynchburg
Norfolk
Portsmouth
Richmond

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE APRIL 3,1963

10,420

(The Southern Regional Council estimated the number of arrests during the February 1, 1960 through September 1, 1961 period of demonstrations in southern and border states at 3,600.)

NUMBER OF FATALITIES RELATED TO DEMONSTRATIONS SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

3

CITIES WHERE SOME DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED SINCE APRIL 3, 1963

ALABAMA:

Birmingham
Gadsden

ARKANSAS:

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:

Cocoa
Daytona-Beach
Gainesville
Lakeland
Miami
Sarasota
Tallahassee
Winter Haven

GEORGIA:

Albany
Atlanta
Augusta
Macon
Rome
Savannah

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge
Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi
Clarksdale
Greenwood
Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:

Charlotte
Chapel Hill
Durham
Enfield
Fayetteville
Goldsboro
Greensboro
High Point
Lexington
Oxford
Raleigh
Thomasville
Wilmington
Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Charleston
Rock Hill

TENNESSEE:

Chattanooga
Clarksville
Knoxville
Nashville

TEXAS:

Denton

VIRGINIA:

Charlottesville
Danville
Farmville
Hampton
Lawrenceville
Lynchburg
Petersburg

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

ADDENDA

FLORIDA:

Lakeland -- June 6 -- movie theatre picketing.

Miami -- June -- leading hotels desegregated, (comparable to Miami Beach where they have been desegregated for some time).

KENTUCKY:

Covington, Henderson, Hopkinsville, Lexington, Louisville, Paducah -- Local commissions on civil rights sponsored in these cities by the statewide commission.

MISSISSIPPI:

Biloxi -- June 23 -- attempted wade-in.

Greenwood -- June 24 -- six Negro girls attempted sit-in (the city's first) at a drugstore.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Sanford -- June -- bi-racial committee formed.

TENNESSEE:

Athens --) both cities have official bi-racial commissions
Oak Ridge --) and have had no demonstrations.

TEXAS:

Austin -- June 10 -- 38 restaurants (estimated 70% of total) desegregated.

VIRGINIA:

Arlington -- June 17 -- 4 movie theatres desegregated.

Danville -- June 13 -- moderate business leaders from Chamber of Commerce and Retail Merchants Association outvoted Mayor Stinson and formed new bi-racial committee to replace collapsed white City Council Committee. On the same date Negroes picketed a local mill for the first time, and pickets subsequently applied for jobs.

Falls Church --June 17 -- a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal, Harrisonburg, Waynesboro -- Mid-April--Howard Johnson's in these cities desegregated.

Newport News -- June -- a bi-racial committee in operation.

Roanoke -- June -- a race relations sub-committee of the Citizens Committee for Greater Roanoke in operation. There have been no demonstrations.

Woodstock -- June -- has a bi-racial commission of 8.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
July 26, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENTS, II

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of June 24-July 24, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first synopsis, dated June 25,1963. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

ALABAMA:

Bessemer -- Has repealed city ordinances requiring segregation.

Birmingham -- Has been quiet and without demonstrations or arrests pending terms of May agreement being put into operation. June 27 -- 3 municipal golf courses desegregated without incident. At least 9 churches integrated

July 11 - City tentatively agreed the use of City Auditorium on August 5 by the American Guild of Variety Artist's "Salute to Freedom '63," integrated show before a non-segregated audience (2 firsts for the hall).

July 13 - Mayor Boutwell announced formation of a 211-member bi-racial community affairs committee, created by city council resolution, to have 10 subcommittees, about 20% Negro membership. Some segregation signs down in stores' fitting rooms and water fountains, a Negro reportedly hired as a retail clerk, approximately 10 department & chain store lunch counters to desegregate this month, according to truce timetable.

July 23 - City repealed its segregation ordinances.

Gadsden -- Since June 23 when approximately 600 attended a Martin Luther King rally demonstration, marches were heavily attended and continuous through July 1. During this time, at least 52 demonstrators arrested (June 27) amd one protestor (June 29) who sat on white side of Trailways Bus Depot waiting room. A Justice Department aide sparked mediations.

July 1 - Negroes announced suspension of demonstrations indefinitely as transit company buses ended de facto seating segregation.

GADSDEN (Cont'd)

July 6 - KKK rally.

July 10 - County Solicitor announced his office had been hampered in work on death of freedom walker William Moore (there have been no developments) as "all of our investigation agencies have been tied up" with racial demonstrations. Persons arrested during previous mass demonstrations released on bond pending trial.

Huntsville -- Week of May 20 - first Negro policeman named to city force.

Montgomery -- Has repealed city segregation ordinances.

Talladega -- Demonstrations aimed largely at lunch counters desegregation, which began April 9, resulted in more than 50 arrests before a temporary injunction halted them briefly April 28.

July 5 - Permanent injunction barring racial demonstrations issued.

Selma -- June 17 - A Negro voter registration worker arrested during drive.

June 26 - Justice Department's motion for injunction to bar the trial denied. City has repealed segregation ordinances.

ARKANSAS:

Gillett -- Week of June 24 - Rural Negro church bombed with dynamite.

Hot Springs -- Week of July 15 - Majority of theatres and restaurants desegregated.

Little Rock -- June 25 - Twenty Negroes picket Coca-Cola Bottling Company protesting discriminatory wages.

June 27 - Five Negroes sought and denied admission to municipal swimming pool.

Pine Bluff -- Late June - mid-July - Movie theatres, including drive-ins, desegregate, and all city park facilities, except pools.

FLORIDA:

Bradenton -- June 25 - Attempted sit-in at cafeteria, four Negro youths arrested, cafeteria closed.

June 26 - Approximately 80 Negroes demonstrated before Manatee County Courthouse protesting the arrest.

Clearwater -- Has a municipal bi-racial committee.

Cocoa -- During May - bi-racial Citizens Advisory Committee formed.
July 9 - Announced most motels, hotels, and restauants will desegregate by August 18.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Cocoa Beach -- Hotels, motels, restaurants and night clubs integrated for "sometime."

Fort Myers -- June 25 - established bi-racial committee of 5 City Councilmen, 5 "Negro taxpayers." "Excellent progress" reported in desegregations of lunch counters, a bowling alley, drive-in movies.

Gainesville -- June 12 - 11 restaurants began desegregating.

Miami -- June 11 - Metro Commission passed ordinance creating bi-racial Community Relations Board of 15.

Ocala -- July 18 - Leader of lunch counter pickets arrested.

July 20 - 29 youths arrested while demonstrating to protest jailing of leader.

July 21 - 6 more arrested picketing jail.

Orlando -- Week of July 15 - 56 motels, hotels, restaurants desegregate, mayor crediting efforts of bi-racial advisory committee.

Pinellas County -- (St. Petersburg-Clearwater area) - June 27 - County Commission voted creation of a 10-man bi-racial committee.

St. Augustine--June 25 - July 4 - Continuous and peaceful picketing of variety stores, Chamber of Commerce Information Center.

June 30 - Negroes swam at white beach, heckling but no arrests or incidents.
July 2 - In early a. m. NAACP leader's house shot into, one white youth arrested, 3 Negro youths arrested for shooting at auto from which they alleged shots were fired into home.
July 5 - City Commission refuses to name a bi-racial committee, contends city library is desegregated along with a miniature golf course on city property; Negroes claim they are not.
July 18 - 13 arrested during sit-ins at 4 drugstores.

St. Petersburg-Week of June 24 - saw peaceful theatre picketing continued as Negroes and whites together attempted orderly admission to movies. Mayor Herman Goldner announced efforts to get City Council to give bi-racial committee more authority and flexibility.
June 27 - Both Chamber of Commerce and City Council passed resolutions favoring desegregation of public facilities and hiring practices.
July 5 - members being named to City Council -approved bi-racial committee. Several department stores reported to be hiring Negro retail clerks and negotiations with theatre operators in progress.

FLORIDA (Cont'd)

Stuart -- Bi-racial committee formed in early May under the auspices of city commission.

Tallahassee -- Mid-June - bi-racial committee began meeting with mayor.

June 24 - Municipal tennis court integrated.
June 27 - Nine Negro students attempted to use white swimming pool, pool closed.

June 28 - Three white students arrested attempting to use Negro swimming pool.

Vero Beach -- July 5 - Mayor Jack Sturgis appointed 18-man bi-racial committee with sub-committees on housing, recreation, employment, education.

Winter Park -- June 28 - Five white children, ages 6 to 10, integrated a formerly all Negro pool without incident.

GEORGIA:

Albany -- July 6 - KKK rally of approximately 300.

July 7 - Groups of Negroes and whites attempted to swim at former city pool. Now privately owned and operated for whites only.

Resulted in 12 arrests.

July 8 - Thirteen arrested in protest gathering at city hall.

July 10 -- 6 arrests.

July 12 - One white arrested for shooting at Negroes.

July 13 - 10 arrested for picketing home of head of board of education.

In early July a Justice Department negotiator attempted to bring city commission and Negro and white business leadership together in a bi-racial committee. No official results, but 40-odd businessmen have met unofficially with Negro leaders in recent weeks.

July 23 - City commission refuses to appoint a bi-racial committee. Periodic, isolated outbursts of disorder and/or vandalism.

Americus -- July 12 - 14 -- 35 persons total arrested picketing segregated movie theatre.

July 19 - At least 11 arrested after attempts to enter theatre.

Atlanta -- June 25 - Approximately 45 restaurants began desegregating, and

Since June 27 - Pickets protesting integration have appeared sporadically at about 6 locations.

June 27 - University of Florida band cancelled reservation for 140 persons at a hotel which had declined to integrate during the previous week (when approximately 14 did) - band currently has no Negro members.

Since June 27 - Negroes have picketed off and on a liquor store protesting discriminatory employment; owner has agreed to hire an additional Negro employee.

June 30 - Attempts by Negroes to worship at morning and evening services of First Baptist Church failed.

July 1 - Approximately 250 Negroes marched through downtown protesting discriminatory hiring of restaurant chain.

July 7 - NAACP, SCLC, Operation Breadbasket, Committee for Cooperative Action, and Committee on Appeal for Human Rights met and reactivated (1961) Student-Adult Liaison Committee. Goal - 5,000 new jobs for Negroes.

July 7 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again.

Atlanta (cont'd)

July 13 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 14 - Attempt to enter First Baptist Church failed again, but that date Negroes arrived early, seated themselves for evening services, had their seating area roped off by ushers when they did not leave.

July 16 - Pro and anti-integration pickets appeared simultaneously without incident.

July 16 - Mississippi Gov. Barnett spoke under auspices of White Citizens' Council with pro - and con - pickets, no incidents.

July 19 - 12 pickets arrested at one restaurant, site of more or less continuous anti-segregation picketing and some hurly-burly.

July 22 - Picketing at telephone company favoring hiring of more Negroes.

Augusta -- June 29 - May Park desegregated as Negro and white children played baseball together without incident.

July 14 - Chronicle-Herald editorially advocated desegregation of tax-supported facilities, equal civic, county employment.

Brunswick -- Has an advisory bi-racial committee set up by city government, dates from Winter, 1963, is currently active.

Carrollton -- June 27 - An episcopal minister publically addressed members of his congregation to support his opposition to White Citizens' Council.

Columbus -- June 25 - Negro ministers announced plans whereby movie theatres have agreed to desegregate in Fall, 1963.

Since July 5, when 7 Negroes used the library reading room but were denied library cards, protests with substantial numbers of demonstrators have centered around the library, with at least 10 arrests, the library being closed at times, indefinitely on July 18.

Three separate groups of Negro leadership have expressed opposition to protest demonstration.

Columbus (cont'd)

July 17 - While pickets marched before Muscogee County School Board, Board announced library and school desegregation on a "timetable," probably 1964.

July 17-19 - Successive attempts of Negroes to use Lakebotton and Weracoba Parks, rocks hurled by Negro and white youths at one another, 5 arrests, parks closed.

July 17 - Two (one Negro and one white) of the city's 3 pools closed.

Cordele -- July 16 - Announced hiring of city's first Negro policeman.

Macon -- July 1, Ten establishments, including Mercer University and Wesleyan College, a grocery, bookstore, and shopping center, signed contracts with the federal government to operate the businesses where their post office stations are situated on a non-discriminatory basis.

Savannah -- June 19-July 16 (When demonstrations, which had been halted briefly, erupted into violence) negotiations between Negro leaders and white businessmen have been intermittent and a bi-racial committee had been meeting with the approval of the City Commission and the Chamber of Commerce.

July 16 - After nearly a month of stalemate and disturbances, closed negotiations commenced, mediators being named by a group of 100 business elite.

No agreement has been reached on desegregation of public accommodations asked by Negroes, their cause confused somewhat by lack of centralized leadership to date. Activities through July 12 included nightly demonstration marches numbering hundreds, daytime picketing and smaller demonstrations, mass meetings, weather permitting. Police surveillance has been thorough.

Toll in wounded at least 6, arrests estimated at 240, with some violence.

June 25 - Arrest of youth leader triggered intensive and resumed talks, several days of calm, then July 4 renewed demonstrations demanding his release. A school desegregation plan to commence with the 12th grade in Fall of 1963 announced July 1 disatisfying to many.

Savannah (Cont'd)

July 5 - First appearance of approximately 30 white, anti-integration pickets.

July 9 - Popular Negro leader arrested, currently in jail on reduced bond of $15,500.

July 10 - Thirty arrested for lying down in streets protesting arrest. Concurrently - July 10 and 14, wade-ins at Savannah Beach, with at least 8 arrests.

July 10-11 - Midnight demonstrations comprising approximately 1000 persons, exchanges of rocks and tear gas, vandalism. By dawn of July 11, approximately 100 state troopers arrived.

July 12 - Demonstrations, further violence.

July 13 - Pro-segregation white motorcade of approximately 65 persons -- 31 ministers, including Catholic, Episcopal, and Methodist bishops, call for "just resolution," offer their services.

July 14 - Negroes denied admittance to several white churches.

Subsequently, all factions of Negro leadership have called for end to violence and mass demonstrations, urged voter registration, peaceful picketing, economic pressure.

July 16 - Negro fireman shot by white youths, 6 arrested.

July 18 - Negro youths picket Chase-Manhattan Bank (buyer of Savannah Municipal Bonds) in New York.

July 20 - Ku Klux Klan outdoor meeting. Rallies, picketing, negotiation continue. Atmosphere quiet, tense, expectant.

KENTUCKY:

Frankfort -- June 26 - Kentucky Governor Burt Combs issued an executive order banning racial discrimination in all businesses licensed by the state.
July 8 - Governor subsequently narrowed order to pertain to public places of food, shelter, recreation or amusement. Since the order was issued, 5 Kentucky cities have had additional desegregation: Bowling Green, Hopkinsville, Danville, Frankfort, and Paducah.

Hopkinsville -- July 2 - City council gave preliminary approval to an ordinance establishing a bi-racial human relations council; final approval slated for next council meeting July 16. Mayor said he expected to appoint a 15-member commission following July 16 council meeting.

Lexington -- July 12 - Three additional members, all white, assigned to Lexington's Human Relations Committee.

Louisville -- Louisville Human Relations Commission recommended that Mayor issue an executive order banning racial and oth discrimination in the employment policies of those firms having city contracts. Mayor agreed to study bias-ban proposal.

LOUISIANA:

Baton Rouge -- July 2 - City 's bi-racial committee held its sixth weekly meeting.

July 23 - About 50 Negroes scuffled with 6 policemen during an attempt to use a public swimming pool. Five Negroes were arrested. It was the first outbreak of racial violence in Louisiana this summer.

Buras -- July 6-16 - Window panes broken in rectory of Our Lady of Good Harbor Church. It was the second time the rectory has been fired on since nearby Our Lady of Good Harbor school was integrated last September. Twenty-six panes were shattered by birdshot on November 13. Police were unable to connect anyone with the earlier shooting, are investigating the latest blast.

New Orleans -- June 26 - A three-panel federal court took under advisement a suit seeking to desegregate New Orleans recreational facilities.
July 1 - A three-judge federal panel struck down a 1956 state law requiring separate seating and segregation of other facilities for whites and Negroes. The ruling in effect desegregated the city's municipal auditorium. Court declared: "Cities may as well face up to the facts of life: New Orleans, here and now, must adjust to the reality of having to operate desegregated public facilities." City plans to appeal the decision.
July 3 - A request for a bi-racial committee on Human Relations was made by the local NAACP branch, in a letter to Mayor Victor Schiro, who was not immediately available for comment.

Shreveport -- July 19 - Negroes staged sit-ins at the lunch counters of 2 downtown stores. Police quickly broke up demonstrations, arrested 10. A "pick-up order" was also issued for Charles Evers, brother of slain NAACP leader Medgar Evers, who spoke at a Negro rally in Shreveport July 17. The 5th Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a lower court order to integrate the Shreveport airport and bus station May 22.

MISSISSIPPI:

Canton -- June 26 - Ben P. Lewis, a 43 year old white service station attendant, arrested, charged with firing a shotgun at 5 Negroes near a hall where a voter registration rally was being held.

June 29 - Twelve Negroes were registered to vote within a week here, where no Negro has ever registered before.

MISSISSIPPI (Cont')

Clarksdale -- June (last week) Thirty-six protest marchers arrested.

July 20 - A young white segregationist who confessed to firebombing the home of local civil rights leader Aaron Henry was acquitted of arson charges by an all-white jury, which took 15 minutes to render a verdict. Prosecution immediately dropped an identical charge against his companion in the bombing. The 2 men admitted throwing 2 "Molotov cocktails" into Henry's home April 13. Negro Congressman Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.) was Henry's house guest at the time.

Columbus -- July 2 - City Council passed an ordinance prohibiting parading without a permit, carrying of placards or banners and certain other activities.

Greenville -- June 19-July 5 - City council announced that a six-man bi-racial committee will be formed to advise it on racial problems. Three members of city council will serve with "an equal number of representatives chosen from the Negro community."

July 6 - The city's first week of mass racial demonstrations ended today, and was highlighted by 25 arrests, 3 sit-ins, one play-in, and 2 protest marches. City council adopted two new "parade" ordinances. Most of activity generated by Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; 3 of its field secretaries were arrested in the demonstrations. Police Chief W. C. Burnley commended by both Negroes and whites for his handling of demonstrators and maintenance of law and order at all times.

Greenwood -- June 24-July 7 - First drugstore lunch counter sit-in ever attempted here failed when white persons filled every available seat before Negroes arrived; sit-in attempted by 6 Negro girls. City passed 2 ordinances against demonstrations same day.

June 29 - Ten arrested for demonstrating in local park, 2 more arrested July 1

July 1 - Two more were arrested for sitting-in at a lunch counter.

July 2 - Fourteen civil rights demonstrators being held at the LeFlore County Farm staged a sit-down at the barracks, refusing to do work assigned them, authorities reported. The 14 were among the more than 50 arrested previous week on charges connected with voting demonstrations.

Greenwood(Cont'd)

July 7 - Some 300 to 400 Negroes joined with 3 white folk singers to sing of their dissatisfaction with segregation.

Gulfport -- June 28 - Mayor R. B. Meadows, Jr., announced the appointment of a 13-member bi-racial community relations committee, with 8 white and 5 Negro members. Previous day an explosion scattered debris about the waiting room of Dr. Felix H. Dunn, president of local NAACP chapter. Police and FBI investigating.

Itta Bena -- June 19 - Fifty-seven Negroes arrested June 19 on charges of disturbing the peace; 12 were children under 15 and were subsequently freed.

June 28 - Justice Department sued for release of the remaining 45. Suit was third filed by Justice which involved LeFlore County. First, filed in August, 1962, challenged constitutionality of state voting laws, is awaiting trial. Second filed March 30, charged county and other defendants with intimidating Negro voter registration efforts in Greenwood.

Jackson -- June 30 - First 2 Negro policemen since Reconstruction days sworn in by Mayor Allen C. Thompson. Mayor has also promised to hire 8 Negro school crossing guards by September 1. Four Negro men escaped serious injury, when an explosion collapsed a two-family frame house. Charles Evers, brother of Medgar Evers, said he thought a bomb caused damage, but a local detective attributed blast to a gas leak. Same day 3 white churches refused to admit 5 Negroes who tried to attend Sunday services.

July 1-8 - A public golf course on which 2 Negroes had played without incident June 6, was re-segregated.

Hinds County grand jury, with one Negro among its 18 members, considered case of Byron Beckwith, accused of murdering Medgar Evers.

Negro clerical workers quietly placed in federal clerical and administrative positions in U. S. government offices here following an inspection in June.

Internal Revenue Service hired a Negro agent, Social Security a stenographer, and Veterans Administration one new clerical worker.

Jackson (Cont'd) (June 1-8)

City officials pleased by a federal court ruling upholding Jackson statutes under which nearly 1000 persons were arrested for participating in racial demonstrations. City attorney called decision significant victory.

July 9 - Negroes concentrating on a voter registration campaign found the registration books suddenly closed. Circuit clerk, who is also voter registrar, claimed his small office was over-burdened preparing for August 6 Democratic primary in which there will be 138 names on the ballot.

July 12 - The prosecution requested a mental test for Beckwith (accused murderer of Evers), but defense said it would oppose such a test.

Mississippi Supreme Court reversed itself and upheld the conviction of civil rights leader Aaron Henry on a morals charge. Court had overturned the conviction in June on grounds that police had illegally searched Henry's car. In July 12 decision, court said defense had failed to enter objections during trial. Five Negro policemen to be added to force on August 8.

NORTH CAROLINA:

Ahoskie -- June 28 - Water safety chairman, H. L. Beaman denied that a proposed Red Cross water safety course to be taught in July was cancelled because three Negroes signed up for course.

Albemarle and Stanley County -- June 24 - A bi-racial committee was formed under sponsorship of Albemarle and Stanley County Chamber of Commerce, "to consider any future race problems."

Asheville -- June 13 - Total desegregation of all public and commercial facilities urged by City Council; also ordinance adopted repealing Article 23 of City Code, which makes it unlawful to sell property to Negroes in a predominantly white neighborhood.

Cabarrus County -- June 12 - Three political leaders issued statement which said in part, "We recommend that all citizens of Cabarrus County recognize that, legally, every individual is the equal of every other individual, and we recommend to all our citizens that they practice no discrimination based on race."

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Charlotte -- June 29 - Four point hospital desegregation plan submitted by Negro Medical Society got cool reception from City Hall. Charlotte has had an active 29-member Mayor's bi-racial committee since early 1961, and as of July 8, reported that desegregation now includes practically all public facilities: library, parks, schools, police force, bus drivers, Chamber of Commerce, hotels, motels, restaurants, and theatres.

Chapel Hill -- June 26 - Demonstrations began with from 100 to 250 Negro and white demonstrators marching each day asking end of desegregation in business establishments. There was no disorder and no arrests for marches.

White picket was arrested for striking son of store manager -

June 29 - Demonstration included singing of freedom songs in front of desegregated stores.

July 4 - Boycotts of 13 establishments began with marchers increased to 400 (more than 100 whites included).

July 7 - A white man was arrested for driving his car through a line of 200 white and Negro pickets.

Cleveland -- June 12 - A playground attack by 6 Negro youths on a white boy and girl touched off racial disorders, mainly by gangs of white persons, who pelted Negroes with rocks, bottles and other objects. The clashes continued for 3 nights and 50 white persons were arrested on charges of carrying concealed weapons or for intoxication. Disturbances subsided after the 6 Negroes were arrested.

Covington -- June 14 - A Negro minister urged city council to set up bi-racial commission to "take steps necessary for equal job opportunities" for Negroes and to study problems of integrating motels, restaurants, theatres, and other public facilities.

Durham -- In April some stores hired 15 Negroes in non-traditional jobs. The Rialto Theatre was desegregated.

In June, the Durham Junior Chamber of Commerce dropped its "white only" membership clause. All hotels and motels, most restaurants and many retail establishments have integrated.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Fayetteville --June 10 - Six Negro students quietly integrated only municipally owned swimming pool. Mayor Wilbur Clark issued statement, "If we don't make progress here /in desegregating entertainment and food services/, we will greatly harm our prospects for attracting new industries and businesses and, secondly, we will have renewed demonstrations...which aggravate possibilities of ill will, economic loss, and public danger."

June 15 - Some restaurants, hotels, and lodging desegregated; demonstrations began few days later.

June 17 - State troopers called in to help local police. Broke up disturbance with tear gas; 17 arrested.

June 22-24 - Negroes arrested attempting to integrate Hotel Rose. Rain on June 23 slowed down demonstrations.

Gastonia -- June 10 - A prayer pilgrimage to city hall by 5 Negro ministers resulted in a meeting of 18-member bi-racial committee which announced its accomplishments: "colored" signs removed on city property; anti-discrimination in city hiring; desegregation of golf courses, lunch counters, library.

June 12 - Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association urged desegregation of all public facilities. Bi-racial committee announced theatre negotiations progressing, 8 restaurants desegregated, at least one motel desegregated, Negro nurses at city hospital.

June 14 - Committees began meeting with hospital, hotel-motel, and restaurant officials. Purpose of committee was changed "to promote integration of public facilities harmoniously." Ministers reassured; said no demonstrations planned.

Goldsboro -- June 8 - Between June 8 and 11, more than 100 demonstrators were arrested on trespassing charges for attempting to desegregate theatres and restaurants; all released without bond. Some demonstrators torn shirts were said to be result of rough handling by police and one demonstrator knocked down and bruised.
Demonstrations continued through June 28.

June 21 - Thirty-three were tried, given suspended sentences on 30-day good behavior; no fines levied. Cases appealed.

July 7 - A 16-member bi-racial committee, appointed previous week, took steps to begin gradual integration of public places; details of plans were not made public.

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)

Grantville County -- June 29 - Bi-racial committee organized after recent rock and bottle throwing incident between Negroes and whites. Majority of drug counters and other downtown eating places desegregated, but 19-member committee (majority of members Negro) meeting daily with businessmen to discuss list of grievances.

Greensboro -- July 4 - Employment-practice questionnaires were distributed to merchants by bi-racial committee. Greensboro Housing Authority formally removed color bar from its 1,036 low-rent housing units, previously 400 units all-white and 636 units all Negro.

Greenville -- July 5 - About 200 mayors from all sections of state vowed unanimously to support Governor Sanford in efforts "to remove the indignities long suffered by Negroes."

Henderson -- June 10-29 - Mayor Horace Faulkner moved June 10 to integrate parks, but city council over-rulled him at night meeting later, and June 11 closed city's 3 parks rather than integrate them.

June 28 - Orderly Negro marches and picketing for equal employment opportunities began; no arrests. No mass demonstrations are planned. Mayor's bi-racial committee being appointed but so far only two whites willing to serve.

Hickory -- June 27 - Five area restaurants have adopted non-discrimination policy according to Hickory Community Relations Council at its second meeting since being appointed by Board of Alderman on June 6.

High Point -- June 12 - Most hotels, motels, and eating establishments integrated. Action endorsed by City Council and group of business leaders.

June 18 - Three Negroes filed a petition in U. S. Middle District Court asking for an injunction against City of High Point and Key Theatres, Inc., to permit them and all Negroes to attend local theatres.

Lexington -- Mayor C. V. Sink released letter from Davidson County NAACP urging desegregation of all public facilities, upgrading of Negroes on city jobs, equal job opportunities, and better communication. A total of 18 white persons arrested on charges of engaging in a riot.

June 28 - Three Negroes charged with death of white mechanic during June 6 riot bound over for trial without bail; 28 (18 white, 10 Negro) convicted last week of engaging in riot. Most cases appealed. Court meted out fines of $25 to $250 and jail terms of three to 16 months; jail terms suspended in most cases on payment on fines.

Monroe -- June 26 - Union County Sheriff Griffin said he found no evidence that white integration leader's car was shot at June 25 near Monroe. Monroe Apter of New York reported shot fired at him and 2 Monroe Negroes by 3 white men following in car.

Mount Airy-- July 5 - Negro leaders presented town commissioners with requests to end discrimination May 16.

June 24 - a 13-member bi-racial committee was formed of civic and business leaders to desegregate public facilities and open job opportunities. Before committee formed, 6 drug stores voluntarily dropped racial bars.

July 5 - Meetings of committee with restaurant, hotel-motel operators, held this week, also industrialists.

New Bern -- July 19 - Anti-segregation demonstration at drive-in restaurant, second in two days, resulted in arrests of 58 Negroes on trespass charges.

North Wilkesboro -June 29 - Mayor James M. Anderson announced formation of bi-racial committee to solve city's racial problems.

Oxford -- June 22 - Special bi-racial committee attempting to settle strife which began June 19 and resulted June 22, in rock and bottle throwing battle squelched by 70 state troopers. Some 300 Negroes and whites involved. During disturbance rifle shots fired into police car and one patrolman cut with knife. Demonstrations directed against theatre.

Raleigh -- June 7 - July 7 --Around 180 Negroes stood in front of business establishments several hours after 200 Negroes staged protest march downtown.

June 13 - Five hotels and motels, nine restaurants and all drive-in theatres desegregated. Demonstrations and "testing committees" continued.

June 20 - Downtown movie theatres integrated.

June 22 - Six Negro students with suitcases sat-in at entrance to Sir Walter Hotel after being refused rooms; arrested, charged with trespassing, and released. The 6 joined by carloads of Negro youths with suitcases, returned. Four attempted to enter coffee shop and were arrested. Several white college students joined the 175 Negroes in marching (singing) around hotel for several hours; group then marched away towards Shaw University. Seventy-six businesses desegregated but names not available.

June 26 - Some 200 Negroes met at Old Capital at Gov. Sanford's invitation to state their views on civil rights; group defied Governor's plea for end to demonstrations. After meeting, 100 Negroes gathered outside to sing.

Raleigh (cont'd)

June 29 - City Council repealed last remaining segregation ordinance previous week requiring desegregated cemeteries.

July 7 - Militant state Negro anti-segregation leaders spurned personal plea of Governor Sanford at Raleigh meeting and vowed continued demonstrations all over state. Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association have opened their membership to Negroes.

Roxboro -- July 7 - Chairman of bi-racial committee announced that about 90% of town's motels and restaurants have integrated.

Sanford -- June 25 - First meeting of newly formed 11-member bi-racial commitee. One member, a restaurant operator, said he had called meeting of about 25 restaurant operators about five weeks ago to consider dropping racial bars.

Salisbury -- June 13 - July 2 -- After rumors of impending racial demonstrations, directors of Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association announced immediate appointment of bi-racial committee "to work for better community relations." Committee will supplement 1961 Community Service Committee.

July 2 - City Council voted to eliminate "race, color, or national origin" as factors in hiring city employees.

Shelby -- June 12 - Mayor Harry S. Woodson and Mayor-elect Dr. Hubert Plaster named a Mayor's Advisory Committee on Human Relations, after June 4 vote for such a group by City Council.

Statesville--June 15 - More restaurants and some hotels desegregated: Merchants' Association voted to accept application from Negroes(as sales clerks).

Thomasville--June 3-July 17 Week of June 3 swimming pools integrated
July 17 - Crowds of about 150 Negroes and 150 whites squared off in a parking lot beside City Hall and began hurling rocks at each other. Local and state police dispersed mobs. Negroes later demonstrated at city's only movie theatre, where 60-65 (mostly teenagers) Negroes were arrested. Charged with blocking entrance and violating fire ordinance.

Whiteville-- July 4 - First Negro policeman hired; to patrol Negro section.

Wilmington-- June 15 - Some restaurants and hotels desegregated. During May all signs indicating segregation were removed from court house.

Williamston--July 1-Orderly demonstrations began and continued

daily, with up to 500 marching on July 4.
July 2 - Seven Negroes served at drugstore lunch counter.
July 3 - 150 Negroes denied admission to municipal swimming pool leased to private operator, and pool closed July 4; lawsuit planned. About 500 Negroes demonstrated for five successive days and sought service at downtown restaurant; 36 arrested, but juveniles released and 18 jailed. Large crowds of whites assembled July 3 and violence narrowly averted. Mayor suggested bi-racial committee and urged end to demonstrations; request refused.

Wilson -- July 3 - Recently appointed Mayor's bi-racial Good Neighbor Council presented 3 requests to Wilson County Commissioners: 1) non-discrimination in hiring, 2) unified tax listing, and 3) removal of racial signs from county facilities.

Winston-Salem -- June 28-July 7 - During June, Forsyth County Medical Society announced it would admit Negro doctors to "scientific" membership .

June - 28 - Direct action protests resumed when three Negroes picketed cafeteria.

June 29 -Five leading restaurants announced desegregation on July 1.

July 2 - 22 orderlies and domestic workers at hospital petitioned for improved employment benefits and end to policy of addressing them by first names.

July 4 - Mayor's bi-racial committee polled area employers re elimination of discrimination in employment. Hotel-motel and restaurant committees agreed to work together to accomplish additional desegregation; theatre committee announced progress but declined to name desegregated theatres.

July 6 - About 20 demonstrators (2 white) picketed for third day downtown cafeteria.

July 7 - Forsyth County Bar Association voted to admit Negro attorneys to membership.

A total of 46 restaurants have desegregated.

OKLAHOMA:

Oklahoma City -- June 23 - An amusement park where 51 persons were arrested in a racial demonstration opened today to both Negroes and whites. The owner said he had received numerous telephoned threats

SOUTH CAROLINA:

Anderson -- June 12 - City council repealed local ordinance prohibiting serving whites and Negroes at the same lunch counter, also agreed to hire Negro policemen and to the establishment of a bi-racial committee.

Charleston --July 3 - July 23 - An estimated 150 Negro demonstrators arrested on charges of obstructing traffic July 3 in the first mass arrest of anti-segregation demonstrators here in 1963.

Similar demonstrations had been occurring for more than a week, but this was first time Negroes had been marching at a slow step. Fire trucks were used July 16 to break up a crowd of 500 Negro demonstrators. Trucks called out after 4 policemen were injured by flying bricks in first racial violence during a month of protests; crowd scattered at sight of trucks and no fire hoses were used. S. C. Governor Donald Russell ordered state troopers into Charleston July 17, and alerted certain national guard units.

During a march by 175 Negroes through downtown area July 20, 3 Negro ministers and Wilhelmina Gantt, mother of Harvey Gantt, first Negro admitted to Clemson, were arrested. Meanwhile, white and Negro leaders reported that two bi-racial conferences held July 19, had proven helpful, though no settlement was reached. Sixty-two downtown merchants agreed July 23 to integrate their stores, but the move did not placate demonstration leaders who said the series of demonstrations which began 6 weeks ago would continue. "We don't know who these 62 merchants are," commented one leader, "they will have to let us know specifically who will integrate and who will not integrate."

In another development, it was announced June 27 that Catholic hospitals in Charleston and Columbia will accept Negro patients in the fall; all services will be available to them, hospital officials said. But Negro doctors will not be permitted to practice in these hospitals.

Columbia -- June 24-July 10 - The district office of the Internal Revenue Service here hired its fourth employee June 24. Governor Russell met with 5 white and 3 Negro members of the S. C. Advisory Committee to the Civil Rights Commission June 28. It was a closed door meeting, but 2 members indicated that a wide range of topics involving integration in S. C. was discussed.

July 7 - A white man began 30 days of hard labor for slapping a Negro girl who refused to move to the back of a bus.

Columbia (Cont'd)
July 10 - Federal Judge J. Robert Martin of Greenville S. C., ordered desegregation of all state parks.

Desegregation to take place 60 days hence. There is a possibility, however, that the parks will be closed; present state law forbids the operation of any park that is not segregated.

Florence -- June 30 - A 20-man bi-racial committee has been formed here to establish lines of communication between white and Negro leaders. Its formation was endorsed by 82 community leaders.

Greenville-- July 3 - The Greater Greenville Chamber of Commerce's board of directors urged the formation of a bi-racial committee, saying such a move should be taken in the best interests of local race relations.

Orangeburg-- June 28 - The president of the S. C. Municipal Association called upon Negroes to refrain from demonstrating and urged them to try to solve racial problems in each community in "good faith."

Richland County -- July 2 - Two Negroes were among 4 deputies hired by the Richland County sheriff's office. The 2 deputies are the first Negroes to be hired in Richland County.

Rock Hill June 12 - The Rock Hill Chamber of Commerce recommended immediate integration of all city businesses serving the general public; resolution passed unanimously by chamber's 15-member board of directors.

Sumter July 3 - The Carnegie Public Library here is now open to Negroes.

TENNESSEE:

Bolivar -- July 7 - A group of Hardeman County citizens met with Negroes from the County Improvement Assn. to discuss job opportunities and use of public facilities. Judge Max Frost told the group the jobs they were seeking are state and federal and that local citizens have no control over them.

Chattanooga--July 7-The Board of Directors of the Chattanooga Chamber of Commerce unanimously issued an appeal to "the owners of the firms doing business with the general public to provide ...equal treatment of all people."
July 9 -Officials announced that most of the city's leading restaurants, about 70%, had been or would be desegregated. This move was the result of negotiations that have been underway for weeks.

Knoxville -- July 3 - Approximately 50 Knoxville restaurants and cafeterias have agreed to desegregate their facilities voluntarily. The desegregation move was worked out by an executive group of the Committee for peaceful and orderly desegregation.

TEXAS

Amarillo -- June 23 - Approximately 40 Negroes worshipped in five white churches.

June 26 - After about 30 Negroes demonstrated before two downtown movie theaters, manager suggested they seek admission in smaller groups. They did, and were admitted.

Austin -- During June - Chamber of Commerce issued resolution recommending businesses integrate public rooms. Sixty-two (85%) of city's restaurants desegregated.

July 1 - Austin Ice Place desegregated - site of much picketing.

Baytown-- June 13 - Mayor Lee Liggett appointed 12-man (7 whites, 5 Negroes) biracial committee.

Beaumont -- During June - white Human Relations Council met with Negro counterpart with aim of ending racial discrimination in jobs. Many trade and craft unions integrated, some with Negro officials.

June 28 - city pool desegregated.

July 16 - white pastor named to Negro Congregational Church. Nearby Bastrop State Park integrated all facilities except pool during month, becoming first Texas State Park to desegregate .

Commerce -- During June - attempts by Negroes to use city pool failed.

Corpus Christi -- During June - restaurant association recommended integration, most members followed. Further integration of hotels, motels, bowling alleys urged by Negro leaders.

Corsicana -- Week June 26 - municipal lake and lake park integrated. City has biracial committee.

Dallas -- June 24 - one downtown movie desegregated, all others followed suit during the week. Community Relations Committee is biracial (7 Negro members), urged desegregation of city park facilities, including pools, which took place in late June.

July 17 - one white congregation voted to admit Negro worshippers.

Denton -- June 28 - City Commission passed formal resolution declaring all public facilities integrated, including library and hospital (there are no pools).

Fort Worth -- June 22 - 3-man (1 Negro) race relations committee announced all downtown hotels, restaurants, movies, athletic contests desegregated.

July 2 - unsuccessful attempts by Negroes to use 2 bowling alleys.

Houston -- Early July - biracial committee established, restaurants, hotels, theatres largely desegregated.

Lubbock -- June 12 - 72 cafe owners reported they had integrated their businesses.

Marshall -- Reportedly has one of state's oldest biracial commissions, no integration.

San Angelo --Hotels and restaurants on a schedule to desegregate within the year.

San Antonio -- June 26 - Negro pickets at City Hall pressing desegration ordinance. A July 4 deadline for voluntary desegregation of accommodations asked by 19-man biracial committee. By July 12 - 92% of motel rooms, 95% of hotel and restaurant space in compliance. All theatres, lunch counters, bowling alleys integrated. Fashionable stores began hiring Negro retail clerks.

Sherman -- Biracial ministerial alliance has helped open communications on employment opportunities.

Texarkana -- June 12 - More than 200 anti-integration demonstrators gathered near campus of Texarkana Junior College, burned crosses, and were dispersed by police, when first two Negro students were admitted.

Texas City-- July 3 - City Commission appointed biracial committee.

Tyler -- Week July 1 - biracial committee appointed to discuss integration of parks and pools.

Waco -- Week June 17 - After Chamber of Commerce-appointed businessmen's committee met with Negro leaders, at least 4 leading restaurants desegregated. County (McLennan) has hired its first Negro deputy sheriff. At least two churches have publicly announced they are open to all.

VIRGINIA

Alexandria -- Two swimming pools were desegregated in May by City Council edict, and four movie theatres quietly desegregated at end of May, before court ruling on public accommodations June 27.

Arlington -- June 17 - Four movie theatres desegregated.

Charlottesville -- July 2-7 - stores have dropped color bar in employment; 8 restaurants and at least one theatre have desegregated.

Clifton Forge -- July 3 - City's only movie theatre integrated quietly at midnight showing.

Covington -- July 17 - formation of biracial committee postponed by City Council.

Danville -- July 3-20 - On July 3, the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth substituted for the Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and denounced temporary injunction against unruly demonstrations. He urged Negroes to test it with peaceful demonstrations.

July 5 - picketing began of stores, city hall, home of president of Dan River Mills and of Mayor and continued through 20th. 101 were arrested during height of demonstrations, July 10 - 13. Boycott of products of Dan River Mills announced.

July 11 - Mass demonstrations began with renewed fervor after address by Rev. M. L. King, Jr., and 106 Negroes registered to vote during two-day period. Positions on both sides of controversy hardened. City Council endorsed Mayor Stinson's refusal to appoint biracial committee and passed new parade ordinance to curb demonstrations.

July 14 - Negro paratrooper, in full uniform and carrying American flag, arrested for picketing Mayor Stinson's home; listed as AWOL at Ft. Bragg.

Danville - continued

July 17 - In related action, the New York offices of Dan River Mills was picketed.

Meanwhile, families of jailed demonstrators began receiving food and clothing from as far away as California and New York. More than 200 had been arrested in past six weeks; 100 were still in jail. 11 who took part in demonstrations were declared ineligible for unemployment compensation; some others lost their jobs.

July 20-26 - more demonstrators were arrested following shooting incident involving patrol car night of July 19.

Legal Developments -- June 27 - July 19 - On June 27 Negro attorney Len W. Holt (of Norfolk) spent night in jail after arrest for inciting riot in recent demonstrations. His bond was set at $5,000. Mr. Holt was among 13 Negro leaders indicted by grand jury for participation in the riots; 11 are in jail. Bonds now total $146,450 for those arrested during demonstrations of past month. This figure does not include any bonds posted for cases in juvenile court.

On June 26 Harold J. Flannery, a Justice Department attorney, had conferred at length with Mayor Stinson seeking commitments on city employment of Negroes. Later, Stinson charged Flannery with "veiled threats and vague promises."

July 2 - The Justice Department supported more than 100 Negro citizens in seeking to transfer their trials from a Danville city court to the U. S. District Court in Charlottesville. Both attempted removal of the cases from local court and the decision to file a "friend of the court" brief strongly supporting this move were described by a government attorney as "without recent precedent." Negro leaders have charged that during recent racial tension Danville Judge Archibald M. Aiken has usually appeared in public with a large revolver at his belt, and has taken a personal hand in attempting to disperse crowds of Negroes. Negroes also have complained that Judge Aiken has lined his courtroom with as many as 40 uniformed policemen during trials of demonstrators, and that he has ordered Negro attorneys (both male and female) searched for weapons upon entering his court. Judge Thomas J.

Michie of the U. S. District Court for Western District of Virginia received the petition and was expected to announce his decision this week. Meanwhile, on same day, Judge Michie granted the city's request for a temporary restraining order against any acts of violence or violation of city laws over the July 4 weekend, when Rev. M. L. King Jr. scheduled to address a rally. Michie said injunction did not bar rally to hear King speak; permit for a parade was withdrawn.

July 5 - City Judge Aiken extended his anti-demonstration injunction from July 6 to July 29.

July 10 - U. S. Judge Michie advised he would return cases to city court and would lift temporary order restraining demonstrations.

July 19 - City officials conferred with Gov. Harrison and state legal authorities.

July 23 - U. S. Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals notified City no ruling to be made before September 23 on injunction barring racial demonstrations. Municipal Court trials began for 12 persons.

Falls Church -- June 17 - a movie theatre desegregated.

Front Royal -- Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Harrisonburg --Howard Johnson's desegregated, mid-April.

Leesburg -- June 25-July 1 - Orderly picketing of theatres began and continued several nights.

June 29 - Pitts Tally-ho Theatre opened its doors to Negroes and Casey's Diner (under construction in shopping center) announced it would serve all persons. Picketing continued at swimming pool.

July 1 - Bowling center desegregated recently.

Lynchburg -- July 17 - Negro group asked U. S. Justice Department to investigate charges of brutality by Lynchburg police in the arrest of 5 Negro girls July 13, and charged police with brutality in arrest of Negro woman on June 6. It was declared that metal "claws" were used during arrests and caused swollen areas on girls' arms.

Martinsville -- July 17 - City Council tabled proposal by Martinsville-Henry County Civil League for a biracial committee.

Newport News -- Biracial committee in operation since June.

Norfolk -- June 26-July 2 - Negro leaders indicated possibility of demonstrations in wake of Norfolk County Council's rejection of 4-point petition for broad racial integration. City Council designated 25-member biracial committee, originally charged with studying re-development and planning, as its biracial problems body.

July 2 - Ocean View Amusement Park desegregated. Citizens Advisory Committee invited Negro Leaders to present grievances. Subcommittees were appointed to deal with special problems.

Petersburg -- July 17 - City Council sanctioned formation of biracial commission; it has no official connection with city government.

Radford -- June 25-27 - member biracial committee named.

Richmond -- June 25-July 10 - On June 25 a Negro was wounded by a shot from a passing car; he said it was occupied by two white boys.

July 6 - Six of 28 fire companies to be integrated, and all-Negro unit dispersed.

July 7 - The Rev. Robert W. Hare (white) preached his first sermon as pastor of a Negro Presbyterian church.

July 10 - City Council approved formation of biracial committee and received proposed ordinance which could lower racial barriers at city's six park houses. Mayor Eleanor Sheppard promised to appoint committee "as quickly as possible." A Citizens Advisory Committee will discuss desegregation with motel and hotel operators.

Roanoke -- July 4 - City is considering niring Negro firemen. Mayor M.A. Stroller said it appeared unlikely repairs could be made to Washington Park (Negro neighborhood)swimming pool in time for it to be used this summer.

Roanoke - continued

July 7-14 - firms voluntarily dropped discrimination in hiring policies.

July 17 - Mayor Stroller said he would move July 22 to have Roanoke's last ordinance requiring segregation stricken from books. The law required separate seating on buses.

Suffolk -- June 28 - The Rev. M. L. King spoke to cheering crowd of 5,000; no demonstrations occurred. Following day statewide pilgrimage to Danville announced for July 3 to protest arrests of demonstrators.

Virginia Beach -- June 29 - Majority of hotels, restaurants, motels, and movie theatres have quietly dropped racial barriers.

Waynesboro -- Howard Johnson's desegregated in mid-April.

Winchester -- June 25 - Negro leaders conducting public relations campaign for Negro job opportunities.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
- Birmingham
- Gadsden
- Huntsville

ARKANSAS:
- Hot Springs
- Pine Bluff

FLORIDA:
- Cocoa
- Fort Myers
- Gainesville
- Orlando
- St. Augustine
- Tallahassee
- Winter Park

GEORGIA:
- Atlanta
- Augusta
- Cordele
- Macon

LOUISIANA:
- New Orleans

KENTUCKY:
- Bowling Green
- Danville
- Frankfort
- Hopkinsville
- Paducah

MISSISSIPPI:
- Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Charlotte
- Durham
- Gastonia
- Greensboro
- Hickory
- Mount Airy
- Raleigh
- Roxboro
- Salisbury
- Winston-Salem

OKLAHOMA:
- Oklahoma City

SOUTH CAROLINA:
- Anderson
- Charleston

TENNESSEE:
- Chattanooga
- Knoxville

TEXAS:
- Amarillo
- Austin
- Beaumont
- Corpus Christi
- Corsicana
- Dallas
- Denton
- Fort Worth
- San Antonio
- Waco

VIRGINIA:
- Charlottesville
- Clifton Forge
- Leesburg
- Norfolk
- Richmond
- Roanoke
- Virginia Beach

SUMMARY

CITIES WHERE THERE HAS BEEN PROTEST ACTIVITY: JUNE 24 - JULY 24

ALABAMA:
- Talladega

ARKANSAS:
- Little Rock

FLORIDA:
- Bradenton
- Ocala
- St. Augustine
- St. Petersburg
- Tallahassee

GEORGIA:
- Albany
- Americus
- Atlanta
- Columbus
- Savannah

LOUISIANA:
- Baton Rouge
- Shreveport

MISSISSIPPI:
- Clarksdale
- Greenville
- Greenwood

NORTH CAROLINA:
- Chapel Hill
- Fayetteville
- Goldsboro
- Henderson
- New Bern
- Oxford
- Raleigh
- Thomasville
- Williamston
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA:
- Charleston

TEXAS:
- Amarillo
- Austin
- Commerce
- Fort Worth
- San Antonio

VIRGINIA:
- Danville
- Leesburg
- Lynchburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JUNE 24:

1,323

G.W. Please return
NORM

SEP 16 1963

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
September 5, 1963

THE CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS: A SYNOPSIS OF RECENT DEVELOPMENT, III*

This synopsis of racial protest and reaction in the South covers the period of July 24-August 28, 1963. It also includes events since April 1, 1963, not carried in the first or second synopses, dated June 26, 1963, and July 26, 1963, respectively. It is neither a press release nor a detailed analysis of recent events. It is meant to serve only as background information. Additional data or corrections are invited.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

July 26 - Defense Secretary McNamara issued off-limits directive: "Every military commander has the responsibility to oppose discriminatory practices affecting his men and their dependents and to foster equal opportunity for them, not only in areas under his immediate control, but also in nearby communities where they may live or gather in off-duty hours." Local commanders must secure permission from the civilian service secretaries before invoking off-limits restrictions on racial grounds.

August 8 - The Defense Department made public a memorandum dated June 17 stating that all morticians holding armed forces contracts have been advised their contracts will not be valid in the event of racial discrimination.

August 28 - Police estimate 210,000 persons from a majority of the 50 states gathered in the Capitol to march briefly and hear leaders' speeches in affirmation of rights for Negroes.

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* This is principally compiled from newspaper sources.

ALABAMA

Birmingham - July 24 - (The day following city's repeal of its segregation ordinances) Two Negro youths arrested for attempting to enter a movie theatre and refusing to leave when requested. July 30 - 6 downtown variety and department store lunch counters integrated. July 31 - 4 white men arrested protest-picketing desegregated lunch counters;and 7 stores in 3 suburban shopping centers integrated eating facilities.

August 6 - The American Guild of Variety Artists Shows for Freedom - an integrated cast and program - held benefit performance for integrated audience at Miles College (use of city auditorium denied).

August 15 - Homemade tear gas bomb explodes in recently integrated department store.

August 20 - Disorder in the streets between an estimated 2000 Negroes and police follows the bombing of a Negro Attorney's home.

Gadsden - Atmosphere of tense quiet reinforced by presence of 100 state troopers in town until July 19 when downtown marches resumed with 15 arrests, Negroes charging state troopers with harsh treatment of demonstrators during subsequent week. August 3 - Approximately 700 marchers staged city's largest anti-segregation demonstration to date, over 300 arrests and use of electric cattle prods reported. August 4 - Over 100 Negroes sang in protest outside city jail. August 5 - 14 arrested seeking lunch counter service.

August 22 - 4 Prominent actors (white) fly in for church rally. City buses reportedly desegregated since late July.

Huntsville - August 8 - Representatives of 40 industrial firms with government contracts form Association and issue statement in compliance with the Equal Employment Opportunity Program.

Linden - June 29 - Baptist pastor resigns his church rather than "tear it up" over his support of granting membership to Negroes, should they apply.

Macon County - August 17 - Hires its first Negro deputy sheriff.

Mobile - July 26 - Negro leaders charge in telegram to Justice Department that a Negro army sergeant was arrested and beaten for seeking lunch counter service the day before.

ALABAMA (Cont'd)

Mobile (cont'd) - August 15 - Negroes file a petition with City Commission asking desegregation of public facilities and passage of anti-discrimination public accommodation ordinance.

July 26 - State Supreme Court refused to review Alabama Court of Appeals conviction of 11 clergymen arrested during May, 1961, Freedom Rides. The 11 have alternative of submitting to sentence ($100 fine, 10 days in jail) or appeal before federal judiciary.

Montgomery - August 3 - Police Department announces plan to employ 3 Negro policewomen as school crossing guards.

Selma - August 2 - Voter registration worker arrested on "false identity" charge ($500 bond set) 6 days before scheduled to testify at Justice Department hearings on voter intimidation.

Tuskegee County - August 13 - Hires Negro deputy sheriff.

ARKANSAS

Fort Smith - Defense Department* telegraphed by local civil rights organization that city recreational facilities and public accommodations unavailable to Negro servicemen at nearby Fort Chaffee.

Hot Springs - Following 12 weeks of negotiations, as of July 17 most theatres, restaurants, and lunch counters desegregated. By August 3, additional facilities, including thermal bath houses, following suit.

Little Rock - July - Included in a White Citizens Council boycott of desegregated facilities has been the Arkansas Travellers (have a star Negro outfielder) baseball park. (Gov. Faubus attended opening.)
August 6 - Parade of about 25 around a motel protesting wages, working conditions of Negro employees.

Marion - July 17 - Negro youth suspected of rape shot by whites; sheriff's office later reported no rape; as of July 27 FBI investigating death.

* Pertinent to Defense Department directive, see page 1.

ARKANSAS (Cont'd)

Pine Bluff - July 24 - small-scale demonstrations resumed by youths after 3-month truce. A cafeteria desegregated. July 28 - August 7 - at least 5 separate demonstrations at segregated drive-in hamburger stand resulted in 62 arrests.

August 1 - 25 arrested in protest at main library over refusal to issue cards (Negroes had used Negro branch, been permitted to borrow from main library only non-fiction unavailable at Negro branch). August 5 - library announces "open to all" policy.

August 4 - Approximately 25 anti-segregation demonstrators marched at Arkansas AM&N College during Governor Faubus' appearance.

FLORIDA

Clearwater - Although all the city's public facilities have desegregated, on at least three occasions in July (14 and 21) swimming parties of Negroes have been advised to leave the public beach when whites threatened disorders .

As of August 1 - at least 4 restaurants desegregated.

Fort Lauderdale -

August 3 - Announcement made of desegregation by 47 members of the Restaurant Association; also, theatres and drive-ins. Police Department actively recruiting Negro officer trainees. Has 22-man biracial committee appointed in late May.

Jacksonville - July 22 - Picketing for Negro employment begun at Southern Bell.

July 24 - Negro leaders considering mass demonstrations after a year of little action via Chamber of Commerce's Committee on racial relations.

August 3 - 12 department and clothing stores hire Negroes.

Miami - Week of July 8 - Roosevelt Savings and Loan Association (board of directors - 7 whites, 5 Negroes) opens, reportedly first state-chartered integrated institution of its kind in South.

July 28 - Police Department integrated as "Negro precinct" abolished.

Miami (cont'd) - August 1-3 - Picketing at drive-in theatre protesting fence between Negro and white entrances. Manager announces all entrances open to all.

August 10 - Picketing of ice cream stand results in its closing, pickets sued.

Miami Beach - July 21-26 - Orderly groups numbering 20-30 picketed National Governor's Conference with signs urging integration.

Ocala - July 20-21 - Total of 46 arrested demonstrating in protest over jailing of leader who had launched restaurant picketing June 29. During previous week a biracial committee automatically disbanded when mayor resigned. While 5 chain store lunch counters desegregated, further picketing recommenced July 23. On July 25 jailed leader charges police brutality; police request mental competency examination (found competent July 26). As picketing continued, on the night of July 27 a Negro leader's home was fired into with a shotgun. July 30 - 21 pickets arrested, adult leadership joins demonstrators for first time July 31, pledge to continue. Arrests total 111 after 2½ weeks.

Orlando - July 23 - City Commission (acting on recommendation of city's interracial committee) votes to desegregate all city owned facilities except pools.

Panama City - July 20 - Total of 35 arrested picketing motels and restaurants.

August 1 - Negro leadership notifies Defense Department* that local public accommodations are denied Negro service personnel from Tyndall Air Force Base and Navy Mine Defense Laboratory.

Pinellas County -

July 23 - Biracial Committee elected four standing subcommitties to deal with executive matters, education, employment, and public accommodations.

St. Augustine -

Demonstrations for integration of accommodations and facilities continuous and peaceful from late June until week of July 15 when police began arresting juveniles and refusing to release them in custody of parents if latter refused to prevent them from demonstrating; threatened sending them to deliquents' home.
July 23 - Crowd of 300 gathered at jail to protest action.

St. Augustine - (cont'd)

July 25 - Jail demonstration repeated, 5 arrested trying to force release of prisoners.

St. Petersburg -

July 30 - Theatre picketing suspended pending a attempt at negotiated desegregation. A cafe which serves Negroes through a side window but denies access to main entrance picketed.

Tampa - July 20 - Members of Merchants Association announce training course designed to prepare 30 Negro applicants for sales positions September 1. August 5-6 - peaceful picketing at cafeteria, 3 arrests.

GEORGIA

State Action - August 1 - First Negro admitted to National Guard since 1905.

Albany - July 23 - Bullets fired into headquarters of student civil rights group.

During July - An Episcopal church announced it is "a house of prayer for all people" and that Negroes have attended.

Week of July 26 - Negro railroad flagman shot in back by a white Marine. Federal Appeals Court ruled city police cannot enforce segregation in publicly owned or regulated facilities.

August 6 - Federal grand jury indicts 9 persons previously active in local protest nvolvement on charges of conspiring against a white grocer who as a juror had voted against a Negro plaintiff in a federal suit: 3 for obstructing justice; 6 for perjury.

Americus - July 26 - Protest - marchers singing attempts to enter - aimed at only downtown movie theatre (segregated) and some lunch counters have been continuous since mid-June, arrests steady. After an August 9 mass meeting Negroes marched downtown, there was some disorder, use of hoses. As of August 17, an estimated 120 had been arrested in a month, no solutions arrived at.

Athens - July 30 - Demonstrations protesting segregated movies commenced here and one theatre admitted Negroes, continued through August 2 when 2 restaurants, 2 hotels desegregated, 5 arrests.

Athens - (cont'd)

August 6 - 138 arrested in protest march on city hall. New city ordinance prohibits more than 5 Negroes in one block at one time. August 9 - 2 advisory committees (white-15, Negro-10) appointed by and meeting with mayor. August 25 - A Baptist and a Methodist church each admitted Negroes to worship. August 26 - Picketing recommenced with 6 arrests.

Atlanta - July 26 - Several weeks concentrated picketing one segregated restaurant climaxed with arrest of 13 who sat down in street, were fined and started serving sentences July 29, released August 2. August 2 - Fulton County Grand Jury, following charge of Fulton Superior Court judge, returned indictments on 75 arrested in violation of Georgia's anti-trespass law. Estimated sit-in arrests April 27 to date: 116. Anti-integration pickets appearing regularly at 3 or 4 restaurants. Some restaurants reportedly resegregated.

August 5 - Approximately 250 Negroes peacefully marched to city hall largely in protest over poor city maintenance facilities in Negro neighborhoods.

August 28 - White pastor arrested during attempts to integrate church in June receives maximum misdemeanor sentence.

Employment protests: picketing has been continuous at Southern Bell. Picketing of Coca Cola Company threatened, has not materialized. Picketing of 4 liquor stores halted altogether August 27 as owners agree to employ Negroes.

Baxley - July 28 - Mississippi Governor Barnett discussed civil rights at a beauty pageant.

Calhoun - August 10 - Hires first Negro policeman.

Columbus - July 18 - Negro leadership agrees to suspend demonstrations (previously at pools, parks, libraries, schools) pending negotiations. July 22 - City Commission created biracial advisory committee (6 Negroes, 14 whites). August 14 - City hires first Negro policeman in 5 years, announces future employment of 3 more. August 21 - Full library desegregation announced for September 1.

Decatur - July 28 - Christian Church minister preached "The time has come for every congregation in the Atlanta area to declare unequivocably that the church...must be open to all of God's children without restriction."

August 3 - Attempts to integrate lunch counters (successful) and movie (unsuccessful) and to swim at 2 DeKalb County pools. August 6 - Negro leaders met with County Commissioners to discuss grievances.

Fitzgerald - July 27 and 29 - Negroes attempted to use public library on 2 occasions, 21 arrests on the latter date.

Savannah - August 1 - Accord reached over October 1 desegregation of some motels, hotels, bowling alleys, and theatres and suspension of demonstrations for 60 days. Only one arrest made - August 7 - of demonstrators who reportedly eluded arrest during June-July protests. Also August 7--50 Negroes convicted on varying charges arising out of previous protests.

Terrell County -

August 19 - Demonstrators arrested in Americus (Sumter County) reportedly being held at Terrell County Work Camp, one of the state prison facilities officially closed following clean-up in May.

Valdosta - July 28 - 18 Negroes arrested protesting segregated movie theatre. July 29 - 2 carloads of white youths who tried to force a car of Negroes off the road sentenced in court. July 31 - Mayor plans to form biracial committee.

KENTUCKY -

Hazard - July 25 - Reports all its recreational facilities (pool closed since 1959) desegregated.

Henderson - July 26 - 5 of 13 pickets seeking restaurant desegregation arrested.

Lexington - July 24-August 2 - Several small scale demonstrations and a city hall march, all without incident, culminated on the latter date with the arrest of 9 sitting in a department store aisle protesting discriminatory employment. August 3 - Judge dismissed charges.

LOUISIANA -

Baton Rouge -

July 25, 26 - Picketing City Park and pool without incident until August 3 when some disorder in attempts to enter pool, 5 arrests.

Baton Rouge - (cont'd)

August 1 - 3 Negro policemen commence duties.

August 6 - Lunch counters at 13 downtown retail stores and in 2 suburban shopping plazas desegregated.

Belle Chasse -

August 10 - Plaquemines Parish Council president Leander Perez urges children of Navy personnel at nearby Collendar Field be barred from parish schools and adult personnel from parish public accommodations, in response to Defense Department directive (page 1).

Buras - August 27 - Catholic school which had attempted to integrate in fall, 1962, shattered by midnight explosion, its third.

Clinton - August 2 - White voter registration worker arrested at courthouse while assisting Negroes in registering.

New Iberia - August 3 - White man charged with kidnapping and intimidating 2 Negro employees of Sanitation Department (which had recently hired 3 Negroes for the first time).

New Orleans -

August 1 - Federal court orders desegregation of city's 106 recreational facilities and on August 8 upheld desegregation of the luxury restaurant and cocktail lounge at the airport (only coffee shop and snack bar previously integrated).

August 1- Firemen doused a burning cross on statue of former Supreme Court Chief Justice Edward Douglas White.

August 8 - Angry groups of whites and Negroes scuffling in parks dispersed twice by police.

July 21 - At nearby Lake Pontchartrain Beach 8 persons unsuccessfully sought access to private amusement park.

Plaquemine -

Mid-July - Start of fairly continuous chain store picketing. July 26 - White man arrested for tearing down "white" and "colored" signs at Iberville Parish courthouse restrooms and water fountains. July 29-August 3 - Week-long voter registration clinic.

August 11 - 25 arrested seeking desegregated seating aboard a Mississippi River ferryboat. August 19 - Police permitted one downtown march, turned tear gas on the second wave, and arrested 16. Downtown marches continued August 20-22, with over 200 arrests. City obtained anti-picketing injunction.

August 25 - 2 white churches admit Negroes, 2 turn them away.

Shreveport - July 20 - Following several days of lunch counter sit-ins, 12 arrests, police patrolled downtown, arrested 4. July 22 - Local Negro minister arrested (he had not participated in sit-ins). On August 6 Negroes presented city council with list of grievances, and second formal request for biracial committee.

Rayville - July 31-August 1 - During the night a total of 45 crosses burned throughout Richland Parish.

MISSISSIPPI -

Clarksdale -

July 30 - Largest protest demonstration to date results in arrest of 52, including Negro leader whose wife was dismissed in the past month from her teaching job with the Coahoma Board of Education. July 31 - 15 more marchers arrested. (In both cases, small groups were parading separately.)

August 8 - An interdenominational group of ministers from other parts of the country tried without success to call upon the city government, effect a resolution of differences.

Greenville -

July 17 - 4 sat-in at drugstore counter, without success or incident. July 20 - After obtaining parade permit, a group of 16 held orderly downtown march calling for boycott of stores on their placards. August 3 - 21 persons paraded again.

Greenwood - August 6 - A total of 50 Negroes staged a "vote-in": appearing at city hall in groups of 5, they filed affidavits protesting their omission from poll lists, and cast ballots.

Jackson - July 17 - In first anti-segregation in over a month, 12 Negro youths arrested attempting to integrate 2 city parks. July 19 - Over 150 attempted night march downtown, were stopped by police, who made no arrests. July 24 - 10 arrested parading before city hall. July 27 - 14 demonstrators arrested at 3 different sites.

August 9 - 5 additional Negro policemen hired (1 hired earlier). On same day 11 teenagers protesting before department stores arrested.

McComb - July 27 - Group of Negroes asked to leave white railroad station waiting room, refused lunch counter service in city's first racial demonstration since 1961.

Ruleville - August 6 - 3 Negroes arrested for "unlawfully attempting to procure registration."

NORTH CAROLINA

Ahoskie -- July 22-28 - Negro and white preachers jointly conduct week-long, nightly series of integrated services and meetings.

Asheboro -- August 2-5 - Two movies integrated on consecutive nights, following which loitering white (4) and Negro (4) youths involved in dispute, shotgun fired, all arrested. Police chief termed it "hoodlum trouble, not racial trouble."

Chapel Hill --July 14-August 9 -- Continuation of daily marches of 100 or more demonstrators resulting in first mass arrests (34 on July 19) in the city. Committee for Open Business is organizing marches and picketing to urge passage of public accommodations ordinance by town council. (14 stores maintain segregation.)

Charlotte -- July 22 - Municipal clerical staff integrated with hiring of Negro billing clerk.

Dunn -- July 17 - Bi-racial Human Relations Committee named by mayor held first meeting.

July 18, - Pickets at supermarket and funeral home reported struck by cars.

July 25 - One arrest for picketing without permit.

August 5 - Cross burned before business of Negro member of Committee.

August 7-16 - Twenty arrests (including local leader) for sit-ins and picketing at cafe, bakery.

Durham -- In July a school for retail sales clerks established as part of Negro training program.

Elizabeth City -- Week of July 8 - First two Negro policemen employed.

July 19 - Mayor appoints 18-member bi-racial committee.

Enfield -- August 7 - Restaurant picketed, 11 arrests. (Earlier anti-segregation demonstrations at town's only movie resulted in its closing.)

Goldsboro -- Early August - Demonstrations which were halted in late June pending action from bi-racial committee resumed, leaders charging some establishments had resegregated

August 7- Thirty-two arrests out of 300 demonstrators included personnel from nearby Seymour Johnson Air Force Base.

August 9-12 - At least 209 arrested during city's greatest display of protest (over 400 persons per march).

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Greensboro -- July 25 - Announcement made of desegregation of 41 restaurants (25% of total seating capacity, 30 of 41 integrated prior to recent protests), 4 theatres, all bowling alleys.

July 30 - Human Relations Commission appointed 6 sub-committees on recreation, hotels and motels, employment, eating places, education, and progress and information.

Havelock -- July 25 - Approximately 95% of merchants agreed to desegregate, forestalling threatened demonstrations and following protest to Defense Department (Havelock is near Cherry Point Marine Air Station).

Henderson -- July 17 - Vance County commissioners reject Negroes' petition for public accommodation ordinance and school and employment integration.

High Point -- July 27 - March protesting segregated movies cancelled when Mayor agrees to confer with theatre owners.

July 30 - Bi-racial Committee announces desegregation of all lunch counters (most motels, hotels and restaurants integrated early in July), public facilities including pools, and appointment of Negro to civic service commission to insure merit employment.

August 24 - During singing march of 50 persons, 15 arrested.

Hillsboro -- August 1 - Bi-racial committee (5 Negroes, 5 whites) held first meeting.

Lexington -- July 14-18 - After 200 staged protest march, swimming pool desegregated, then damaged by vandals unknown. Re-opened integrated when repaired.

August 1-10 - Daily picketing at movie theatre, 26 arrests.

August 20 - Three Negroes indicted on murder charges in connection with a death during June 6 riot. Police have several times dispersed crowds outside jail where the prisoners are held.

Monroe -- July 30 - Three integration leaders report their car was fired upon by four other cars.

Mount Airy -- August 3-4 - Thirty-Seven Negroes arrested in two sit-in protests at drugstore lunch counters, which are desegregated but will not serve groups of Negroes.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

New Bern -- Late July demonstrations at segregated drive-in during which 9 Negro Marines (from nearby Cherry Point) were arrested prompted wires to Defense Department*, investigation by Justice Department, and mayor's plan to name bi-racial committee.

Oxford -- Early August - Picketing of firms protesting discriminatory hiring. Bi-racial committee is active.

Raleigh -- July 12 - Cross burned (second this summer in North Carolina), before home of woman assisting in interracial project.

July 27 - State's Young Democratic Club shifts summer meeting from segregated to desegregated hotel.

Rockingham -- July 13 - Mayor appoints City Council-approved, bi-racial Good Neighbor Committee (4 whites, 3 Negroes).

Rocky Mount --Week of July 8 - Restaurant picketing peaceful and simultaneous with Negro leaders-businessmen negotiations. Some restaurants and municipal facilities, including pools, desegregated.

Statesville --August 5-6 - Attempts by Negroes to use city pool prompt its closing.

Thomasville-- July 18 - Shot fired into Negro church during rally.

August 19 - First meeting of bi-racial committee held. Desegregation of movie theatre is principal demand.

Williamston --July 30-August 1 - Twenty-eight arrested during picketing and marches which climaxed a month of demonstrations (approximately 200 persons per day), aimed at restaurants, pool (now closed), and library.

August 2 - Arrival of Governor's race relations troubleshooter produced truce and talks between bi-racial committee and city leaders.

August 6 - City employment practices integrated and race signs removed from municipal facilities. Commissioners claim they lack authority to desegregate library (private) and pool (leased to private operator).

Wilmington -- During July - Pool integrated.

Wilson -- July 13 - City Commission agrees to remove race signs from municipal facilities.

NORTH CAROLINA (Continued)

Winston-Salem --July 13 - After arrest of 55 persons July 12, protesting at cafeterias, Negro leaders suspend demonstrations pending negotiated desegregation.

July 23 - August 4 - Picketing of cafeteria resumed and continued daily after one in the chain desegregated, with 50 arrests. On some evenings during this period there were singing marches through downtown to the jail.

August 6-7 - Nighttime prayer marches to city hall.

August 8 - Demonstrations suspended by Negroes to allow businesses to desegregate "without pressure."

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City--July 24 - Private amusement park resegregated after a month of integrated operation.

August 24 - Negro youths attempted to attend Services at 20 churches and were turned away at 3.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Statewide -- August 20 - Forestry Commission announces all state parks to be closed September 8 in avoidance of court ordered integration by September 10.

Anderson -- July 31 - City had its first racial incident in 18 months when white men attacked 2 Negroes who were among 50 being served at 8 formerly segregated lunch counters.

Charleston --July 29 - Following some lapses in demonstrations while businessmen negotiated with Negro leaders, protests, currently over unwillingness of some merchants who will integrate to identify themselves, entered eighth week. By August 3, 107 merchants publically agreed to extend equal courtesies to Negro and white customers and commence equal hiring practices; selective picketing of others which have not has continued.

August 7 - USO announces it will integrate August 15, substituting arts and crafts, discussion groups, etc., for hostesses.

Columbia -- August 27 -Dynamite explosion at Henri Monteith's home.

Florence -- August 2 - City's month-old bi-racial committee and city officials under attack from Citizen's Council.

Orangeburg-- August 2-3 - Picketing of chain grocers and sit-ins at restaurants took place without arrests.

Sumter -- July 19 - The city which has been without racial demonstrations in 2 years witnessed prayer groups at city hall and courthouse.

Sumter (Continued) - July 22-26 - Chain and variety stores picketed all week, climaxed July 26 and July 27 by nighttime marches of 100 to 200 persons.

August 6 - Fifty-two downtown paraders arrested in the afternoon, 300 marched without incident in the evening. Mayor has announced he will meme a liaison committee to meet with Negro representatives.

Whitmire -- August 9 - Mayor reports town has been placed off limits to nearby military personnel (Swift Strike III maneuvers) after several Negro soldiers refused to leave a poolroom when asked to.

TENNESSEE

Statewide -- July 30 - State parks' director discloses all state parks have been integrated without announcement during the summer season.

Brownsville-- August 3 - Twelve demonstrators routed from courthouse by police using fire hoses, 1 arrest. (Haywood County has bi-racial committee.)

Chattanooga --August 5 - When denied admission to pool owned by city and leased to private operater, 8 Negroes picketed the facility without incident.

Humboldt -- July 21 - Bi-racial Committee announces the library is desegregated.

August 1 - Thirty-six arrested during march.

Jackson -- July 21 - After unsuccessful presentation to 150 business leaders of Negroes' petition for desegregation of public facilities, integration leaders have urged a boycott.

Knoxville -- August 4 - Three hospitals (Baptist, Presbyterian, and Catholic) announced their simultaneous desegregation during previous week.

Nashville -- July 30 - Federal district court ruled against segregation in private businesses in government-financed renewal areas (case involved a Nashville motel which voluntarily desegregated a month ago).

August 15 - Druggist Association votes to integrate all drugstore lunch counters.

Oak Ridge -- July 27-28 - Laundromat which has denied service to Negroes picketed.

Somerville -- July 20-26 - Week of protest saw marches, sit-ins, 110 Negro students leaving school, 43 arrests, crowds dispersed by smoke bombs, and ended with establishment of 10:00 p. m. curfew.

TEXAS

Austin -- July 29 - Integration leader spent 24-hour vigil in Governor's office seeking appointment, which was granted. Conference fell through when other leaders wished to attend. Picketing of Governor's mansion continued on through August 7. Negroes are protesting his anti-civil rights bill testimony.

Dallas -- July 20 - Negro attempting to be served in segregated cafe, slashed with broken bottle when he refused to leave.

August 4 - City's racially-mixed South Oak Cliff area launches (white sponsorship of 5 churches) neighborhood program to promote community development and inter-racial cooperation.

La Porte -- August 5 - City Council votes to establish bi-racial committee to study desegregation of public facilities.

Galveston --August 16 - County Commissioners appointing county-wide (Galveston) bi-racial committee to deal with desegregation in all unincorporated areas.

VIRGINIA

Statewide --August 6 - Commanders at Camp Pickett (Nottoway Co.), Camp A. P. Hill (Caroline Co.), and Ft. Lee (Prince George Co.) have been directed by Defense Department to report by August 30 what steps they have taken to comply with late July order that they advise military personnel of their legal right to send children to integrated schools.

Danville -- July 25 - August 28 - With minor exceptions demonstrations have subsided as last of jailed civil rights leaders released, 100 remain jailed, and over 300 await court hearing on charges of violating temporary anti-demonstration injunction.

July 28 - Seventy-seven were arrested during midtown march and observing newsmen threatened with jail if they did not leave scene.

July 29 - Negro leader arrested at 4:00 a. m. and brought to court barefoot and wearing bathrobe. Injunction, to have expired on this date, extended on day-to-day basis.

July 31 - 275 appear on appeal from lower court convictions.

August 2 - Court made permanent previous temporary injunction. Negro leaders have turned to pushing voter registration (400 registered July 11-August 5).

August 5 - Trials of demonstrators moved to 6 state courts outside Danville.

August 6 - Nine arrested for lying down in street.

August 7 - Trial of demonstrators declared mistrial.

Danville (Continued)

August 8 - Federal court enjoined city from trying demonstrators pending September ruling on validity of city law. City continues arrests, 7 on this date.

August 9 - City officials begin receiving "freedom"phone calls.

August 10 - Three picketed without incident.

August 13 - A city Councilman offers resolution for a bi-racial committee.

August 15 - Out of several groups of pickets, 6 arrested for not walking far enough apart.

Farmville --July 25-August 1 - First protest action since June sit-ins began with downtown march of 60, followed by daily demonstrations for a week with 33 arrests.

August 3 - Demonstrators paraded despite denial of permit, 12 arrested.

August 5 and 7 - 25-35 secured permit and picketed without incident.

August 10 - Fifty paraded with permit for area slightly outside downtown. Subsequent protests have followed same pattern

Fredericksburg -- August 6 - City Council names 4 Negroes, 4 whites to new bi-racial commission on race relations.

Lynchburg --August 1 - FBI clears city police of brutality charged in July 13 arrest of 5 sit-in demonstrators, who were given suspended sentences.

Manassas -- August 14 - Over 20 restaurants and the only theatre in the area agree to desegregate following Chamber of Commerce Committee's negotiations with owners.

Norfolk -- July 23 - Citizens Advisory Committee (bi-racial) announces that over 75% of motels and hotels agree to integrate.

Petersburg --August 8 - Police department hires first Negro patrolman.

Portsmouth--July 31 - Mayor intercepted group of Negroes enroute to sit-in at restaurant, promised further desegregation (10 establishments agreed to integrate previous week), from talks with businessmen, and denied need for bi-racial committee.

Richmond-- August 3 - Additional 17 restaurants desegregated, since June 18 (when 35 agreed to integrate).

August 6-9 - Picketing around city hall protesting discrimination in municipal employment climaxed by delivery of grievances petition to City Council.

Richmond -- (Continued) August 17 - Seven arrested during sit-in at segregated restaurant.

Staunton -- August 9 - Negro petition on grievances in housing, education, and public facilities and accommodations presented to 6-member (3 Negro) bi-racial Community Relations Committee.

Suffolk -- July 18 - City asked by Negroes to form bi-racial commission.

August 1 - County (Nansemond) asked to form joint bi-racial commission with city.

Waynesboro--August 2 - City hires first Negro policeman.

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CITIES WHERE DEMONSTRATIONS HAVE OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

ALABAMA
- Birmingham
- Gadsden
- Mobile

ARKANSAS
- Little Rock
- Pine Bluff

FLORIDA
- Jacksonville*
- Miami
- Miami Beach
- Ocala
- St. Augustine
- St. Petersburg
- Tampa

GEORGIA
- Americus
- Athens
- Atlanta
- Decatur
- Fitzgerald
- Valdosta

KENTUCKY
- Henderson
- Lexington

LOUISIANA
- Baton Rouge
- New Orleans
- Plaquemine
- Shreveport*

MISSISSIPPI
- Clarksdale
- Greenville
- Greenwood
- Jackson
- McComb
- Ruleville

NORTH CAROLINA
- Chapel Hill
- Dunn
- Enfield
- Goldsboro
- High Point
- Lexington
- Mount Airy
- New Bern

NORTH CAROLINA (Cont'd)
- Oxford
- Statesville
- Williamston
- Winston-Salem

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Charleston
- Orangeburg
- Sumter

TENNESSEE
- Brownsville
- Chattanooga
- Humboldt
- Oak Ridge
- Somerville

TEXAS
- Austin

VIRGINIA
- Danville
- Farmville
- Portsmouth
- Richmond

*Cities starred had demonstrations or desegregation prior to July 24 not included in previous synopses. See text on preceeding pages for exact date.

CITIES WHERE SOME DESEGREGATION HAS OCCURRED JULY 24 - AUGUST 28

ALABAMA

Birmingham
Macon County
Montgomery
Tuskegee County

ARKANSAS

Hot Springs
Pine Bluff

FLORIDA

Clearwater
Fort Lauderdale
Miami
Orlando
Tampa

GEORGIA

Athens
Calhoun
Columbus
Savannah

KENTUCKY

Hazard

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge
New Iberia

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro
Charlotte
Durham
Elizabeth City
Greensboro
Havelock
High Point
Rocky Mount
Williamston
Wilmington*
Wilson*

SOUTH CAROLINA

Anderson
Charleston

TENNESSEE

Humboldt*
Knoxville
Nashville

VIRGINIA

Manassas
Norfolk
Petersburg
Portsmouth
Richmond
Waynesburg

ESTIMATED NUMBER OF ARRESTS IN 11 SOUTHERN STATES SINCE JULY 24

2,043

The Meaning of Black Nationalism

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Winter 1963

Introduction

Recent estimates of the size of the "Black Muslims," or followers of Elijah Muhammad, have varied from 3,000 to 300,000. Whatever the number may be, the significance of Muhammad's movement cannot be judged by numerical strength alone. What is important is the meaning of the black nationalists to America and to the Negro in particular. The ubiquity of nationalistic tendencies; the conditions of the northern urban Negro; and the inability of "recognized" Negro leadership to cope with the causes of nationalism are of tremendous importance.

The study of black nationalism is not easy. Little scholarly work has been done on the subject. Whites are limited in their efforts by exclusion from Muslim meetings and Temples, and Negro scholars have generally tended to ignore the significance of nationalist groups. Two important books have been written on the subject. One is E. U. Essien-Udom's, Black Nationalism. The other is C. Eric Lincoln's, The Black Muslims in America.

Definitions

Black nationalism refers to the expressed rejection by black men of "white culture" and a corresponding glorification and exaggeration of "black culture." As we use the term, it is an American phenomenon and involves the Negro's repudiation of the stereotype imposed on him by the white man. It may or may not revolve around the dream of a black state in Africa or in some other place. It is usually accompanied by a hatred of whites and will always reverse the American idea of white and black connotating purity and evil respectively.

In addition to disparaging the white man's culture, all black nationalist movements repudiate as well the Negro identity and they appropriate "Asiatic" culture symbols.

C. Eric Lincoln coined the phrase "Black Muslims." It refers to the major nationalist group today. I shall refer to this group primarily as "Muslims" or as the "Nation of Islam," or simply as the "Nation." Followers of Marcus Garvey will be referred to as "Garveyites" and those of Noble Drew Ali as "Moors."

History

The history of black nationalism goes back to the second decade of the nineteenth century. It was another hundred years, however, before this movement became a significant force. During the decade preceding the First World War, two men, Marcus Garvey and Noble Drew Ali, made an impact on the Negro community which is still felt today.

The period surrounding the First World War saw an unprecedented migration of Negroes from the South to northern urban centers. It also saw some of the most violent interracial conflicts in the history of the United States.

> "In the first year after the war, seventy Negroes were lynched, many of them still in uniform. Fourteen Negroes were burned publicly by white citizens...During the 'Red Summer' of 1919, there were no fewer than twenty-five race riots across the country...in Chicago, thirty-eight people were killed..." [1]

It was this setting which gave rise to Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Moorish-American Science Temple founded by Drew Ali in Newark, New Jersey.

Garvey, a Jamaican, arrived on the American scene in Harlem in 1916. "No other American Negro organization has ever been able to reach and stir the masses of Negroes to the same degree..." said Ralph Bunche of the Garveyites. At its height the Garvey movement claimed as many as a million members in the United States, but even sober estimates range from 20,000 in the U. S. to over a million throughout the world. Garvey formed his own church, a steamship line which was plagued with difficulties, a provisional Negro government which in fact was international and a following which looked to Liberia as their Utopia. In 1927 Garvey was deported following his imprisonment on dubious grounds of having defrauded investors through the mails. One can still find Garveyites today in Harlem, but following his deportation the movement began to decline and was soon torn with internal factionalism. He died in London in 1940.

Not as strong as the Garveyites, but the direct predecessors of the Nation of Islam were the Moors. Noble Drew Ali taught "that the people termed 'Negroes' in the United States are 'Asiatics' and, specifically, that they are Moors whose forebears inhabited Morocco before they were enslaved in America." Like Garvey, Drew Ali formed collectively owned businesses. His career ended in 1929 with his mysterious death while he himself was awaiting trial for a murder which was alleged to have arisen from an internal schism.

The nation of Islam was founded in Detroit in 1930 by one W. D. Fard. Fard was known by a number of names and his ancestry is a puzzle. It is rumored that he came from the Holy City of Mecca. Whatever his origin, he became, according to Essien-Udom, a "reincarnation" of

Drew Ali and is now the "God" of the Nation of Islam.

Among Fard's earliest followers was Georgia-born Elijah Poole. Fard recruited some 8,000 followers among Negroes in Detroit in the first few years. However, he faded into the background and concurrently came to be considered God or "Allah." Some of his followers doubted his divinity, however, which led to a split that sent Elijah Poole to Chicago where he founded a branch of the Nation of Islam. Fard disappeared forever and Poole, now known as Elijah Muhammad, became the leader of the faction which deified Fard. Mr. Muhammad has continued to today as the "Messenger of Allah" chosen by Allah (Fard) to carry on the Nation.

The Chicago Temple grew under the leadership of Muhammad, but it was not until about 1945 that new Temples were established -- in Milwaukee and in Washington, D. C. Malcolm X, minister of the Harlem Temple, is credited by Lincoln for being the driving force in the growth of the Nation after his conversion in prison in 1947. Malcolm is certainly one of the Nation's ablest spokesmen and serves as "Ambassador at Large" for the Messenger. Today the Nation of Islam has between 50 and 60 Temples in all parts of the country and its influence has pervaded the entire Negro community.

C. Eric Lincoln consistently uses 100,000 as the number of Muslims in America. Nowhere can I find documentation of this estimate. I am of the opinion that Essien-Udom's estimate --"...after checking and rechecking as carefully as possible...(that) there are at present between 5,000 and 15,000 registered followers, at least 50,000 believers, and a much larger number of sympathizers" -- is probably much more accurate. As indicated earlier the impact of the Muslims transcends their limited

numbers.

Nationalism -- the psychological overthrow of the white man -- has pervaded every area of the Negro community. As Ralph Bunche pointed out years ago, "There are, in the Negro Universities, a good many 'academic Garveyites'." Among northern, urban, lower class Negroes you may encounter guilt feelings among some because they do not belong to the "Movement!" Even an integrationist, interracial organization such as CORE is not immune. There are some CORE chapters today where whites might well feel uncomfortable and unwanted.

Meaning

For the more than 18 million American Negroes progress toward full human rights seems pitifully slow. Even in the North where rights of minorities are more protected by law the lower class Negro does not feel the tremendous advances in the field of civil rights. In fact, one may even hear complaint that things were better in the South since there one at least knew what one could and could not do.

In the ghetto, 400 years of slavery and segregation is very real and there is a sense of futility about the future. The Negro lives in a world owned and controlled by whites. He is a second-class citizen; he knows it; and, he knows that the white man knows it. The Negro sees no way by which he can change the situation one iota and hence sees no future for himself and his children. He plays no part in this white world but must accept it and try to accommodate to it. One hundred years after "freedom" there has been little change as far as he is concerned.

He has lost meaning in his life and has lost a sense of his own

identity. It is these qualities which the Nation of Islam offers. Eric Hoffer in The True Believer says, "It is not actual suffering but the taste of better things which excites people to revolt." Even the advances which are made serve to further increase the sense of frustration and emptiness!

The African brought to America was systematically shorn of his culture, tradition and history. He was placed in a condition of absolute dependence on the new white culture which left him no alternative but to adopt it as his own. While forced to accept this white culture with its white Jesus, white employers, white policemen and judges the Negro was still not admitted all the way into the society. Shorn of his own culture, not accepted in the new, the Negro was relegated to a marginal status. His only identity was that forced upon him by the whites and his self-image became one of accommodation, compromise and inferiority. Essien-Udom says:

> "Negroes have acquired what appears to be an appalling sense of inferiority and even of hatred for their 'Negro-ness'... Compelled by segregation...to live and die within the sub-culture of the Negro ghettos, the Negro masses have had to disassociate themselves from the white society. At the same time, however, they are compulsively attracted to it, since power, status, security, even beauty remain white priorities ...This conflict...is further disturbed by the demand of the white society that the Negroes conform to its material, cultural, and moral standards while denying them the economic and social resources for so doing." [2]

Faced with this loss of self-identity the Negro began to search for his true self. One result of this search has been the growth of Negro nationalism in this country. Specifically, this nationalism has taken the form of concern with his own identity and not with the destiny of black men throughout the world. Having been rejected by the only

society he knew the Negro in turn rejected that society himself. And he rejected the concept of being a Negro because even Negro-ness was a white concept that had been forced unwillingly on him.

Black nationalists reject whiteness and revel in the glory of blackness. Hatred of the whites becomes a means of purging themselves of their own sense of inferiority. Rejection of Negro-ness and the slave heritage removes the bond of the immediate past and permits them to claim a new identity with the great traditions of the Asian-African past. Nationalists look not alone to a powerful black kingdom in the future but can look back as well to a glorious past. Looking backwards they tend to be particularly "fond of Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco, or the Sudan. In general, they tend to disassociate themselves from sub-Saharan Africa..."(3)

The Nation of Islam

The Nation of Islam is a monolithic, theocratic structure headed by Elijah Muhammad, the Messenger of Allah. Under Muhammad is a hierarchy of certain high ranking officials of the Fruit of Islam (FOI) and the Ministers of the Temples, although in theory all Muslims are equal. The FOI is an elite pseudo-military body. It serves the dual functions of guarding the Temples and the Messenger, and enforcing internal discipline. In addition to their Temples the Nation has two parochial schools (the Universities of Islam) which run through high school, and a number of small businesses.

While the Muslims consider themselves a legitimate Moslem sect, they also believe that they are, in fact, a "chosen people." Their religion teaches them that the world was originally peopled by blacks

and that the whites are "blue-eyed devils" who were created by a black scientist some 6,000 years ago who was rebelling against Allah. Allah, as part of his plan to bring all blacks into the faith, gave the devils 6,000 years in which to rule the earth. Armageddon will take place at the end of this period and Allah will destroy the devils. The exact date is given by Lincoln as 1984. Hosien-Udom says it will "...definitely occur some time before the year 2,000 A. D. and the year 1970 has been suggested by the Messenger, although the 'exact day is known only to Allah'."

According to the Muslims all non-whites are blacks regardless of their color. All blacks are Muslims, but most do not yet know it and the task of the Messenger is to bring them into the Nation. The so-called Negroes are inferior beings whose main interest is in being close to and emulating the white devils. They can be saved, however, by recognizing Muhammad as the Messenger of Allah and joining the Nation of Islam.

The Nation of Islam looks forward to an independent state, but in this country, not in Africa. They believe that somehow Allah will convince the government of the United States to give them several states and subsidize them until they are economically self-sufficient. This subsidy is to be a form of retroactive pay for 400 years of enslavement.

In preparation for the political "Black Nation" the Muslims are taught sound economic principles and the value of hard work. They are encouraged to build their own businesses and to give an honest day's work even to a white employer. Point five of Muhammad's "Economic Blueprint" is: "Observe the operations of the white man. He is

successful. He makes no excuses for his failures. He works hard -- in a collective manner. You do the same."

The Nation of Islam thrives on the sinner and disinherited. Many Muslims, like Minister Malcolm X, are converted while in prison. Pimps, alcoholics, prostitutes, gamblers and criminals of all sorts are now members of the almost entirely lower class Nation of Islam. The morality of the Muslims is rigidly puritanical. Registered Muslims are not permitted to consume alcohol, smoke, gamble, dance, take narcotics, use makeup, or straighten their hair. They are even fined for being overweight and generally eat only one meal a day. They cannot eat pork, collard greens or other foods connected with their slave background. For infractions of these rules they may be expelled or suspended from the Nation. Muslims obey all civil laws except those which conflict with the laws of Allah such as the draft law.

Muslims have often been criticized for advocating violence. They are also attacked for being segregationists. While Muslims do believe in total racial separation they of course do not believe in segregation imposed on them by someone else. They hate whites and everything connected with white. Muslims believe that integration is a strategem used to keep the Negro in enslavement and under the domination of the whites. However, the hate-white image of the movement has proven a detriment in recruiting Negroes and has recently been toned down. It is also interesting to note that CORE, the most interracial of the integrationist organizations, has come under less attack than the others. This may well be due to its militant posture.

The charge that Muslims advocate violence seems to be largely

unfounded. Muslims as a matter of religious belief have no use for violence even though they do advocate self-defense. While there are earlier evidences of Muslims participating in violent actions, it is questionable today whether they will even retaliate when attacked. Essien-Udom points out that, "Twice in recent years, the Muslims have been assaulted physically by the police; in each instance they sought redress in court." James Farmer, National Director of CORE, reports that Malcolm X, upon returning from Los Angeles in the Spring of 1962 after the death of a Muslim at the hands of the police, indicated Malcolm's pride in the lack of violent resistance of his followers in this most provoking situation. Muhammad has issued clear injunctions to his followers not to resort to violence except when their lives are clearly in danger, and he was appalled by the thought of a follower hitting a brother. Furthermore, the Nation of Islam provides outlets for its members' aggressions which obviate the likelihood of resort to physical aggression.

Motivation

Among the Negro disinherited there are many strong motivations to join the Nation of Islam. Possibly most important is the appeal of group solidarity. Every Muslim is pledged to die for his brother. Strong bonds of fraternity are forged. The Muslim is a member of a group which is powerful -- powerful enough to throw off the yoke of the white race. He gains a feeling of belonging and strength. He is among the chosen and a member of the superior race.

The anti-Christian aspect at the same time is a repudiation

of identity and, because it is the white man's religion, an act of aggression against the "slavemaster." As opposed to Christianity in practice, the Muslims do not hold the past against you and the most degraded can find salvation in the Nation. The Nation offers middle class values while in revolt against these very values!

The Nation of Islam returns woman to her role of purity and gives her a protected status. The man in turn once again becomes the head of the family -- the protector and provider. This reversal of matriarchy alone is sufficient to lend a new sense of dignity and worth to the male individual. Sexual exploitation is not found among Muslims.

Problems

In spite of its recent growth and the strong incentive it offers to the Negro in the ghetto, the Nation of Islam faces severe problems which are impeding its growth.

Being completely monolithic the Nation might find itself in a terrible situation should something happen to the Messenger. Muhammad alone rules. It is not at all certain who would succeed him, but the organization does not appear too concerned about this. Essien-Udom holds that Muhammad has rather clearly chosen his son Wallace as his successor. Minister Malcolm X on the other hand is to all appearances the most popular, well known and most powerful person in the movement outside of Muhammad himself. In the absence of Muhammad it is apparent that Malcolm could take a large following with him should he not choose to subordinate himself to Wallace or some other successor. For the time being, however, Muhammad is clearly unchallenged and is "hand-picked by Allah."

Further growth of the Nation is also impeded by the fact that by and large Negroes are not ready to give up Christianity. It is very much a part of their culture. The Muslims have also apparently misjudged to an extent the new spirit of southern Negro youth. Far from being ripe for conversion they are creating their own new world and self-image.

Additionally, American Negroes are currently taking a more active interest in the affairs of Africa. But the Muslims are not taking cognizance of this trend. They still tend to downgrade any connection with sub-Saharan Africa.

The Muslims have found their rhetoric and lack of respectability both in the white and Negro communities a drawback and hindrance to growth. As long as the Muslims remain "unrespectable" by American standards they are going to encounter problems in recruitment since most Negroes want respectability very badly. The Nation is faced with a paradox in that their lack of respectability is both an attraction and a limiting factor. The Muslims apparently are leaning more toward respectability recently. They have toned down their attacks on Negro leadership, which has never treated them kindly. Thurgood Marshall at Princeton University is reported to have said the Nation of Islam was "run by a bunch of thugs organized from prisons and jails..." and was a vicious threat to the FBI, the NAACP and law-enforcement agencies.

Muslims would like to be considered a legitimate Moslem sect and be recognized as such by the Moslem world. This seems unlikely, however, as long as they retain their racism and other aberrations from Moslem doctrine and teaching.

While Muslims preach a Black Nation they have no political program to achieve it. In fact, they have virtually no political program at all. They will not run for office in the United States and do not vote. They offer the individual a great deal in terms of subjective and psychological values in the present, but fail in developing any program for the future.

In many respects the program and appeal of the Muslims is reactionary and a rationalization of the status quo. They are not a revolutionary group. They are in fact defenders of things as they are. Since they cannot see an end to segregation they in effect bless and support it. Segregation or separation is thus transformed from a stigma to a source of ethnic pride. Racial purity, a fiction of the bigot and the uninformed, becomes a prime value. In their attempt to change the society, the Muslims are siding with the disease rather than with the cure, as C. Eric Lincoln has so aptly put it. Rumors can be heard that there is contact and some cooperation between the American Nazi party and the Nation of Islam. While this may be discounted it is a fact that black nationalist groups have historically received support and encouragement from the most reactonary and racist segments of American society. In a letter to the mayor of New Orleans, Garvey said, "We like your 'Jim Crow' laws..."

Evaluation

Black nationalism is a reactionary force. It is fighting the trend of the modern world. To justify segregation by making the black man responsible for it does not alter the ultimate harm which this

divided system does to both black and white. The world is getting smaller and a black nation is not only impossible in America, but even if it were possible, it would solve few problems and create many. The Nation of Islam says to Negroes that they are not Americans and not Negroes. No matter how "not-American" they may feel they cannot escape this identity. Nor can they escape the fact they are the product of 400 years of slavery and second or even third class status as Negroes in this country. To try to escape being an American and a Negro can have severe psychological consequences. The "so-called Negro" has an identity with and a role within this society. The challenge is to discover and develop this role to the betterment of the Negro and the society as a whole.

Negro nationalism is a logical and direct product of American society and as such is extremely American. It is a symptom of the weakness and sickness of our democracy. The Church segregated the Negro and subsequently the Negro Church, while providing a haven, did little to improve the lot of life here and now. It promised happiness in the bye and bye, but the Nation of Islam promises the good life here and now -- even rejecting the idea of an after-life.

While the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League and CORE have provided legal gains and changes in some discriminatory patterns they have done little to impress the lower class Negro in the streets. These organizations are essentially middle class groups that have reached into the working class only in a very limited fashion. The problem of fulfilling the needs of the urban, lower class Negro is further compounded by the fact that increasing

mobility for the Negro has increased the distance between the upper and middle class Negroes and the lower class. There is a vacuum of organization, leadership and progress for the lower class Negro. The Muslims are attempting to fill this vacuum. The Nation of Islam is providing a world in which one can be black and unashamed. Mr. Muhammad is attacking the problem of the down-and-out Negro more forcefully and more successfully than any other Negro leader or organization. He is providing a way out.

Black nationalism may well be a necessary evil. Nationalism entails a recognition of self-worth which is required before an integrated society is possible. While it is a rejection of Negro-ness it is an affirmation of a new and meaningful self-identity. As a subject nation cannot take its place among the community of nations without a nationalist revolution, so the Negro cannot claim his place in society unless this same internal revolution takes place. Essien-Udom says that, "Perhaps, the black nationalists' agitation...may well signal the beginning of the end of the Negroes' aimless and vain desire to hide their dark skins behind a white mask." In a sense the spirit of the black nationalists is not too different from the spirit of the southern sit-in demonstrators.

The message of the Nation of Islam to the civil rights organizations should be that they are not doing the job good enough, fast enough, now in the right places. The non-white population of the United States is no longer asking for rights and dignity; it is demanding them in no uncertain terms, <u>now</u>. The integrationist organizations must become aware of the reality that they have been dealing primarily with symptoms and not with the disease itself. While these organizations

must make new and dramatic efforts to reach the "Negro in the mud," as Muhammad says, they must also not forget that the real patient is the society itself. In a curious way the Negro becomes the physician to the larger society. We must remember that we are faced with an American problem and that neither the Negro nor the white is totally the cause and that neither can alone provide the total solution.

Myrdal has suggested that the best hope for progress in American race relations lies with a multiplicity of organizations and approaches, and that the most effective organizations will be those which are interracial. To the extent that these interracial and integrative efforts are successful and dynamic, and reach into all segments of America's population, the racist and separative nationalist sects will have neither an audience nor a doorway through which the masses will be called to pass.

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FINDING AND MAKING LEADERS

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FINDING AND MAKING LEADERS

by Nicholas von Hoffman

Leaders are found by organizing, and leaders are developed through organization.

The statement is so self-evident and so simple-minded that it is usually uttered only to be assented to and forgotten.

Instead of acting on the assumptions implicit in the observation, we begin the great hunt for the "natural leader", "the indigenous leader"; he is the great organizational nugget, whom we could find by panning for him if we only knew what the hell he looked like, and how he differed from the silt washed into our tin.

It's worth noting that practically everybody is looking for him. The civil rights movement, big business, big social work, church organizations, everybody finds it handy to blame their problems on expressions like the "dearth of leadership", the "problem we're having finding leaders", etc.

He does not exist. If he were there--that wonderous all-purpose leader that every organizer dreams about in his moments of exasperation with and anger at his would-be constituency, you would not be necessary. The all-purpose indigenous leader with the sharp tactical mind of Lenin, the forensic abilities of Demosthenes of F.D.R., and the general loveableness of your mother would have long since asserted himself.

The quest for the natural leader---the quest as it is actually carried on is like the quest for the natural man. There is no natural man; there is no natural leader. The ideas are important because they remind us in any group of men some can come to live by certain ethics and some can become leaders---given the occasion.

I am hammering at this point because I have seen so many ardent young people run into communities, zoom around frantically for eight or ten months, and then say they can't find any indigenous leadership. Now when it is put to them in so many words that this is what they are doing, they deny it. Nevertheless it is obvious that they are acting on notions of leadership that are wholly unrealistic.

Let's try and see why. Bear in mind, I am now speaking of the lower class Negro ghetto. In the main the same observations would hold for any community but in white areas there are certain differences in application.

The first objective in the ghetto is building an organization that wields power. That is in marked contrast to the flash-flood demonstration kind of thing that northern big-shots quickly get blase about. An organization that wields power as opposed to the kind that throws an intermittent stick-bomb, must be big, must be broad, must be quasi-institutionalized.

The kinds of leadership it must have to operate successfully are the kinds that cannot exist in the community because no one or almost no one in the community has had the chance to gain any experience with big organizations. Most of the community's people will not even have been in the army. The few that have will have served in such a low echelon that they will not have had the opportunity to acquire a sense or a feel for the big organization, how it is put together, how it stays together, and what you have to do to run it.

A few people in the community may work for a large corporation or the government but here again they are cut off from gaining experience with the big organization. For another few the church may begin to supply the experience, but most people aren't church members or are very passively so, and most churches aren't very big, and most big churches are not very organizationally run.

The long and short of it is we are speaking of people whose organizations are mostly small, and, consequently, whose leaders are schooled in techniques which work for small groups, but seldom for large ones. If they had the large enduring organizations they would have the leaders to run them, and you would be superfluous.

However, it is also true that every community has a few naturals, that is a few people who by accident of life experience, an exceptional intelligence and some other qualities can begin to move to the forefront almost as soon as the first organizational beginnings are under way. But who are they? How do you find them, and how do you make sure that they actually do begin to assume the major roles they are capable of? It would be so much easier if we could spot these people in advance---unfortunately that is impossible. At the beginning of organization you are the leader-natural or otherwise---because at least theoretically you know more about what you are doing--building an organization--than anyone else around. If any of these three conditions doesn't hold, by-the-by, get out and give the job over to somebody else.

Recognize the fact that the organizer who comes into the community for the first time is internally in a precarious position. He is afraid---or at least he should be if he has got any brains which he doesn't want beaten out.

He is afraid because he doesn't know the people, and we are all vaguely afraid of people we don't know. If he is white and he is going to work in a Negro community he is doubly afraid. If he is a middle class Negro, he is afraid too, for similar but not quite identical reasons.

He is afraid because he is the bearer of a new idea. Mankind does not cotton to new ideas in general, but especially not to the new ideas that organizers bring. This is so because they may mean trouble and because the organizer's mere presence in the community is a tacit insult. The organizer, merely by his presence, is saying effect to the people, "You are so dumb that you need me to think your way out of this mess you are in." Don't kid yourself about this. I shouldn't have to remind you here-who have actually organized-of this reaction. (Nor I might add does blaming the white man or the status quo or anything else absolve the organizer of the sin.)

The organizer is also afraid because a failure is a crashing blow to his ego or his self-respect. Even a bad organizer puts a tremendous part of himself on the line when he goes into a community. In his own eyes, he is being tried as a person, as a huge test of his own worth. To fail is to be adjudged a capon, a sexless, impotent thing by one's self, or so I always found it.

These fears work on most organizers to make them very susceptible to thinking that people they meet in the community who are sympathetic are the people to listen to and work with. I can't count the number of times I have wandered into communities to find the people who were supposed to be building a mass organization mucking around with pious, middle class clergyman or teenagers.

Or, or course, there is the organizer who sees the weakness in himself, and overcompensates by finding a bunch of social outcasts, usually winos, addicts or semi-criminal types, the kind that talk a good fight but lack the self-discipline to make hard-core organizational material. This kind of organizer may also be playing to a gallery of middle class friends (often white) who will be mightily impressed by his acquaintance in the demi-monde. It's nice to have one's outside friends think you are "in", but the question is, in what?

For the organizer who gets beyond acting as a reaction to himself--in my experience, few do--plucking out "natural leaders" by dint of casual observation and conversation is very chancy. I recall having picked a number of these on-first sight gems and I also recall spending months kicking myself for having done so.

The guy who is indeed the natural small group leader may turn out to be the guy who gets hopelessly and permanently confused by committees or simply by having to keep in mind that now instead of dealing with ten old faithfuls in the block club he's got to worry about what 400 people think. The guy you met at the barber shop, who seemed so articulate and understanding, may turn out at a second meeting to be a dogmatist of the first order or a flannel-mouthed idiot. The guy with the big line about how "its about time the black man showed those "m-f's" can turn out to be one great big chicken, or what can be worse yet, a lazy bum who only comes to meetings to make long theatrical monologues.

Those of you who may recognize your own experiences in some of these words will say, "Don't tell us what won't work, tell us what will."

To you I repeat, leaders are found by organizing and leaders are developed through organizations. So let's discuss organizing and organizations.

But before we get to that, I want to set down two of the observations I have made where leadership has developed. They are: the leaders in the third month of an organization's life are seldom the leaders in the third year; a few leaders, ourselves included, are really all-purpose; and the best organizations create a "collective leadership".

Why should so few of the leaders in an organization's infancy be around as it grows to maturity?

The first leadership is usually the closest leadership at hand. It is selected usually in the enthusiasm of the first campaign, because it is available. You don't have a choice and you have to go with what you've got.

It may be a rent strike, a school demonstration or what have you. Reverend So-and-So says he'll be the spokesman, and you want him because he's a clergyman and you figure he'll cut more ice because he's respectable. Maybe it's Mrs. Jones, because she's the only one of the tenants who shows signs of being able to speak out in front of a judge. Or, perhaps, it's So-and-So else because he has a reputation (with you anyhow) as a regular freedom fighter.

Note that all these people were picked on the basis of what they could do in a one-shot affair. And the beginning of every viable organization smacks of being a one-shot affair, for the simple reason that theorists who fiddle around waiting and delaying until they've got a full blown across-the-board organizational program set are never ready to commence swinging into action.

But you will notice, too, that the reasons for your picking the first leaders (and you know it's you who pick them) say nothing about how they will wear over a period of time. That respectable clergyman can turn out to be a timid jerk; the lady who was so good at sounding off in front of the judge may be good for nothing else, and that big freedom fighter can look like a vain egomaniac living off the reputation of the deed done many years ago.

The lesson I draw from this is that at the beginning keep the organization very loose, spread the responsibilities and the conspicuous places around. This permits you and the new membership which you are supposed to be recruiting to judge the talent, and it keeps things sufficiently porous so that new talent isn't blocked off. Nothing is more absurd than an organization that's six months old, without a dime in the treasury and a membership that can fit in a Volkswagen, having a cemented-in, piggy leadership. Vested interests are only tolerable when they are protecting something of value, not fancy organizational charts, letterheads and research programs.

Don't laugh. This kind of thing is a clear and present danger. Vain men frequently prefer to be members of obscure executive committees where they can spend years expounding doctrine. It is safer and easier than the realities of making and using power.

Men with the most to lose or men with the most to give in talent, money and experience are often not the first to join an organization. They will never join if they see there is no room for them in the top leadership.

Why should some of the most talented people hang back? One reason, of course, is that they want to check you and the incipient organization out. If they are worth having, they won't be the kind who must bet on a guaranteed winner, but also, by the same token, they don't want any part of a born loser.

A big northern city is not like the south. In one sense the people are all in the same boat thanks to skin pigmentation, but not quite. People can and do make a variety of deals with life. In the north there are a lot of Negroes who may have cause to think that they have more to lose than to gain by signing on with you. They will be those who fear loss of jobs, prestige, business or such - and many will fall into that category. But, there will also be those who think they can make a better deal by joining with somebody or something else, and those who just may not think what you're driving at is worth it OR that you can deliver the goods.

The varieties of reactions have to be tackled in a variety of ways, but all the people who fall into these groupings - your potential second generation of leaders - must not be driven away gratuitously. They must not be allowed to dismiss the organization out of hand at the very beginning.

Yet in fact many organizations are killed off by their organizers even before they get close to a second leadership generation. It is pure charity of course, to speak of such preliminary groupings as organizations at all. Most of these endeavors never grow to look like much more than an aborted six-month foetus. They have been murdered by their own parents, the organizers who were supposed to give them life.

In the case of young organizers, their youth is enough to do it. People may admire youth, they may praise, they may believe that youth is showing the way in which age should follow, but they are very, very reluctant to trust youth with anything of immediate value. Youth is not an insuperable handicap, I rush to add. I have known top-notch organizers in their twenties.

The good ones know, however, that they must pick up more in the way of membership than the people with the least to lose, the people who are willing to put themselves under guidance to unreliable appearing strangers. Beware of the groups lead by a couple of college students, composed of a membership of teenagers, ministers without serious institutional responsibilities and a few desperate mothers, driven to trying anything to get their kids into a decent school. Anyone who has been around know the type of enterprise I am talking about. Yet such is the look of the organizational endeavor which has failed to bud a second generation of leadership; it is also the characteristic profile of the collegiate organizer's botched job. It is as recognizable as the insulated, dessicated organizational product put out by the professional social worker.

At the risk of sounding like mother, may I say that impressions do count. I'll mention clothes. It is one thing to wear overalls in Mississippi where many of the people actually do wear them - it is another to wear them as an occasional stunt in a big northern city, but to indulge

in peculiarities of dress and speech simply makes you look like faddists. I apologize for saying this to those of you who know better, but those will also know it has to be said. Faddism makes you look like a house's ass. White middle class girls from Des Moines, to be extreme about it, did not grow up referring to males as "cats" and when they do it on the south side of Chicago they sound either patronizing or idiotic - take your pick.

Nothing is so reassuring as a person who acts like himself. If you don't know who you are, stay out of organizing until you do and are willing to accept yourself as yourself. When you do, you will find that other people will.

Next, may I urge you to drop as much of your excess ideological baggage as you can outside the place where you are organizing. You are building a power group, a mass organization to serve a particular constituency, one that has certain paramount demands to be met. The demands are remote from "peace" or from any number of other, perhaps laudable, but irrelevant interests.

In other words, don't act like cultists. If you are a vegetarian, keep it to yourself, hide it, because there are a certain number of butchers in the community and you want them in the organization too.

This work demands self-discipline in every way. It means you either get your rest or hide the fact that you haven't because people who arrive at sixes and sevens and announce they haven't slept for 26 consecutive hours give the impression of being unstable. It also means that you recognize that you have no private life, or put differently, you do not offend against the public morals of the community. Why? Not because the morals are necessarily correct, but because organizers who do not seem to be observing them alienate potential members for no good reason.

Some people may read what I have just said and think, "Ah Ha! White man's conventional middle class values - ethnocentrism, etc., etc." To which I reply, these are the public values held by substantial portions of the people you hope to organize.

Whether they practice them is as beside the point as whether middle class whites do. The cultist will say that there can be no surrender and that freedom of the individual is involved. Perhaps it is, but he who wastes time debating such abstractions, or, worse, insists on making it clear by his behavior that he believes otherwise is enjoying a luxury that is organizationally ruinous.

As organizers, apostolic vegetarians can only organize and inspire confidence among other vegetarians.

The best organizers have single track minds. They care only for building the organization. When they alienate a potential member, they do so out of organizational need, not out of the egotism of irrelevant personal values. The best organizers stifle their tastes, their opinions, their private obsessions.

Now at last we have taken a few preliminary precautions to prevent killing off the leadership before it even arrives and we can turn back to the question of finding and developing it.

From what I have seen, most of the organizational life in the ghetto is the small group, usually no bigger than the number of people that make up an extended circle of acquaintance. This usually figures out to twenty-five or less and rarely more than fifty. Numbers that get larger often that have to be held together by different, written, systems of bookkeeping and communication.

Two conclusions can be drawn from this: 1) Building a mass organization in the ghetto is the tedious job of stringing beads on a necklace, and 2) self-evidently, most of the available indigenous leadership will only be practiced in the arts of the small organization.

I have in mind the block club, the local janitors' association, the multitudinous sororities, the choirs, the teenage groupings, the local political and business associations, the perennial members of the local pool tournament. I am sure you can name many more. Everyone of these groupings has some kind of leadership. So the quest for leadership is abruptly over. There is, for practical purposes, no other leadership to be found, because there exist no vehicles for leadership to drive.

What this boils down to, then, is your discontent with what the leadership can do - namely, lead the groupings you find in the community. Your dissatisfaction with the leadership has real enough basis in fact. It is a narrow leadership mostly interested in what concerns the small group; it has little save only the most conventional understanding of the great issues which brought you into the community in the first place.

Great issues absorb the interest either of small highly specialized groups, as for instance many a chapter of SANE or CORE or the NAACP, or of a great organization. The small group can make mischief and propagandize in a diffuse way, but power, power is the property of the big organization. All this you know, for it again is what brings you to the community.

At every turn the leadership is unsuited for your purposes. And so it will remain, changing only as the big organization emerges. The same holds true for the leadership you "find", that is, people who enter the organization without a following, but create one in and by means of the organization. The character of leadership, to put it in other words, is determined by the character of the organization that trains it and which it leads. The making of an organization and the making of leadership are inseparable.

The proposition is not presented to you as a new great truth. It is no more than another application of the ancient observation that a man finds both his limits and his growth in his own personal experience. I have the temerity to advance this old bromide yet one more time, because it is often ignored. The fact that you are still thinking of leadership as

an isolated category, one meriting its own workshop, shows how far people are from treating the leadership question as integral to the making of an organization.

This said, we can now spend some time talking about organizing as it fits into leadership.

The organizer's first job is to organize, not right wrongs, not avenge injustice, not to win the battle for freedom. That is the task of people who will accomplish it through the organization if it ever gets built. When things are looked at through the glass of organizational calculation, they assume new shapes.

A couple of examples may help to explain my meaning:

1. When the cops pick up a whore, shake her down and beat up her pimp, they have done wrong. Both the whore and pimp have rights, which have been grossly violated, but a thinking organizer may wonder how good an idea it is to commit his new group to their defense. What will the public at large say? More important, what will the different segments of the community say?

The caballeros on the street hustling will love you, but what about the solid family types? Should the solid family types be taught the relativity of all human values, and will they consent to learn? Six months from now, will the caballeros think enough of the organization to support it by coming to one meeting, by contributing one dollar?

2. Rent strikes. They are very popular now, but as with leadership they are seen as something that is good to do merely if you can do them. However, as anybody who has ever run one can tell you, they gobble up an organizer's time - which should be a valued asset- and may produce very few organizational dividends.

How might an organizer look at a rent strike proposition? (I am spinning this example out to illustrate the mentality which we might call organizational calculation.)

Of course he looks at the building. He does this for two reasons - the first is defensive; he wants to make sure the tenants aren't lying to him. Who doesn't think hos landlord is a louse? Nothing is worse than getting into a fight in which the enemy can publicly prove your facts are wrong - note I said publicly prove.

The second reason he looks is to see how the building will photograph and will strike the eye of the often not very sympathetic press. I recall once having an arguement with a photographer from the Saturday Evening Post as to whether a dead rodent in a slum building was a rat or a mouse. In short, the rats should look like rats.

If it still appears that a strike is feasible, he must ask what it will do for the organization. I will list a few possible things it might do, again by way of illustrating the organizational mentality.

1. If the political climate is right and you know local government is with you it may provide a quickie victory - something every organization needs on occasion.

2. It can be a device to show people via face to face confrontation that a big, improtant white man like a slum landlord can be humiliated and beaten.

3. It may be a way to force a municipal government to begin rigorous enforcement of minimal housing standards.

4. It may be useful in building up general organizational cohesion. I recall one rent strike during which the landlord retaliated by such tactics as failing to buy coal for the building. The organization responded in its turn by taking a portion of the ewquestered rents to buy coal. The coal truck was decorated with appropriate signs; the gentleman from the teamsters union who customarily drove the truck was replaced by several local leaders in the cab, while other people from the organization surrounded it as it paraded around the neighborhood before finally coming to its destination. Humor, color, the relish of a small triumph and greater organizational solidity came out of the little episode.

5. The strike may also be a useful method for organizing the people in the immediate locals around the building in question. Unless you have all of the officialdom on your side, a rent strike is liable to be a protracted contest of nasty little surprises which each side springs on the other. The landlord's surprises are usually legal ones, bailiffs, court orders, etc. If the whole area is mobilized and organized into a big warning system, the landlord can't pull off much.

But if the fight is really you and a few tenants versus the landlord in the midst of an indiffernet populace, you are likely to invest hundreds of hours of time keeping the tenants morale up, with little to show for it but some publicity.

There are other reasons, good organizational reasons, for having rent strikes, but the point to bear in mind is having some reason other than the pure injustice of it all. It is, of course, very hard for an organizer to know when he has a valid reason for doing something, and when he is conning himself.

By nature most organizers are optimists - they have to be or they wouldn't be doing what they do. Optimists tend to be credulous. They get so fascinated by the putative advantages of a proposed line of action they never seriously examine either its drawbacks, or - and this is just as important - how they might be better spending their time.

I found in my own experience that my ego was incessantly trying to sabotage my judgement. For instance, I would argue in favor of striking a slum on the basis of organizational advantage without ever realizing that actually I was in a rage over the conditions the people in the building were living in. A good organizor cannot afford to vent his anger, anymore than he can use his position to push miscellaneously irrelevant pet social beliefs.

The e o works in other ways to deform the organizer's powers of judgment. Promising young organizers are prone to come up with clever ideas - and in their pride of invention, or in the egotism of mischief-making, to attempt to carry them out in circumstances that are neither propitious no even apropos.

The calculating organizer is fore er suspicious of himself, forever mistructing his analysis of the situation, and his plan of action. He is always asking himself questions like, "What am I doing? Why am I doing it? What if I succeed in doing what I am trying to do, will we really have gained anything worth gaining?" However, the organizer with a calculating mentality shall assuredly fail if he is trying to do the undoable.

What is an attainable organization in the working class ghetto? It is an organization of perhaps two percent of the people. Those who talk about organizing "all the people" or "the masses" or "the great majority of the people" are talking unrealizable balderdash.

In the first place it cannot be done. The only way all the people or most of the people can be organized is by drafting them into the army. On the rare occasions when large percentages of a population are directly "participating" in the affairs of the community, they are probably having a riot. But this form of mass participation - I use the word that is fashionable - hardly gains much. Moreover, if you stop and reflect a second, you will see that any non-governmental organization comprising huge portions of the population would be so completely unwieldy that it could never achieve anything.

The purpose of organizations is, I remind you, at least in this discussion, power. As a practical matter the organizing of two percent of the population is more than sufficient for the purpose of power. This you know from the history of modern revolutions - or if you look around, from the composition of the most effective present-day political machines. Indeed, even two percent of a population actively in an organization is an immensely formidable number. With two percent of a district's population closely organized, the organization should have an unbreakable control over things.

When the problem is viewed this way, it becomes more manageable intellectually and actually. To begin with, it now becomes possible to see where are the plausible places to start organizing and to sort out what elements in the community demand organizational attention and which are purely optional, to be courted provided the occasion arises and you have the time.

An organization needs three things: 1) a network of people spread out and in position to reach and mobilize the inert majority; 2) continuity, and 3) money.

The majority of small groups in the ghetto districts I am familiar with turn out to be potentially strongest in one of these three qualities. Thus a block club adds a good deal to the mobilization network, has some money potential, but is usually quite low in supplying

continuity. The same can be said of the sorority or the poolroom gang, while a business group scores higher on the money and may bolster an organization's continuity.

Obviously what is needed is the right mix of groupings to make up the sinews of organization. Sometimes this is accomplished by finding what the textbooks call the most common denominator. But the catch is, the most common denominator evokes the least general interest. Everybody is against juvenile delinquency, but who cares enough about it to do anything? An issue which lines a whole community up on one side is most often so innocuous as to be organizationally useless.

There is an exception to this, and that is the outrage, the atrocity, the bad slum fire, rat-bites-child, bombing the Sunday school. However, such srises are of linited organizational value. The shock and anger they cause are soon dissipated. Furthermore, they are of much greater value to an existing organization than they are to building an organization.

Where an organization exists, the emotion the momentary crisis causes to be released can be harnessed to wee-thought out political maneuvers and demonstrations; it can also be exploited for money raising and recruiting in sections of the district where you are organizationally weak. But where there is no organization, there is no way to capitalize on the opportunity. There may be a few indignation meetings, or even a riot, and then all collapses back into its previous shape.

The foregoing should suggest that the right balance of network, continuity and money is engendered by an organizational program containing a balance or mix of goals or would-be pay-offs (which organizationally is all that a goal is) for the various groupings you need to recruit. For homeowners the program may be defense against venal building inspectors, for the unemployed it may be pressure on some well-known local firm that discriminates, for the church group or local civil rights sentiment it may be some sort of an assault on the local educational system. Hence, it has been said that organizing of this nature is, at least in part, building up a community-wide set of interlocking log-rolling agreements: "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours, but if we don't combine, nobody's back'll get scratched."

Purists may find such a procedure intolerable. For example you don't put pressure on the white small store owner past a certain point - even if he can hire an extra Negro clerk. The reason is you need his money which you will get if he fears you, but not if he hates you. You will also get his money, I hasten to add, if the organization's program includes objectives that are worth something to him. Purists will find many, many of the things the individuals and groups which you are courting want, to be picayune. Yet these "picayune" wants are the stuff of which organizations are built. They are the things that must of necessity most occupy people and which move people to action as great abstractions seldom do. Moreover, it is by meeting through organizational

conquest the picayune demands that the great issues are made immediate and divested of their abstract distance. The mother learns about segregated education by fighting for school books for her child, the homeowner struggling with urban renewal learns about the society's huge engine of residential segregation by battling to save his property - the people learn these lessons and the most important lesson about how the world that bears down on them actually functions. However, the organizer is there to draw the lesson, to make the experience valuable, to lead on into the next and larger round in this match which will only be won by those adaptable enough to use victorious methods.

The organizer who merely sees the people's day-to-day problems as the proof that oppression demeans men, and not as the chance to be exploited, lacks the patience, the ingenuity and the opportunism that makes success. The I-can't-be-bothered-with-that attitude is self-important, and the organizer who is mostly concerned with "big issues" will never meet success outside the debate room.

Again I am speaking of the ability to see with calculation and act with calculation. It is not easy, particularly once you have sensitized yourself to the importance of little favors, little worries, little preoccupations, to know which are the organizationally useful ones and which are heart-rending but profitless. I remember a newly founded organization that was offered several thousand dollars worth of Christmas baskets by a group of terrified local businessmen hoping to placate the popular wrath. First we battled with the local sufferers-for-humanity about putting whickey in the baskets. They wanted the money spent on extras for the children. After that we argued over who should get the baskets. They wanted to give them to the needy! The organizers wanted to give them to the strategic, the flat janitors and other key people whom it is good to have obligated to the organization.

If I may, I would like to advert to the stringing of beads on the necklace one more time. The beads, it turns out, are not all of one shape and color. They are a variety, and as you pick them out and string them, the necklace will have a correspondingly different pattern.

The bead pattern analogy holds with leadership also. Too many money beads - that is organizations brought in primarily for the dough they can contribute - and you will find yourself with a lot of money, but a soggy, conservative leadership. To little money, too many youth groups, and you will get an organization that's always broke, that's short on continuity, and always undertaking more that its organizational base can carry out.

A big organization demands a variety of leadership talents. Money raising leadership, oratorical leadership, tactical leadership, leadership for routine, leadership that can measure community sentiment, that knows when to move and when to stay put. The different kinds of groups that come into your organization train up their natural leaders with greater skills in one area than in another. You need them all, and

for that reason, I spike earlier about collective leadership. It is just unrealistic to expect a big organization to produce more than a few all-purpose leaders who can perform most of the various leadership tasks exceptionally well.

When you do find the all-purpose leader, you would do well to beware of him. More often than not his domination leads to organizational despotism. And it is nice to think that social change can be more than the replacement of undesirable despots with more commodious ones. I confess, though, this may not be the lesson which history teaches .

I have an addendum. It concerns the use of white organizers, and I bring it up because it is obvious to you and to me that the growth of black nationalist sentiment has put a lot of them on the hot seat.

Like it or not, white men have their uses. Organizationally, an astute pretty white boy with an ivy league manner can run circles around anybody else in certain kinds of highly proper middle class situations. White organizers can be useful in dampening the often destructive battle for prominence that has wrecked many a promising Negro endeavor. Remember, your white organizer has no political future in the ghetto, therefore he can be used as neutral absorbent material for out-of-control ambitions which are emitting dangerous rays. The white organizer sometimes can be a reassurance when making deals with outside white groups -- and I hope there is no one here in such a retarded political babyhood as to think such deals are not necessary.

On the other hand it grates in this time of rising independence to see the old dependence on whites -- to see the old razzamatazz of whites leading Negroes. But for the good organizer this should be no problem because the good organizer should never -- or virtually never -- make a public speech, never get his name in the paper, never enjoy any formal authority in the organization. The big deal organizer who becomes a figure in his own right was never serious about developing leadership. He is the man who always meant to be the leader himself; when this type asks how do we find an indigenous leadership you can translate his words to mean, "How do I get myself a personal following?"

The good organizer is the self-effacing mentor who judges his work a success when he can leave the organization without even being missed. He is rare, rarer than first-rate leadership, but he exists and he comes in a variety of colors and he can work in almost any situation.

THE 1965 CIVIL RIGHTS LAW

A HARD LOOK

Prepared by Legal Department
Congress of Racial Equality
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PREFACE

May I take this opportunity to thank Stephen Press, a legal intern of the CORE Legal Department, for his labors in preparing the materials upon which this paper is based, and his patience with me as new thoughts developed requiring new attention. I also wish to thank James Finney, also one of our interns, for his efforts in proofreading and helping to get the copy ready for mimeographing.

In addition, I thank the CORE Scholarship, Education and Defense Fund, Inc. for making these able students available to work on what I trust will be a useful document to lawyers and non-lawyers alike in better understanding the new Civil Rights Law.

Carl Rachlin
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CORE

CIVIL RIGHTS LAW OF 1964 - A HARD LOOK

INTRODUCTION

What gains the 1964 Civil Rights Act represents has been written about at length, but its scope and its impact on the struggle for human equality in this country is still speculative. The primary concern of this paper is to examine in some detail, not those problems in civil rights which the various provisions of the bill will clearly deal with, but to isolate some of the problems to which its provisions will not apply. An understanding of the bill's limitations will greatly assist civil rights activists in understanding it generally, and in utilizing it to the maximum. In developing methods to include within the scope of the new law areas which at first blush might seem to be beyond it, we must give the kind of critical analysis we attempt here.

To the extent that few, if any, of the bill's provisions will be found applicable to most types of de facto civil rights problems, the ghetto minorities in the urban North are ignored. Consider racial imbalance existing in most Northern school systems which results primarily from racial discrimination in housing. The law is addressed to officially sanctioned racial segregation, and refuses to consider other forms of school segregation. No affirmative duty to integrate public schools is recognized or created (unless officially maintained), and "bussing," a method which is currently being discussed as a possible solution to the problem of racial imbalance, may not be demanded. Nor for that matter is racial imbalance even recognized as a civil rights problem.

More than one Southern segregationist has exclaimed that racial segregation in housing patterns in the South was not a serious problem for Negroes. Recent investigation from that area indicates that increasingly is this less the case. Segregationists in the South learn from their Northern brethren and both have come to realize that discriminatory residential patterns will provide them with the means to circumvent the law requiring desegregated public education. Since the new law does not affect housing, and since the law cannot correct racial imbalance, a major problem continues or expands.

The same sort of practical inadequacy characterizes the bill's provisions aimed at securing fair employment practices. Congress would not consider, in drafting this section of the bill, the disadvantage at which the institution of job seniority, coupled with the reality of expanding automation and fewer jobs, places discriminated minorities. It was urged that employers be required not only to implement fair employment practices in the future, but also to take corrective steps to mitigate the result of past evils.

Across the country, most Negroes, often semi and unskilled laborers, face the prospect of no employment, or employment in jobs which will go out of existence in the foreseeable future. The economic position of the Negro youngster, vis-a-vis his white counterpart, has deteriorated and without present access to or training for jobs requiring skills that can survive the march of automation, not only will more Negroes face unemployment, but permanent unemployability.

In failing to recognize some of these complex aspects of the employment problem, Congress was influenced by the argument that to authorize waiving considerations of seniority would infringe on the rights of others established in employment. Such arguments ignore the fact that the average unemployed, unskilled Negro is without a job and seniority because of the very evils which the new bill is intended to correct. No consideration at all is given to the moral right of the white man to retain seniority obtained, sometimes knowingly, at the expense of the disenfranchized, discriminated against minority member. The new law presumably opens the door to the bottom rung of the seniority roster, but it will be of little help to him if jobs are cut off because of modern equipment several rungs above him. While the anti-poverty program may meet some of these problems, efforts to date, pitifully small, will not reach into the depths of the ghetto.

It is cold comfort to flail the Northern liberal; let us rather understand the 1964 law and use it to its fullest advantage immediately so that its weaknesses will be apparent immediately. One of the interesting, if relatively unimportant, discrepancies that crop up not considered by us is the variation of the theme, once referred to many years ago, as "race, creed and color." In Title II we see "race, color, religion or national origin"; but in the important Title VI we have "race, color or national origin." Title VII expands this to "race, color, religion, sex or national origin"; but Title VIII goes back to"race, color and national origin." Title IX considers "race, color, religion or nationalorigin," but Title X once more omits "religion."

No matter what the law says, however, it is only useful to the extent that its rights are utilized. The utilization derives in turn from the acts of the less timid, those in the action-minded organization, who are prepared to undertake the task and the risk of the preliminary exploration. Then only by growing use is the law meaningful. With that in mind we prepared this paper.

TITLE I. VOTING RIGHTS. What The Law Does

(A) To any person seeking to register to vote, the 1964 Act prohibits state voter registration officials from:

(1) applying any standard practice or procedure not applied to other persons in that county in a similar situation;

(2) denying, as they have so often in the past, the right to vote in any federal election because of any error or omission in registration which is unimporant in deciding whether the person is qualified to vote or not;

(3) using literacy tests as a qualification for voting unless the test is in writing and the prospective voter may later obtain a copy of the test and his answers.

(B) The law creates a presumption in favor of any person who has completed a sixth grade education, predominantly in english that he or she possesses sufficient literacy to vote in any federal election.

(C) The U. S. Attorney-General may bring an action asking the federal court to find a pattern or practice of discrimination. In such an action brought by the Attorney-General, the Attorney-General, or any defendant in a suit brought by the Attorney-General, may request the case to be heard by a special three-judge court. It is hoped that this will make it more simple to uphold the law. Every question involved in a particular case will be decided by this court, appeals going directly to the Supreme Court, thus speeding the procedure, and causing to be more closely supervised those federal judges who do not understand issues of equality.

TITLE I. VOTING. The Hard Look

(A) The provisions of Title I are consistently restricted to federal elections. The term "Federal Election" under Title I is defined as "any general, special or primary election" held solely or in part for the purpose of electing federal officials. What application the new provisions have to elections for state officials held at a different time from the federal elections is open to speculation. No doubt in some areas, separate voting lists for federal and state elections will be created in the hope that state and local political power will not be affected by the 1964 law, only Congressional and Presidential elections.

(1) On reading Title 42, United States Code, §1971, one finds, however, the possibility of utilizing Title I of the 1964 Civil Rights Bill to enhance Negro registration in all elections, including those held solely for the purpose of election of state or local officials. Title 42 USC 1971 (A) provides that all citizens "qualified by law to vote at any election by the people" in any territorial subdivision shall be allowed to vote at all such elections." We must consider

whether a person who has qualified to vote in any federal election pursuant to Title I of the 1964 law, can be denied the right to vote in any state or local election under Title 42 USC 1971.

(2) Article I, Section 2 of the United States Constitution provides that persons eligible to vote for the election of representatives to the House of Representatives shall have the same qualifications required for electors of the largest house of the state legislature. (There is a similar requirement for the Senate contained in the 17th Amendment.) Since this is so, once a person has been registered to vote for a U.S. Representative or Senator under the 1964 law, he should be allowed to register and vote for representatives to the largest house of the state legislature. Once again, using Title 42 USC 1971 above, he must be allowed to vote in all such state elections.

(B) No limitation is placed upon state requirements for voter literacy qualification tests, merely that rules or tests be applied impartially.

(1) In fact, the U.S. Attorney-General is permitted to accept, as proper, rigid tests if they are equally applied. Since, in discriminatory areas, white voters far outnumber Negro voters, it is inevitable that rigid qualifications can work against Negroes. Severe tests, equally applied, will equally keep new white and Negro voters off the lists; and will keep the voter rolls largely white, as they presently are.

(2) Unless educational deficiencies of many Negroes are corrected, and until equal opportunity in education is a reality for greater numbers, new applicants for registration under rigid tests, even if fairly applied, will be predominantly white. Since a sixth grade education is not conclusive of the right to vote, though it is the basis for a presumption of literacy, however, how beneficial this provision will prove to be under these circumstances is open to some doubt. In addition, it cannot be overlooked that the six grades of education must have been acquired in a school where English must have been the language "predominantly" employed, so that persons whose education is or was in Spanish or some other language are thrown back upon the general literacy tests, and their protection by the 1964 law is minimal if the literacy tests are equally applied.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. What the Law Does

(A) All persons are entitled to full and equal enjoyment of the goods, services, facilities, privileges and accommodations. The following establishments are covered and are considered "accommodations," the facilities of which should now be open to all:

(1) hotels, motels, inns and any place affording lodging to transient guests (except any establishment renting 5 or fewer rooms, and is occupied by the proprietor as his residence, i.e. Mrs. Murphy's Rooming House).

(2) eating establishments, including restaurants, lunch counters, soda fountains, cafeterias, and other places principally engaged in selling food for consumption on the premises if it caters to interstate travelers, or much of the food moves in interstate commerce.

(3) gasoline stations, rest rooms and facilities.

(4) theatres, movie houses, concert halls, sport arenas, stadiums and other places of public entertainment and exhibition if the entertainment shown is the kind that goes from state to state like movies or shows.

(5) any other establishment which is located within one of these places and generally serves its patrons (e.g. a barber shop in a hotel) or which houses a place of public accommodation (e.g. a department store that houses a restaurant).

(B) In addition, Title II prohibits any third person from intimidating, threatening or coercing any other person to

(1) interfere with his right to enter or use any public accommodations, or to punish anyone for using these rights or

(2) interfere with anyone such as an innkeeper, who wishes to comply with the law.

(C) If any covered service such as in a hotel is withheld, the person harmed may ask the federal court for an injunction. He may also ask for the appointment of a lawyer by the court. If he wins, the hotel, restaurant, etc., may have to pay his attorney's fee if the court decides. But if he loses,the court can order such person to pay the fee of the restaurant for example.

(D) If the discrimination in any hotel, restaurant, etc., is carried on by authority of law, or a local custom enforced by local public officials, at any place, it is also a violation under the law even though it is not engaged in interstate commerce.

(E) Where exists a general pattern or practice of denying Negroes the use of these public facilities, certified to by the Attorney-General, then the Attorney-General may sue for an injunction immediately. At his request and upon further certifying to the public importance of the case, a special three-judge court to hear the case will be designated.

TITLE II. PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS. The Hard Look

(A) The following situations are apparently not covered (In general, please note that the law does not apply to any establishment merely because it is open to the public; it must satisfy one of the tests described above):

(1)(a) Hotels, motels or other lodging which have five or fewer rooms for rent and in which the proprietor makes his home are not included.

(b) Similarly hotels, apartment houses catering to permanent guests and residents as distinct from "transients" are not covered.

(2) Bona fide private clubs are not covered; the law does not exempt restaurants, etc., however, which pretend to be private clubs but in fact are not and serve anyone who wants to enter if he happens to be white. Some of these tests as to whether or not a "club" is bona fide or not are:

(a) When was the "club" set up?

(b) Does it have real or nominal dues?

(c) How easy is it to obtain a so-called membership card? (In other words, is it really open to the general white public and only closed to Negroes?)

(3) Restaurants are not covered unless they cater to interstate travelers or the food which is served has traveled in interstate commerce.

(4) Retail stores in general. Unless they operate a restaurant inside or fall under one of the other covered categories.

(5) Barber shops, beauty parlors and other service facilities, unless they are housed in a place covered by the law, such as a hotel, and are part of the services offered by a hotel, for example.

(6) The sale or rental of private houses or housing.

(7) Taverns or night clubs which sell little or no food. (Restaurants having bars can be covered if they mainly sell food.) An interesting question concerns whether taverns or bars which have an operating television to entice customers to come in and spend money may possibly be included under the section covering places of public entertainment even though they are not covered by the restaurant section. Likewise, night clubs which provide entertainment or offer dancing may possibly be covered by the same section although food may not be the principal source of income, but rather drinks together with an admission or cover charge will be the main source of income.

(8) Active customer-participation places of entertainment (i.e., bowling alleys, golf courses, tennis courts and swimming pools) are apparently not covered. If, however, one of these do-it-yourself places is located within an amusement park which contains other spectator entertainment and is covered, we can strongly urge that it should be covered by Title II.

Also, should the golf course, bowling alley, or swimming pool, for example, offer tournaments or exhibitions open to the public with or without a fee, this too might bring it under the section covering places of public entertainment and exhibitions.

Please note here that the exhibition in the bowling alley or the tennis court must presumably involve people giving exhibitions in various parts of the United States. A couple of local fellows giving a bowling demonstration would not bring the place under the Act. But if the place had a restaurant which was of the covered type, then the bowling alley would be covered.

(9) Private hospitals are not covered unless they are state facilities or have sufficient state or federal support or interest to bring them under Title III.

(B) A private person may sue in federal court for relief where a state or local agency such as a Human Rights Commission exists covering discrimination problems, only after he has given that state or local agency 30 days' notice. Even after that notice, the court has further discretion to stay the action pending the termination of state or local proceedings.

(C) A private individual cannot sue for money damages for violations of this Title; only injunctive relief may be granted.

(D) In any event, an operator of a place of public accommodations is not required to service all customers (e.g., drunks, patrons in bathing suits). The section merely bars discriminatory application of any such rules. But, of course, he cannot use this as an excuse to refuse people service on grounds of race.

(E) Where a law suit has started, the court may delay any action for up to 120 days in order to give the Federal Community Relations Service an opportunity to gain voluntary compliance. This is the new service set up under this law and presently headed by former Governor Collins of Florida.

(F) The section prohibiting discrimination supported by state action does not apply to professional services of doctors, lawyers, dentists, for example, simply because they may be licensed by the city, county or state since nowhere in the 1964 Act are such services described as a place of public accommodation.

TITLE III. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES

What The Law Does

(A) When the Attorney-General receives a written complaint that:

(1) anyone because of race is denied the use of a facility owned, operated or managed by the state (except a school, which comes under Title IV), and

(2) he believes that desegregating this particular facility is important to the orderly progress of desegration, and

(3) he certifies that those complaining can't afford to bring the action themselves or, if they can, they will be subject to abuse or hardship,
then he may sue to end the discrimination by the state or city.

(B) Private persons may still take legal action in these circumstances as they could before the passage of the Act.

TITLE III. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC FACILITIES The Hard Look

(A) Facilities that are merely licensed or regulated, but not owned, by the state are not included under this Title, including such services as rendered by electricians, plumbers, doctors, etc. They must be owned, operated or managed "on behalf of the state" to be included within the intent of Title III.

(B) Broad on its face, this Title does not, however, apply to public schools or colleges. Whatever benefits are applicable to schools are included under the narrower Title IV discussed below.

(D) Before the Attorney-General may act, he must receive a complaint in writing from the person affected. Nor may the Attorney-General act unless he certifies that the complainant cannot maintain appropriate proceedings. This will require investigation and clarification, and how it will be interpreted is open to question. Should the complainant have any assets it is possible that the Attorney-General may believe that he cannot proceed; similarly, should CORE, or any civil rights group, be interested in the person involved, the Attorney-General may refuse to handle the case even though the person involved cannot afford the expense, on the grounds the person does not need help.

TITLE IV. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
What The Law Does

(A) The U. S. Commissioner of Education is directed to submit a report within two years on the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals in public educational institutions at all levels throughout the country.

(B) The Commissioner is authorized to provide grants for these purposes:
(1) technical assistance to schools, etc., and
(2) to set up training institutes to help train personnel to deal with problems incident to desegregation.

(C) Upon receipt of a written complaint from a student or parent or group of parents that students are being denied admission or are not permitted to continue in a public college by reason of race, color, religion or national origin and being satisfied that they cannot bring the action either for financial or other reasons, the Attorney-General may ask the federal courts for any appropriate relief.

TITLE IV. DESEGREGATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION
The Negative Look

(A) Primary schools, secondary schools and colleges which are not predominantly supported by state funds are not covered by this Title. What the word "predominantly" means at this time is difficult to understand. Whether it means that more than 50% of its budget comes from governmental sources, or instead will consider it sufficient if governmental sums are the largest single operating resource is an important question here.

Should it be the latter, it is possible that a college receiving less than 50% of its funds from the state and receiving various smaller grants from private sources will be covered by the law. This question will be important in the case of colleges, but not likely to involve schools below this level. Not to be ignored in considering the proposals for support of private schools by the federal government is the effect this will have on whether such support would bring the school under the law.

(B) While almost all private schools are licensed by the state with standards set by the state, with substantial credits granted to schools in the form of benefits both state, local and federal, it is doubtful that private schools are covered unless perhaps it can be shown that these various benefits can be shown to support the school "predominantly" in the terms of this title of the statute. In the cases of colleges and universities we may have a different story; so many special group student-aid programs exist that "predominantly" may be less difficult to prove. It should be kept in mind that federal grants to schools may perhaps be withheld under the authority granted by the federal government to terminate or withhold such grant to any private institution which discriminates. Whether this power would apply to any individual who receives a grant and then uses it for study at a discriminating school is doubtful. This is one of the great dangers in legislation that contributes money to individuals to be used for education; policing the use of money may be difficult and segregation supported unless rigid controls are maintained to guarantee that no student will use the money in any school that discriminates.

(C) Racial imbalance in any school by requiring bussing

of students from one school district to another may not be corrected by this statute. But it is arguable that bussing may be ordered by the court if that is necessary to achieve desegregation as distinguished from correcting racial imbalance.

(D) Any deprivation of equal protection of the law in public schools must be by the "school board" itself. Improper acts of a principal or teacher,as agents of the Board, are not likely to be considered as acts of the board itself unless the Board refuses to correct the situation. Under the definition of "school board" is included any agency responsible for the assignment of pupils so that any other state agency, or perhaps the state itself, which has as its official policy segregation in education may properly be classified as a defendant and be ordered to take appropriate action by the court.

(E) A college student will be protected only should he have been denied admission or have not been permitted to continue in attendance at a public college. Note that discriminatory facilities, therefore, in a public college (such as a segregated dormitory or eating facility) won't be grounds for action under this title unless these irregularities force the student to discontinue his education at the school.

(F) The law is cumbersome. The Attorney-General must in every complaint involving school segregation in public schools give the school board involved reasonable time (as if 10 years were not enough) to adjust the grievance before beginning a court proceeding. In addition, here, also, the Attorney-General must certify that the persons or the organizations interested in the case cannot bear the expense. In effect, the Attorney-General must get financial reports from parents or organizations who ask the U.S. for help. Why a person with a little money should be required to use his funds to achieve a constitutional right long withheld by the state is somewhat hard to understand. The statute thus raises a form of economic discrimination, although what amounts must be owned in order not to receive the help of the United States is not set forth in the law itself.

(G) The statute does not demand the end of all forms of segregation and discrimination in colleges. Protection is granted only for "admission" or "continuance" in college. A broad area is left uncovered. In the case of lower schools, on the other hand, the protection is broader and includes any denial of equal protection of the laws. Since many colleges and universities are the beneficiaries of federally-assisted or financed programs, Title VI to a limited extent may beef up Title IV in this regard.

TITLE V. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. What It Does

(A) This title changes and expands the procedures of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and further defines its duties with regard to the investigation of voting rights, education, housing, employment, etc. The life of the Commission has been extended to January 31, 1968.

(B) The Commission may not:
(i) investigate the denial of civil rights,
(ii) evaluate the policies of the U.S. in regard to discrimination.

Presumably the Commission will not only look into discrimination as it may involve the Federal Government directly, but also what effect the policies of the Federal Government are having on discrimination in the many areas outside the Federal Government.

TITLE V. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS. The Hard Look.

Despite its investigative power, its educative authority, its important clearing-house function, the Commission has no authority to enforce any laws involving discrimination. Powers to enforce under the new law were carefully given, in large part, to new agencies such as the Community Relations Service and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, thus merely creating a multiplicity of federal agencies when one experienced agency might be better able to do the work. Different agencies may have different standards as to discrimination.

TITLE VI. NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS. What The Law Does

(A) i. Discrimination is prohibited against any person denied the right on the grounds of race, color or national origin to participate in or receive the benefits under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance.

ii. Unlike the requirement in the education title where the Attorney-General must receive a complaint in writing, the federal agency or department involved may act on its own initiative without the receipt of a formal complaint and offer specific steps to cut off federal funds.

(B) Each federal agency or department who extends federal financial assistance to any program in the form of loan, grant or contract to enforce the above prohibition may refuse to grant or may terminate federal assistance to the particular program or activity where discrimination has been found. Many such programs exist in agriculture, health, commerce and industry.

(C) Such action may only be taken after mediation.

TITLE VI. NONDISCRIMINATION IN FEDERALLY-ASSISTED PROGRAMS
The Negative Look

(A) This title covers only federally-assisted grants, loans or contracts. Employment practices by the employer under the federally-supported programs do not appear to be affected unless employment is the primary objective of the federal assistance contract. Thus a federal beneficiary, so long as it carries out in a non-discriminatory manner the particular program, may continue to discriminate in its employment policies.

(B) Federal assistance by way of contracts of insurance or guarantee (all the usual benefits in the purchase of housing such as mortgates, guarantees of savings and loan accounts) are specifically exempted from the coverage of this title. Since housing discrimination is not covered by this Act at all and protection is explicitly withheld by virtue of the exclusion of guarantees, we must, in order to prevent discrimination in the sale and rental of housing, fall back upon the general provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, or the rules of various state statutes to prevent discrimination in those cases where the building has had the benefit of federal guarantees in obtaining mortgage loans, etc. What effect the exclusions in the Act will have upon the thinking of the court is speculative,but hopefully the federal courts will decide that regardless of what Congrees does, the name and credit of the U.S. cannot be used to uphold discrimination.

(C) In order to gain the benefits of this title, a cumbersome procedure must be gone through; the title is not self-operating.

(1) The federal agency must issue rules and regulations under the 1964 Civil Rights Law. These regulations have now been issued. Many faults appear in them, often having a weakening effect on the law.

(2) The President must approve them, which he has.

(3) A voluntary compliance agreement must be attempted before any action can be taken against the offending party or group.

(4) If this fails, there must be a hearing and an expressed finding of violation of the law.

(5) Despite all these precautions, the federal department cannot act until it files a full report with the committee of the Senate or House of Representatives covering the particular activity (e.g., if the discrimination is an an agricultural program, the report must be filed with the committees on agriculture in the House and Senate; 30 days thereafter the federal agency can act to cut off a program. What will happen if the congressional committee rears its head, we can only guess. The Act gives Congress no power at this point, but calling the head of the agency before the committee of Congress can well discourage

the federal agency from acting.

(D) This is still a piecemeal attack against a state which is still carrying out a massive campaign of discrimination. It means that each program must be attacked separately at great loss of time.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY. What The Law Does

(A) Race, color, religion, sex or national origin may not be an excuse used by (1) employers, and (2) employment agencies to discriminate in hiring, referral for hiring, discharge, terms and conditions of employment, and (3) unions to exclude or expel anyone from membership, or discriminate in regard to apprenticeship programs, or (4) advertise for people in a discriminatory manner.

(B) An EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION is created to enforce these rights.

(C) A proceeding commences when

(1) either a written sworn complaint is filed with the Commission by someone discriminated against, or,
(2) a member of the Commission himself may file such a charge in order to begin a proceeding

(D) Conciliation is first attempted. Should this fail and the Commission finds, after an investigation to which it can subpoena books and records as well as persons, that the complaint has merit, then the person or persons affected by the discrimination may seek an injunction in the U.S. District Court to prevent the employer, union or employment agency from discrimination.

(E) A complainant may request the appointment of a lawyer by the court, and the court not only can do this, but may award counsel fees and costs.

(F) Where there is a pattern or course of conduct of discrimination, the Attorney-General can begin an action in court and ask for a three-judge court.

(G) Should the court find the intent to discriminate it may issue an injunction against the discrimination and award back pay if the person discriminated against has lost earnings.

(H) Also illegal is discrimination by employers or unions against employees, members or applicants who have opposed practices made illegal by this title.

(I) The employer must post notices explaining to employees

how to file complaints under this title.

(J) Any labor organization or employer discriminating against individuals on grounds of race, color, religion, sex or national origin in admitting persons to any program to provide apprenticeship or other training also violates Title VII.

(K) Employment agencies regardless of size are covered by this title.

TITLE VII. EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY. The Hard Look.

(A) Coverage is limited to employees, agencies and labor organizations concerned with industries which affect interstate commerce, i.e., any industry or activity in commerce in which a labor dispute could obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce. Many smaller employers are not covered by the law.

(B) No requirement is made as to the hiring of members of minority groups to balance past improper acts. All that is required is a lack of discrimination in employment in the case of new qualified applicants. In other words, preferential treatment to right past wrongs is not required. What can be accomplished by negotiations with an employer or a union is not covered by the Act, and the Act does not present new hiring practices designed to attract persons of minority groups.

(C) Enforcement of the nondiscrimination requirements against employers and unions will not begin until July 2, 1965. At that time only employers with at least 100 employees and unions with at least 100 members will be covered. Coverage will thereafter be extended year by year so that beginning July 2, 1966 the minimum number will be 15; July 2, 1967, 50, and finally July 2, 1968, when companies or unions with 25 or more workers or members will be covered. Thereafter, no union or employer with fewer than 25 workers will ever be covered by this title. Since many employers have fewer than 25 people, even at its best, in 1968, large gaps exist in the law.

(1) Thus even though a company is actually engaged in interstate commerce and has fewer than 25 employees, it can continue to discriminate. On the other hand, a company or union, no matter how large (not engaged in interstate commerce) may also continue to discriminate.

(2) The definition of what companies are covered under the Civil Rights Law is different from that of the National Labor Relations Act. Since the NLRB is also concerned with certain aspects of discrimination in employment, some confusion will result because of the different standards. Generally speaking, those of the NLRB are preferable.

(D) The United States government, corporations under its control--such as TVA, and states and political subdivisions of states are not included within the definition of employer. The first two, however, are covered by executive order and the President's Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity, the latter two by the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, but this may have to be battled case by case in each state.

(E) A bona fide private club is also exempted from coverage under this title (see the tests for a bona fide private club under Title II, The Hard Look.

(F) Educational institutions, in regard to the employment of persons in connection with educational activities of the school, and church organizations in connection with their religious work, are not covered by the law and may discriminate. In addition, church related schools may hire persons or only one religion, apparently, regardless of whether the work done by such persons has any connection with religious activities.

(G) (1) What constitutes the educational activities of a school is somewhat uncertain, but would certainly include teachers, librarians, technicians of various kinds, etc.

(2) Similarly in a non-school religious organization; whether or not janitors, office workers or similar employees are covered is uncertain. What are "religious" activities is nowhere defined.

(H) Only employers who hire employees for more than twenty weeks of the year are covered, therefore excluding employers of seasonal employment and permitting discrimination.

(I) Seniority or merit systems are not covered by this title. Built-in discrimination practiced in prior years, whereby older employees with seniority cannot be affected, is protected. Reading this section carefully, an argument may be made that past seniority, built up on discriminatory practices of the past, may be the basis for a complaint with the Commission, since such seniority is not bona fide as required by the Act.

(1) Similarly, ability tests may be used in employment provided the test is not intended to discriminate. Any test, however apparently fair, can be designed to protect the status quo.

(J) Past discrimination is protected, and employees, beneficiaries of prior wrongful practices, may retain the benefits of knowingly discriminatory conduct by either employers or unions; nor may wrongfully maintained imbalance of numbers of employees created in the past be corrected. Only with current and future employment is the act concerned.

(K) The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has limited authority. The one harmed may not obtain an order from the Commission protecting him; his remedy lies in bringing a suit in the federal court. Once a federal court order in his favor has been entered in a civil law suit brought by the injured person against the employer or union, the Commission may then obtain an order for compliance if the employer or union does not comply.

(L) The Commission must allow any state which has a Fair Employment Practices Law at least sixty days to act under the local law to remedy the situation. This period may be extended to 120 days in the case of a state law which has been in effect for less than one year. Whether some states, to delay action under this title, may pass their own Fair Employment Practices (F.E.P.) Law, which they will be lax in enforcing, we will have to watch and see.

(M) Every charge must be filed with the Commission within 90 days from the date of the alleged illegal practice, or, if there is a state F.E.P. law, the filing must take place within 210 days of the alleged practice or 30 days after the termination of the state proceedings, whichever is earlier. This means that action must be taken promptly and civil rights organizations must be vigilant.

(N) The Commission may enter written agreements with state F.E.P. agencies not to process charges in certain classes of cases. Although the Law does not say so, presumably such cases will be prosecuted under state law. However, the Commission shall rescind any such agreement "whenever it determines that the agreement no longer serves the interest of the effective enforcement of this title." This can have dangerous possibilities should many states pass F.E.P. laws and the state agencies enter into discriminatory agreements with the federal agency.

(O) The Commission may not determine whether any act is unlawful. It may only decide whether there is reasonable cause to believe the charge true, not make a firm decision; it may not issue cease and desist orders. Its authority is limited to attempting to eliminate the alleged wrongful conduct through conciliation and persuasion.

(1) It can only act negatively in that an aggrieved person may go to court at such time as the Commission has made a finding of reasonable cause. What can be done should the Commission not indicate reasonable cause to believe the charge is true, is unclear. No remedy is set forth in the statute, and likely none will be available.

(P) While Counsel fees are allowable, they are awarded to the prevailing party. Thus the employer or the union

accused may receive fees from the person complaining if a charge is not proven. This may act as a damper on bringing cases unless there is a certainty of winning. Such a certainty rarely exists. Under usual American practice, giving counsel fees to the prevailing party is not common, since we believe it prevents a person with little means from suing for fear of a big counsel fee award against him in the event of a loss, keeping in mind that such a loss means often that the evidence was not sufficient to sustain the burden of proof which is on the plaintiff, and not that the employer or the union did not discriminate.

TITLE VIII. VOTING STATISTICS. What The Law Does.

In selected areas the Commerce Department at the request of the Commission on Civil Rights is directed by this title to conduct a survey of persons of voting age by race, color and national origin and to determine to what extent such persons have registered and voted in such areas as the Commission suggests.

TITLE IX. INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES

What The Law Does

(A) Trying a civil rights case in a segregated court room, or in court in the North where the judges often have little conception of civil rights, is very difficult. This section provides that civil rights lawyers may remove many civil rights cases to the federal courts, which are generally better able to understand the problems. Should a federal court refuse to accept a civil rights case and send it back to a state court, this "remand" to the state court may be reviewed on appeal.

(B) The Attorney-General is authorized to intervene in any suit filed by a private person seeking relief from the denial of equal protection of the laws on account of race, color, religion or national origin.

TITLE IX. INTERVENTION AND REMOVAL IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES.

The Hard Look.

This valuable procedure has sometimes been used indiscriminately. A substantial number of cases have been removed

which really cannot be accepted by the federal court. The appeal process is expensive, time-consuming and the delay causes those people involved to be uncertain of their position about trials, etc. Should any people fail to appear over the years, additional costs and expenses are involved (i.e.: forfeiture of bonds). When used properly, in a well-documented case, the procedure can be very helpful. As of the moment, however, those cases, indiscriminately and thoughtlessly removed, may come back to plague us at a time when we should be looking forward, not backward. It is highly unlikely that traffic cases will be retained by the federal courts. When they are remanded to the state and the people are no longer available to testify, we may be in difficulties.

TITLE X. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE. What The Law Does.

Those who have seen the valuable assistance provided by mediation in the often very knotty problems in labor relations know that Title X, if properly utilized, will be of importance to the future of civil rights. Often an outside person of considerable understanding can help white communities learn to accept the future society, one built on equality. Local people, even those well-meaning ones, are so much a part of the structure of the local society that they are unable to take any meaningful action.

This title provides that a Community Relations Service be established in the Department of Commerce to provide assistance to persons or communities who can use help in establishing equality under federal civil rights laws. In general, the Service will aid in conciliation and attempt to bring about voluntary settlement of such problems.

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS. What The Law Does.

(A) Upon demand by the accused, i.e., one who has refused to carry out an order of the court, a jury trial must be granted in any proceeding for criminal contempt arising out of any Titles to the 1964 Act except Title I, which retains the more limited jury trial provisions of the 1957 Civil Rights Act (in that case a jury trial must be granted in the event the punishment exceeds $300 fine or 45 days' imprisonment, which is the more common experience).

(B) No jury trial is available to such a person if the contempt is committed in the presence, or very close to the presence, of the Court itself. The theory is that criminal

contempt is very similar to a criminal trial and should involve a jury. A conviction for a criminal contempt is punishment for a past wrong and generally is not punishment to prevent the continuance of a current wrong or failure to carry out a decree of the court.

(C) Civil contempt of federal court orders are still heard without a jury. The purpose of civil contempt is to persuade someone to mend his ways and carry out a court order under the threat of imprisonment for continued refusal.

TITLE XI. MISCELLANEOUS. The Hard Look.

While the right of civil contempt is adequate in most cases for the carrying out of federal court orders in favor of civil rights, in some flagrant situations (Meredith case) only criminal contempt will suffice to uphold the federal court. A jury trial in such cases in effect means that the prejudices of local communities will govern a conviction or acquittal as the case may be. This has been the general experience.

Mary Hamilton

The Gadsden Report

(June 26 - August 22, 1963)

By Claudia Rawles, Field Secretary for

The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

Dedicated to Mr. James Forman

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to present a comprehensive account of the Gadsden situation, the motives behind its inception, the people involved, and the influences which have precipitated the events here up until the present time.

Motives

There were two major happenings which possibly led to the formation of the Gadsden Freedom Movement.

1. There were several local leaders who went down to Montgomery when things were coming to a climatic head. While they were down there they were locked in one of the churches and consequently returned to Gadsden as heroes. Others, jealous of their comrades, banded together and decided that they could start a movement here and reach higher and more glorious heights than their peers.

2. The members of the Business League here which has gained nation-wide acclaim for its competent program and its beneficial efforts in the community, were the originatcrs of a brilliant plan to unify the Negro community in an effort to promote Negro businesses. They decided to bring in a prominent civil rights group (SCLC) to do the job for them. In addition to that the outside group wold furnish the capital for anything that occurred. To them this seemed like a logical way to get more business and not have to pay for it. In the meantime, an Omnibus suit against city officials had been filed, seeking to desegrate facilities here. The Civil Rights groups would furnish the necessary proof, that segregation existed here.

The first group to arrive was SCLC represented by Bernard Lee. He gained the respect of the adult community, but he did not reach the younger elements of the community. Next, SNCC ap-

peared on the scene, represented by Eric Rainey, Landy McNaire, and William Porter. They mobilized the young people and eventually formed a SNCC staff. A strategy committee was formed which consisted of one person from each group involved. Last to arrive was CORE, represented by Mary Hamilton, Marvin Robison, and William Douthard. Marvin Robison was added to the strategy committee and with his personality and ability soon took charge.

"Gadsden Christian Citizenship Committee" was the name chosen to encompass all associated groups when rivalry and bickering between local leaders for top-position and credit occurred. The Rev. Baskerville was acting president and Dr. Stewart treasuer. The money from the mass meetings paid for an office and secretary along with bills for an occasional engagement of legal defense.

The first act performed by the groups was to initiate a selective buying campaign. One of the more prominent ministers who had been active in the movement, Rev. Jarrett, lost his prestige when he was caught shopping downtown. By far the biggest move, was the direct action which started on June 10. People were jailed, beaten, and brutalized by police officers. Complaints were promptly filed to the Justice Department. Voter registration was started and the Justice Department was called in to investigate the matter. No word has yet been received by those who have applied. In an effort to leave no wheels unturned, Negro students applied for applications for transfer to white schools.

Highlights and Events

The first demonstrations on June 10 sponsored by the combined groups met little opposition. In fact, law enforcement officers actually protected the demonstrators from white spectators. For the most part, demonstrations were orderly and well disciplined.

After a few days of demonstrating without incident one day, on orders from CORE's Marvin Robison demonstrators started lying down in stores and on the sidewalks of business places. During the demonstration of June 17, a white woman allegedly was pushed or shoved by some of the demonstrators. A million dollar damage suit was filed against seventeen of the leading Negro citizens, including four or five who had nothing to do with the movement or the demonstrations. In the meantime Judge A.B. Cunningham issued an injunction against demonstrations, particularly, obstructing traffic and trade.

On the night of June 17th approximately four hundred Negroes prayed and sang on the local courthouse lawn. At midnight a few left, leaving the majority who had, apparently decided to spend the night sleeping on the lawn. About 3:00 A.M. two hundred state patrolmen, armed with clubs, black jacks and electric cattle prodders slipped up on the sleeping Negroes and started beating them without warning. They also used the electric cattle prodders on women and children. When they had completely routed the courthouse lawn sleepers, they pursued . . . them under nearby houses, thickets and alleys, beating and shocking unmercifully. Local doctors were kept busy the rest of the morning and day treating the injured.

A week of terror ensued, with state patrolmen and local white persons who were quickly deputized, kicking down doors of Negro residents, beating and shocking the occupants. All that week, pedestrians and motorists alike were accosted and given the treatment. The local F.B.I. agent was apparantly powerless to stop the widespread brutality or give Negroes any protection.

A team recruited from the ranks of the local movement attempted unsuccessfully to start negotiating a peace. The mayor said that since the Negroes had filed the omnibus suit seeking to remedy many of the injustices complained about, he would take no official action, one way or the other. He did promise to obey whatever decrees were handed down by the Federal courts in regard to the Omnibus Suit. Many of the leading white citizens contacted expressed concern, but were unwilling to take a stand or recommend anything. In fact, the group has been unable to recruit any white people of sufficient power to meet with them.

James Farmer, head of CORE, came to town and after a series of conferences, it was decided to mobilize the total Negro community in a massive demonstration for "D" Day. "D" Day arrived on August third. More than eleven hundred Negro citizens participated in the march through the Negro sections and to downtown Gadsden. When the marchers arrived at the Reich Hotel in downtown Gadsden, they were stopped by state highway patrolmen who asked the leader, Rev. L. A. Warren, if they wanted to disperse or go to jail. Rev. Warren replied that they would prefer going to jail.

Approximately six hundred and fifty marchers were arrested on the spot, many having quit the ranks on confrontation with the state patrolmen. Many were forced to run a mile to the coliseum where several were beaten and prodded with the electric prodders. A few were beaten and maltreated so severly as to require nospital and medical attention.

All the children involved were released. Some of the prisoners were carried to the state work camp at Camp Gadsden on the outskirts of the city. All arrested were charged with contempt, having violated Judge Cunningham's injunction. For nine days the majority of those arrested were held in jail without bond. A few employees of local industries, Goodyear and Republic, were released on $500 bond. Oscar W. Adams, attorney for the local movement instituted habeas corpus proceedings which resulted in the release, on bond, of those remaining in jail.

The matter of the legality of Judge Cunningham's injunction has been challenged in the courts. However it is not known at this writing (August 22, 1963) when the matter will be ruled upon. In the meantime, Judge Cunningham has not set a trial date for those arrested and released on bond.

Summary

It can be said that the state patrolmen departed quickly after the mass arrests on "D" Day. The wave of brutality and terror that followed the first mass demonstration did not occur.

Two white businesses in Negro sections caught fire and burned during the period. Another white grocer who had signed several bonds for demonstrators in the first mass action, had

his store heavily damaged by fire.

At this writing a peaceful lull has settled over Gadsden. The time is ripe for the local leadership to recruit a voluntary Bi-Racial Commission or negotiating team to work out techniques of achieving the goals of the demonstrations. A page or one half page ad published in the local white daily, of the statement below marked exhibit A would serve to mold white opinion favorably toward negotiations.

Exhibit A

(A suggested statement to be used as a basis for) starting negotiations.

Recent events in Gadsden reveal that it is high time for us, both white and black, to re-examine the conditions of our city and the trends of our time. Unless the moderate, sensible people of both races concern themselves with these trends and conditions, not only the people of Gadsden, but of America as well, will witness the development of an utterly demoralizing, devastating condition during the nest decade.

The majority of upper class whites are unaware of the insecurity, frustration and utter lack of hope under which the majority of Negroes live. There is also a growing class of white middle class and upper class Negroes who are anxious to forget, and disassociate themselves from these miserable conditions.

Middle and upper class Negroes are following the example set by whites ----- deserting and moving as far away as possible, both physically and ideologically, from the misery of the Negro masses.

Segregationists, acutely aware of the conditions and the lot of the Negro masses, want no part of them, hoping that in time, these undesirable conditions will simply disappear and society in general will not be penalized and corrupted by them.

On the other hand, integrationists similarly aware of these unwholesome conditions, hope that by being absorbed into the mainstream of American life, these conditions will be ameliorated and finally disappear.

Neither group has offered anything constructive in solving the problem. Nor can this problem be solved in the streets. Now there has developed a grave need for both groups to unite their forces in meeting a problem

becoming more acute each day by automation and population increases that decrees more insecurity, frustration, delinquency, lower moral and ethical standards for thousands of Negroes today, and for tomorrow, thousands of whites ..... unless this widening gulf between middle and upper class citizens of both races is bridged.

Obviously, the so-called "race" problem is not a problem of race at all. Rather it is a problem of whether or not we shall meet a growing, crucial challenge in the development of a better life for all Americans, both white and black.

This problem cannot be solved by radical integrationist action. Neither can it be solved by adamant segrationists refusal to deal with it. The problem, once critical where Negroes were concerned, now has become vital to all in the vaccum created by the absence of concerned leadership.

It is high time for moderate, sensible people of good will from both races to come forward and start resolving this problem.

A facsimile reproduction of the statement could be used by members of the local negotiating team to personally and individually solicit support and members of the white community to serve on the Bi-Racial Commision.

Diplomacy and strategy are the steps to victory, which is waiting to be claimed by local Negro citizens.

Reports - Government - Georgia

1962, January thru
1963, Jan

SPECIAL REPORT

ORGANIZATIONAL Department

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[1962, JAN 8]

A L B A N Y

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Two weeks before Christmas, 1961, 737 persons in the Black Belt city of Albany, Georgia -- college students, professionals, working people, and children -- marched, prayed, sang, and went to jail to try to force open doors shut tight to Negroes since the city was founded in slavery days.

Into that week of protest and excitement was compressed every major issue debated today in the changing South: the enforcement of national law by local authorities hostile to that law; the absence of communication between whites and Negroes living close together in a small southern city; the ambitions of local politicians; factionalism in Negro leadership; monopoly of the press and television; charges of "outside" agitation and "subversive" influence; the peculiar operations of local justice; jailhouse brutality. Intertwined with these were other elements: the remarkable role played by a handful of young people, already veterans of several prisons, devoted to a philosophy of non-violence in an atmosphere of police repression; the participation of a few young southern whites, trying to pay with personal sacrifice the debt of their ancestors for ten generations; the awkward cautiousness of a national administration.

The following report is based on newspaper accounts in Atlanta and Albany, and on-the-spot talks with the mayor, businessmen, deputy sheriffs, white ministers, politicians, local editors, Negro leaders both local and national, men and women just emerged from prison, young Freedom Riders in and out of the county jailhouse, white local people unconnected with the city leadership, and Negroes not involved in the demonstrations.

Albany, Georgia

Many Georgians call it All-benny. Andrew Jackson drove the Indians from the flat, wooded plain so that cotton could become king here and all over the deep South before the Civil War. This was slave plantation country, and Albany was its trading center, incorporated in 1841 to become the seat of Dougherty County. DuBois, in The Souls of Black Folk, describes the area as it was in those days:

> For a radius of a hundred miles about Albany stretched a great fertile land, luxuriant with forests of pine, oak, ash, hickory, and poplar, hot with the sun and damp with the rich black swampland; and here the cornerstone of the Cotton Kingdom was laid.

At the turn of the century, blacks outnumbered whites five to one, and Albany was a placid little town, slavery gone and segregation firmly in its place.

Today the city is a four-hour drive straight south from Atlanta, past scraggly cotton, clusters of Black Angus cattle, and beautiful brown fields of pecan trees. Across Kinchafoonee Creek, on the banks of the Flint River, it is wide-avenued and clean, a commercial center for southwest Georgia, trading corn, cattle, and pecans, attracting tourists, new industry, and travelers heading toward Florida. "Tenth fastest booming city in the U.S.A.," the man at the Chamber of Commerce said proudly. "There's the rating -- in black and white." We both must have had the same thought.

The black majority has gone down to 42% since World War II -- 23,000 Negroes out of a total of 56,000 -- making it possible for political leaders to say now, as one did sitting back in his swivel chair, "We need to listen to the majority." In the practicality

of it, however, democracy often counts voices rather than heads, and in the year 1961 the spoken demands of 40% may sound thunderous in contrast with the century-long silence of that overwhelming majority which once made the Black Belt really black.

A History of "Good Race Relations"

Again and again -- in the office of a political leader, in the anteroom of a businessman, sitting with a newspaper editor, in the living room of a middle-class white family -- the statement was made, "Albany has always had good race relations.... Our colored folks have been satisfied.... We have made considerable progress...." In a nation with ten thousand history teachers, memories remain poor; for the same statements were made in Montgomery before the bus boycott, in Atlanta before the sit-ins, and all through the South in the days of slavery.

Yet, the argument cannot be dismissed without meeting it, for it rests on stubborn facts: that the relations in Albany were peaceful; that the Negro community raised no shouts of dissatisfaction; that progress had been made. It is only when they are moved out of simple isolation into the texture of life itself that these undisputed facts become part of a much more complex vision of Negro life.

In a market where social goods are unevenly distributed, peace must always be paid for. The price, paid in the South by blacks and received by whites, has begun in recent years to seem not quite right. And the mistaking of silence for satisfaction has often been the ruin of a dominant group in the social order, who usually pay little attention until centuries of accumulated grievances gather and explode in a chain reaction. The white South has been notably unequipped

with the kind of social seismograph that would detect the first faint tremors of unrest, and too far out of touch with Negroes (the physical proximity of blacks and whites at work in Albany and elsewhere is offset by the social distance inherent in unequal status) to hear any but the loudest noises. Thus, southern whites have been hurt and shocked by the eruptions of the past few years.

In Albany, deep in the Black Belt, the shock of the pre-Christmas protest was particularly great. This was so because white and Negro residents have starkly different perceptions of the city in which they live.

A city political leader respected by many Negroes, twice mayor of Albany and a law partner of the present mayor, cannot believe that Albany Negroes are dissatisfied. Mr. James W. "Taxi" Smith (a champion runner in college, he once got tired in a cross-country race and took a cab the rest of the way) stated, "Outside agitators have caused all this trouble. Those Freedom Riders are getting $100 a day. Minimum! Some getting $200. Albany Negroes," he went on, "got as fair trials as white folks. Same crime, same sentence." (On the other side of town, the story was different. A Negro businessman whose independence irritated the city fathers, it was said, was fined $400 for a traffic offense.) As for juries, Negroes got on the lists, Mr. Smith said. A question about Negroes on actual trial juries brought a serious look, perhaps even a twinge of uneasiness; one got the feeling that he, as a lawyer, found it hard to square his professional ethic with the consistent exclusion of Negroes from juries. "Well, I don't know. I don't think it will work in this situation."

"Progress" rivals "satisfaction" in the frequency of its occurrence in the white comments on race relations in Albany. The history of these relations in the city was one of progress, intelligent and good-hearted white people said again and again. Like the confusion of peace with satisfaction, and silence with consent, here is another failure to understand the complexities of social change. The evidence is strong that it is precisely progress which brings the clamor for more progress. The American colonies on the eve of the Revolution, France under Louis XVI, Russia in the early 20th century, India and some of the African territories in our time were all making remarkable progress when the social fabric was burst by revolution. For progress creates expectations, and if its pace (no matter how swift compared to the past) does not match the ballooning of expectations, it is not enough.

This century has created expectations for Negro Americans which cannot be satisfied by the air-conditioned segregated school pointed to pridefully by the civic leaders of Albany, and by a friendly young cab driver. Albany Negroes live on clean and pleasant -- if unpaved -- streets in a town where roses bloom in December and there are no concrete skyscrapers or billowing smokestacks to keep out the fragrance and beauty of the surrounding countryside. White Albanians are friendly and helpful in personal contact. White lawyers have defended Negro clients. "A.T. Walden /Atlanta's venerated Negro attorney/ would phone me from Atlanta and ask me to handle this case for a poor colored boy. And I'd do it."

In Mayor McAfee's administration in the early 1950's, streets were paved in some Negro areas, the Negro football field was lighted, and a liaison com-

mittee kept contact with the Negro community. When the committee wanted to go beyond the paving of streets, and started talking about hiring Negro policemen, it fell into disuse. And then there is -- it must be mentioned at least twice, to give a slight notion of how often it is mentioned by Albany's white leaders -- the air-conditioned school.

To the Negro community, however -- and this is one of the hardest things for whites in Albany to understand -- all this was like improving the food inside a prison; for all progress was within the framework of a sharply segregated society. While in Albany's natural landscape, greens, yellows, and browns blend imperceptibly, its library, schools, hotels, and other public accommodations are all designated either black or white.

A Negro arriving in Albany on the colored part of the bus, enters a colored waiting room, drinks from a colored fountain, uses a colored restroom, has to walk eight blocks to find a restaurant which will feed a colored person, and must pass by five white hotels to find a modest Negro motel -- a better one is six miles away. He had better not get into trouble, for the entire machinery of justice in Albany is bound up with skin color. The courts are segregated, the jails are segregated, the judges, juries, sheriffs, deputies, and city police are all white. Tax forms for Negroes have a special color. There are no Negroes in city or county government, but there are well-educated, cultured, and competent Negroes in Albany who could move tomorrow into the highest municipal offices and bring credit to the community. Negroes in Albany get jobs on the basis of ability, but only after color has narrowed the field to a slit. "If

I can do a job as good as a white man, why shouldn't I have it?" a Negro porter asked me as we stood on the steps of the white church where he was employed.

To see the situation on the most elemental level, a white man must somehow recognize that no Negro in downtown Albany can stoop to a water fountain before making sure it is labeled "colored." On a level both more abstract and more heartfelt, whites need to comprehend, even dimly, the attack on his dignity felt by every Negro adult male who is called "boy." There is a basic hurt attached to being an American Negro -- both North and South -- which cannot be conveyed by any cold list of specific grievances.

In Albany, there has been no way for fair-minded white people to know these things. There has been contact, but it has been superficial. There has been exchange of words, not of feelings. But if communications inside that little city are crude, between Albany Negroes and the outside world they are as advanced as modern science can make them through radio, television, air travel, national newspapers,and magazines. And there are the mails, no longer closed, as in Abolitionist days, to the arguments for racial equality. Besides this there is the fact that several thousands of Albany's population are attached to Air Force or Marine Corps units in the area -- integrated units. Young Albany Negroes have gone to college in other parts of the country. The only college in the city -- Albany State College for Negroes -- long quiescent, is now sensitive to the winds blowing from Atlanta, Nashville, and Greensboro which tell of student demonstrations and protests and remarkable changes, fought and then accepted, in the once-adamant South.

All of these influences have acted on Albany Negroes and created expectations far beyond the crawling progress and kindly tolerance which Albany's white leaders thought -- and think -- sufficient. The white community somehow has not faced the idea that Albany cannot escape the general upheaval shaking the South today.

Something was necessary to shake the white community into the first pang of such awareness. So, around Thanksgiving, 1961, the Albany Movement was born.

The Albany Movement

On the first of November, 1961, a white college girl from Memphis named Selyn McCollum raced through the streets and back alleys of Albany to evade the police, took refuge in a Negro home, slipped out in a makeshift disguise to make her way to the bus terminal, and stationed herself in a position to watch nine young Negroes ordered out of the white waiting room. It was the day that the new Interstate Commerce Commission ruling for desegregation of train and bus facilities went into effect. Within 48 hours, the Department of Justice was notified that this ruling had been violated.

Behind the action of those young people in Albany that day was a history of rising indignation in the Negro community of that city. Slowly developing anger and unpublicized dignified protest by Negro adults -- a dramatic outburst of Negro students to bring the issues to public attention -- and then a new synthesis of adult-student leadership marshaling the forces of the entire Negro community: this has been the developmental pattern in a number of southern protest movements these past few years, and so it was in Albany.

The demonstrations in Albany had their roots in two race relations incidents, both occurring in the winter of 1961. Early in January of that year, a group

of Negro leaders presented the city commissioners with a request to initiate the desegregation of certain city facilities. It is reported that the commissioners never replied to this request. On February 6, the Albany Herald, edited by James H. Gray, Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party and a leading southern segregationist, published an editorial rejecting the Negroes' request both presently and also for the future. This action brought into the open a long-standing feud between the Negro community and the city's only daily newspaper. Negro leaders contend that the newspaper's editorials had the effect of inciting action against Negroes. In February and March sporadic incidents occurred around the Albany State College campus, in which marauding whites in automobiles threw eggs, fired shots, and once tried to run down a Negro student. The Dean of Students at Albany State, a dynamic young woman named Irene Asbury Wright, newly wed to an Air Force lieutenant stationed in Albany, resigned in protest over the college administration's timidity in defending the students. (She and her husband were later to become leading figures in the Albany Movement.) Before going off for the summer, Albany State students staged a protest march on the president's office.

The Negro ministerial alliance had written a letter to Mr. Gray asking fair treatment. The ministers next sent a registered letter to Mayor Asa D. Kelley, asking for a hearing, and proposing a biracial committee to discuss Albany's race relations. There was no response.

It was against this background of local unrest, frustration, and developing action that the Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in September, 1961. sent a team into Albany to register Negro voters. SNCC was born out of the sit-in struggles

of 1960 and staffed by a small group of young people who had experienced jailings in the sit-ins and beatings in the 1961 Freedom Rides. They set up an office in a run-down little building two blocks from the Shiloh Baptist Church, registered voters, and through their enthusiasm and energy acted as a catalyst to a community which had already begun to stir.

When the I.C.C. ruling was handed down, SNCC, whose members had gone to jail through the summer to force this ruling, was ready to test it the very first day of its existence in the segregated terminals of Albany. That is why on November 1, Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagan, two veterans of the Freedom Rides, rode down to Albany from Atlanta on the Trailways bus, with white Selyn McCollum deliberately sitting apart from them but prepared to witness later that day the test of the new ruling. The sight of police waiting for them at the terminal produced Selyn's hour-long race through Albany streets before she could slip, undetected, into her intended refuge, a Negro home. When, later that afternoon, she made her way back to the terminal, and watched the students being ordered out of the white waiting room, the SNCC mission was accomplished, and she took the bus back to Atlanta.

In the meantime, the Youth Council of the local NAACP had made plans to test the I.C.C. ruling and began to work with SNCC. There was some uncertainty by NAACP adults about SNCC's entrance into the situation. It was partly in an attempt to rectify this confusion about roles, partly to gather into a cohesive organization the loose and lengthening strands of discontent in the Negro community, that the Albany Movement was formed on November 17, 1961, about two weeks after the SNCC action at the Trailways Terminal.

Oddly enough, it was Mayor Asa D. Kelley himself, worried on the eve of his re-election over the possibility of a Negro write-in vote, who asked to meet with Negro leaders. Assembled to prepare for this meeting, they formed the Albany Movement, a coalition of the colored ministerial alliance, NAACP, SNCC, and other Negro organizations. They named local osteopath Dr. W. G. Anderson as president, retired railroader Marion Page as secretary, and expressed their determination to attack discrimination at a number of key points: bus and train stations, libraries, parks, hospitals, buses, jury representation, public and private employment, and police brutality.

As one of the leaders of the Albany Movement saw its birth, "The kids were going to do it anyway...they were holding their own mass meetings and making plans...; we didn't want them to have to do it alone." Thus, the third element fell into place; after slow local build-up and sharp action by the youngsters, the coalescing of all forces into a united and militant movement took place. Now, the next reconnaissance action in the desegregation campaign would find massive reinforcements ready to act.

The I.C.C. Ruling and the Albany Police

That first move came Wednesday morning, November 22, 1961, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling forbidding segregation in terminal facilities, when three members of the Youth Council of the NAACP in Albany, Evelyn Toney, Eddie Wilson, and Julian Carswell, entered the Trailways bus terminal and bought tickets to Tallahassee in the white waiting room. They sat down undisturbed, then went into the restaurant and ordered something to eat. The waiter started to serve them when Chief of Police Pritchett appeared and called them outside the

station to tell them that if tney went back into the lunchroom he would arrest them. The students turned away silently, re-entered the lunchroom, and were promptly arrested for breach of the peace. There were only a few people in the terminal at the time. In a half hour, the three were out on bond.

Later that afternoon, hundreds of Albany State students arrived at the terminal to go home for the Thanksgiving holidays. The new Dean of Students of Albany State College was there to point out the colored waiting room, which most of them used. Two students, however, Bertha Gober of Atlanta and Blanton Hall of Athens, went into the white waiting room and were arrested. They decided to remain in jail rather than accept bail of $100. They were soon out of jail, but expelled from Albany State College without a hearing.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, in consultation with the Negro community of Albany, decided to test once again the much-broken I.C.C. ruling. A group of eight young people, Negro and white, men and women, took the Central of Georgia in Atlanta on Sunday morning, December 10, sat together in the "white" car, ignored a conductor's demand that they move, and continued that way on to Albany. Over a hundred Albany Negroes gathered at the Albany Union Railway Terminal to meet them. It was about 3:30 in the afternoon, a quiet time in Albany, with little traffic and few whites near the station. The soft-spoken Negro editor of the Southwest Georgian, A.C. Searles, watched the scene, said later, "Reason there were all these folks waiting -- we know by experience that if you come alone, you may get a beating. Having people around helps." Waiting also for the eight riders were police and newspaper reporters. They got off the train, went into

the white waiting room, and sat down. Police Chief Pritchett told them to get out. They left with Charles Jones (a widely-known leader of the student movement since the Charlotte sit-ins, and in charge of the SNCC Albany office) and Bertha Gober to cars outside the terminal which were waiting to take them into town. The group now numbered ten. Editor Searles reported, "I try to get close enough to hear, but not close enough to get spoken to." He said he heard Police Chief Pritchett call out, "I told you to get off the street. You are all under arrest." Some of the ten were already getting into cars. All of them were now ordered into the paddy wagon, along with Willie Mae Jones, an Albany student who was in the crowd watching. The eleven were charged with obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer, with bond set at $200.

Police Chief Pritchett's version, as reported in the press, was, "I told the demonstrators to move away from the terminal three times; then we called the paddy wagon and I gave the order to arrest them. We will not stand for these troublemakers coming into our city for the sole purpose of disturbing the peace and quiet of the city of Albany."

Editor Searles interpreted the incident as follows: "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief. There was a good feeling in the group. They wanted to stop this."

Mass Arrests

Now the Albany Movement went into action and the next seven days saw a series of mass meetings by the Negro community, marches downtown by over a thousand Albany Negroes, singing and praying, asking freedom for

the arrested students and, as one woman said after her release from prison, "to get our rights."

When the trial of the eleven was to take place at the city courthouse on Tuesday, December 12, over 400 Negro high school and college students marched downtown to protest, singing as they went by the courthouse. Police cars with loudspeakers ordered them to disperse, they continued to walk, and then they were herded into a 15-foot-wide alley running alongside City Hall, where they waited in a driving rain for two hours as police booked them one by one on the same charges leveled against the Freedom Riders. That night a mass meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church sang hymns and heard speeches by leaders of the Albany Movement. Many of the jailed were being released on bond, but 153 remained in prison and early the next morning were transferred to neighboring county jails.

On Wednesday, three different demonstrations took place. As court convened in the morning, about 70 Negroes marched downtown and knelt on the sidewalk in front of City Hall to pray. Their spokesman, Slater King, member of a distinguished Negro family in Albany, was arrested and sentenced to five days for contempt of court. In the early evening, 300 Negroes made one slow circuit around City Hall, returned to the Shiloh Baptist Church, re-formed, marched back to City Hall, and were arrested on charges of unlawful assembly, parading without a permit, and unlawfully congregating on the sidewalk. Chief of Police Pritchett told newsmen, "We can't tolerate the NAACP or the SNCC or any other nigger organization to take over this town with mass demonstrations."

On the following day, the original 11 were bound over from the city to county court on a new state charge

of disturbing the peace and conspiring to disturb the peace. On Saturday night, Charles Jones was released on $1000 bond and took his place in the leadership of the surging Albany Movement. Bernard Lee, young staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, left prison to return to his duties in Atlanta, and Tom Hayden, a white youth from Royal Oak, Michigan, was released to fulfill a speaking engagement up North. Remaining in the county jail back of Elm Street for part or all of the next seven days were: Lenora Taitt, a Spelman College graduate and veteran of the Atlanta sit-ins; Norma Collins, business manager of the SNCC office in Atlanta; Willie Mae Jones, the young Albany woman arrested "by accident"; James Forman, Executive Director of SNCC; Bertha Gober, the Albany State College expellee; and three young white people -- Per Laursen, a writer from Denmark; Robert Zellner, active in recent protest movements and a white girl, the last two, Southerners born and bred.

By Thursday, the total arrested reached 560, with 300 of these remaining in jail. That day Governor Ernest Vandiver called 150 National Guardsmen to duty in Albany and wires began arriving in Attorney General Kennedy's office (from SNCC to "stop illegal mass arrests," and from some faculty and students at Spelman College in Atlanta to "intervene in the Albany situation"). Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley assured the Attorney General that they could handle the situation. Albany Movement chairman, W.G. Anderson, talked by phone with the Assistant Attorney General. That day, too, ten Negroes were served coffee at the Trailways lunchroom, were arrested, jailed and later returned to the bus station under police guard, then released.

Late that night, three whites and three Negroes -- in each group one minister and two businessmen -- began negotiations to end the crisis. Neither

negotiating team, though designated to discuss terms, was empowered to decide on a settlement. The negotiations continued all Friday morning and broke up at noon, with agreement on acceptance of bus and train desegregation and on release of all the Negro marchers, but disagreement on the release of the original Freedom Riders without bond.

On Friday night, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., invited by the Albany Movement Executive Committee, arrived from Atlanta with Rev. Ralph Abernathy and spoke to a packed prayer meeting at the Shiloh Baptist Church. King told the more-than-1000 assembled listeners, "Don't stop now. Keep moving. Don't get weary. We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer." Ruby Hurley, Southeastern Regional Director of the NAACP spoke, too. "There are only two languages the white politicians and the power structure understand. One is the power of the almighty dollar bill. When those cash registers are not ringing they understand what you're talking about. They also understand the ballot." And the Albany Movement's chairman, Dr. W. G. Anderson, told the meeting, "Be here at 7 o'clock in the morning. Eat a good breakfast. Wear warm clothes and wear your walking shoes."

Meanwhile, the city commission was meeting and balking at release of the Freedom Riders without bond. In the wee hours of Saturday morning, the Albany Movement sent a wire to Mayor Kelley which he received late, at 9:30 a.m., and interpreted as an ultimatum. The wire set a 10:00 a.m. deadline after which demonstrations would resume, and the mayor responded by accusing the Negro leadership of "threats" and "bad faith." The Albany Board of Commissioners rejected the terms proposed by the Negro leadership.

At the intercession of some leaders in the Albany Movement, the mayor agreed to see a small committee. The negotiations resumed at 10:30 a.m., Saturday, but were broken off by early Saturday afternoon.

Saturday evening, December 16, came the climax of the demonstrations and mass arrests as Martin Luther King, Jr., and W. G. Anderson led 250 hymn-singing men, women, and youngsters down Jackson Street toward the county courthouse. Police Chief Pritchett stopped them two blocks from the city hall and asked King if he had a parade permit. King said, "We are simply going to pray at City Hall." Pritchett ordered the entire group arrested for parading without a permit. They were moved into the alley near the city hall, police cars rushed up to seal off the back of the alley, white onlookers were cleared off the sidewalks by police loudspeakers, and the Negroes were led one by one into the police station and booked. A southern white student from Brunswick, Georgia had marched with them and was also jailed. King, Abernathy, and Anderson were sent to Sumter County jail in Americus. Now the total arrested stood at 737, with over 400 people still in jail, many of them farmed out to prisons in nearby counties. Late Saturday night, sound trucks moved through the city calling military personnel back to the Air Force and Marine Corps bases, and police closed bars and liquor stores. The NAACP wired Vice President Johnson, Attorney General Kennedy, Governor Vandiver, and Mayor Kelley, protesting "unwarranted and illegal arrests."

Sunday was a quiet day, but the news vacuum was soon filled by reports of a rift in the movement. James Gray, the Herald editor, appeared on Albany's television station -- of which he is a part owner --

to denounce "outside elements." The Atlanta Constitution quoted an Albany Movement figure as saying, "Why can't these national organizations understand that this is a local movement?"

Negotiations were resumed Monday morning, and continued all that day, with the Albany Movement represented by C. B. King (first and only Negro lawyer in the history of the city); Attorney Donald L. Hollowell of Atlanta, the state's leading handler of civil rights cases; and Marion Page, acting as chairman of the Albany Movement now that Anderson was in jail. These three conferred with the Police Chief, Mayor, and City Attorney at City Hall. Verbal agreement was reached on: the acceptance by the city of desegregation of the train and bus facilities; the release of all the demonstrators from jail on the signing of simple property bonds, with the exception of the remaining eight original Freedom Riders, the reduction of their bond; the calling off of further demonstrations; and a promise by the city to hear the Negro community's case at the first business meeting of the new City Commission.

Late Monday night and up to 5:00 a.m. Tuesday morning, Negro men and women came forth from the jails. Wednesday, in the early afternoon, the eight Freedom Riders walked blinking into the sunlight outside the county jail. The Albany Herald called it a smashing defeat for the city's Negroes. Marion Page said, "We have just begun to fight." And pundits everywhere exchanged their analyses of the pre-Christmas turmoil in Albany, Georgia.

Awaiting the hearing, Albany Negroes have been framing their demands. The City Commission has set the date of the first business meeting for January 23.

and Albany State College has expelled* at least 40 students for participating in the demonstrations. What the city does now will be studied by the entire nation.

Was it Victory or Defeat?

A front-page story in the New York Herald Tribune the day after the Albany settlement called it "one of the most stunning defeats" in the career of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The Tribune correspondent termed it a "devastating loss of face" for King, said the Albany Movement had been considerably weakened by King's arrival, and noted a "collapse" of Negro pressure. James Gray's Albany Herald quoted from this article to underline its own analysis of the situation as a huge defeat for the Negro community. A young man sitting in the shabby SNCC office, just after his release from jail, was asked how he felt about the agreement. He smiled. "You curse first and then I will."

Undoubtedly, the Albany Movement got little in the way of specific concessions out of the settlement. For the city to agree to the desegregation of the terminal facilities was belated recognition of what became law on November 1. The release of the demonstrators simply restored the situation before the arrests. Trials and jail sentences still hang over everyone at the discretion of the police chief. The City Commission promises to listen, but not necessarily to act.

One immediate and specific gain did result: the establishment beyond question of Negroes' right to use the terminal facilities without discrimination. Despite statements by the mayor and police chief, this

*See Appendix.

was not a fact before the Albany crisis. Today it is a fact. On Wednesday, December 27, the Trailways restaurant re-opened -- it had been closed by order of the Chief of Police when the trouble began -- and 15 Negroes were served without a murmur of resentment.

Still, no long-term assessment of the Albany actions can be based on what was or was not conceded at the moment of settlement. This is a Deep South city, with a hundred-year history of Negro silence and white complacency which has now been shattered for all time. Anyone who sat in the Shiloh Baptist Church at the prayer meeting following the settlement knows that expectations have been raised which will not be stilled without a change in the social patterns of the city. "Albany will never be the same," Attorney Hollowell told the crowd that night, and he was right. The call for a boycott at that meeting came not from the platform but from the crowd, and was echoed by a dozen men and women who stood up amidst a swell of approval and called, with the passion of people who have tasted prison, for Negroes to stay away from the downtown stores.

Analysts may coolly add up the concessions on both sides and come out with a mathematical sum which signifies defeat. But the Negroes of Albany have no such feeling. The Negro porter on the steps of an Albany church said, "No, we're just beginning. Just beginning." And a woman on the Executive Committee of the Albany Movement declared, "We are anything but through with the fight to be full citizens right here in Albany. There's a lot that can't be told right now, and we're trying to go along and see how much good faith will be shown in January. But anybody who thinks this town is going to settle back and be the same as it was has got to be deaf, blind, and dumb."

Is Negro Leadership Split?

There were disagreements among Negroes and Negro organizations in Albany, and some remain. In this observer's view, the stories of "rift" contain some truth but have been exaggerated out of proportion to their size in the total picture. In a successful movement, organizations proliferate and begin to get in one another's way. Personalities clash and egos become involved. But when the enemy is gargantuan, it tends to devour such disagreements before they get too big. The overwhelming need of Negroes in the South for unity against the awesome economic and political power of long-entrenched interests will probably act to keep disagreements within manageable bounds.

"Outside" Influences

James W. "Taxi" Smith is convinced that the Albany troubles before Christmas were the result of "outside" agitators, Freedom Riders getting $100 a day, and troublemakers stirring up generally-contented local Negroes. Mayor Kelley of Albany and Georgia's Governor Vandiver* both told the press that "paid agitators" were at work and Kelley produced the prison records of SNCC youngsters who had gone to jail in sit-ins and Freedom Rides to prove his point. King and Abernathy were both denounced by James Gray's Herald for coming in to stir up Albany Negroes.

In the South, "outside" influences are often evident, but they do little more than heighten and sometimes direct an already intense set of grievances felt by local people.

*When students in the Atlanta University Center penned their famous "Appeal for Human Rights" in the spring of 1960, Governor Vandiver said it could not have been written in the state of Georgia, and probably was produced outside the confines of the United States, though, in fact, the student who wrote the original draft was born and bred in Atlanta.

In Albany, local people -- especially students at Albany State College -- were in motion in the spring of 1961. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee came on the scene in the early fall and acted as a further stimulus. Albany youngsters in the Youth Council of the NAACP began to act. The first arrests (November 22) were of Albany State students. The next arrests (December 10) were of SNCC young people -- white and Negro, mostly from the South, but not from Albany. The mass demonstrations were planned by local Negro citizens and the more than 400 arrested by Thursday were evidently Albanians. Only at this point did Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy, Negroes from another part of the same state, arrive on the scene. They (along with that young white fellow from South Georgia) were the only non-Albany people, so far as is known, involved in the mass arrests of Saturday night, December 16. The Albany Movement was overwhelmingly a local movement.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee introduced a novel technique into the Albany situation. They came from the outside, set up headquarters in the community, and worked so closely with local people that after a while they were, as one Albany Negro put it, "completely integrated" with the Negroes of that city. By their enthusiasm, ability, and their obvious courage they won the respect of local people.

Communications

Albany whites do not know what Albany Negroes are thinking. It would balance the equation neatly to say that Albany Negroes do not know what whites are thinking, but this would not be quite accurate. For Albany Negroes read the white press, while Albany whites do not read the Negro press (the weekly Southwest Georgian

reaches 5000 Negroes in a 60-mile radius from Albany). Albany Negroes see and hear Albany whites on television, but are not seen or heard themselves. And the conversations that take place between maids and housewives, between porters and employers, are hardly accurate transmitters of genuine feelings.

James Gray's Albany Herald is one of the many examples in the United States of a journalistic monopoly -- the one daily newspaper in town. Its total circulation is 29,000, of which 5000 is Negro. While it has a Saturday page devoted to activities in the Negro community, it offers no opportunity for Albany Negroes to communicate their grievances to the white people of the town -- except for an occasional letter to the editor. The editorial policy is strongly pro-segregationist, and the leading Negroes of Albany consider the Herald the city's most formidable obstacle to racial amity. Out of the recent events came a Negro boycott of the Herald, so severe that the paper dismissed the Negro assistant circulation manager who now had little circulation to manage. The man was also Treasurer of the Albany Movement, and Mr. Gray had kept him on, knowing this, firing him only when Negro readers fell off drastically.

Even the Herald's news columns are colored by its editorial antipathy to Negro moves for desegregation. On Friday, December 22, a front-page news story read, "There was a wave of feeling among Albany's Negroes to purge themselves of the Reverend King, who now seemed transformed from the Great Leader into a political liability who was impeding the path of good relations between the races in Albany." Herald reporters gave little first-hand coverage to Negro activities, and, with the obvious admiration for King expressed by

Albany Negroes both before and after his arrest, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that this news report was manufactured in the office. This kind of reporting misleads the white community of Albany about local Negro sentiment. It makes whites adamant about holding to the status quo because it spreads the erroneous notion that Negroes are satisfied with things as they are. An element of honest self-delusion is apparent.

There are no opportunities for whites and Negroes in Albany to meet and exchange ideas in an atmosphere of equal give-and-take. Albany whites, in general, are not aware that there is a top layer of highly competent, well-educated, cultured Negroes who are worth knowing as persons, and who could make genuine contributions to the progress of the city outside of racial questions. A white minister in Albany, prominent in the city's ministerial alliance, asked me, "Are there any Negroes in Albany like the kind you find in big cities, to whom one can talk on an intellectual level?" I told him of the Negro home I had visited the previous evening, and of the authors represented in the man's library: Barzun, Edmund Wilson, Steinbeck, Schlesinger, Durrell, Suzuki, and Robert Graves.

It is not easy to find, in Albany, the white liberals who crop up in such numbers in a city like Atlanta. But this may be because the first spadeful of earth has not yet been overturned in a soil hard-encrusted since Civil War days. Once it is, people long silent will speak up, softly, but unmistakeably. A few -- ministers, businessmen, others -- have already begun. An elderly white couple, whose daughter I had met in Atlanta, invited me to tea and showed, in their questions, a basic humanity deep in all Southerners -- and, of course, in all people -- which will make race relations in the South

warm and noble once artificial obstacles are removed.

Albany's white people, like Albany's Negroes, are mostly hard-working, quiet, and peaceful people. One striking feature of the Albany situation was that at no time during the week of demonstrations -- nor during the earlier incidents connected with the Trailways Terminal -- were there any mobs, or angry crowds, or voiced threats. Could this be the first indication of what will be the pattern of Deep South reaction to subsequent Negro protests? There was one white man arrested for singing "Dixie" near Negro demonstrators, and once when a crowd gathered at the Trailways Terminal on Thursday, December 14, a few mutterings of hostility were heard. But signs of real tension were observed by no one, white or Negro, to whom I spoke and who had been on the scene. The New York Times reported in the midst of the turmoil, "There were no indications that the 30,000 white residents of Albany were greatly aroused over the dispute." Where whites did appear at the scene of demonstrations, the chief motivation seemed to be curiosity. "What were the white people doing when you were marching?" I asked a Negro man. "Nothing but reckless eyeballin'," he said, and then smiled. "That's what I call it -- reckless eyeballin'. Just curiosity."

Police, Jails, Justice

Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was hailed widely in the press for preventing violence in Albany during the week of demonstrations. An Atlanta Constitution reporter did a special piece on Pritchett in which he did not conceal his admiration. The reporter for the New York Herald Tribune said Pritchett "brought to Albany a standard of professional achievement that would be difficult to emulate in a situation so made to order for violence...." All of this praise may

indicate that Americans have unwittingly accepted a distorted conception of the rights of citizens and the duties of police officers in a democratic state. It needs to be strongly asserted that it is the function of police officers to defend the rights of citizens against anyone who would prevent them from exercising those rights. The negative function of preventing violence is an instrument supporting the positive exercise of constitutional rights by persons of the community. The praise is also a measure of the extent to which the purveyors of violence in Montgomery, Birmingham, and McComb succeeded in their function: they have managed to lower the settlement terms for race crises in the South, so that it becomes sufficient evidence of successful police action to have prevented violence. The requirement of positive protection of equal rights has been waived.

Recall what the police did, again and again. On November 1 -- the day the I.C.C. order for non-discrimination took effect -- they ordered two Negroes out of the bus station in a situation where, observers noted, there was no crowd, no threat, no indication of imminent violence or even nervous upset. On the morning of November 22, three weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, three Negroes were sitting quietly in the Trailways Terminal restaurant, waiting to get the food they ordered, with only a few people around and not the slightest sign of disturbance, when the police ordered them out, and arrested them for returning to the restaurant. The charge was breach of the peace, but there was not the slightest evidence to support the idea that they had disturbed the peace. That afternoon, two more students were arrested for using the white waiting room.

On December 10, six weeks after the I.C.C. ruling, the police arrested the eight Freedom Riders, the two

young people who came to meet them, and the one observer, as they came out of the white waiting room and began to get into cars. The charges: obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey a police officer. Talks with a dozen witnesses corroborate the fact that there was virtually no traffic to obstruct, that there was nothing disorderly about the conduct of the group, and that, at the moment of arrest, they were obeying the order to disperse -- since some were already getting into cars and the rest were about to leave. There were few whites around, the hundred or so Negroes standing nearby were quiet and orderly, there were no signs of disturbance or imminent trouble, and the whole scene would have melted away in a few minutes if the order to arrest had not been given.

In the demonstrations that followed that week, over 700 people were arrested for walking in single file, or twos, on one occasion threes, downtown to the vicinity of City Hall, singing hymns and praying. The New York Times reporter, describing the first demonstrators on Tuesday, said they "strolled slowly past the courthouse in pairs, singing hymns as they walked." (It should be noted that Albany's streets are exceptionally wide.) Again, no evidence of disturbance or imminent trouble. Whites stood around staring curiously. There were no angry speeches; these people were peacefully expressing their disagreement with the city administration's actions in arresting the Freedom Riders. Wednesday and Thursday, more walks downtown followed, with again no indication of white anger or probable violence. The Associated Press dispatch from Albany that Thursday said, "White residents of this city have shown little close-range interest in the incidents."

The arrest of the hymn-singing marchers led by Martin Luther King, Jr. on Saturday night was given

a more sophisticated legal basis -- parading without a permit -- and it would be fruitless to go into the niceties of what constitutes a parade. But the pattern of all these arrests is quite clear: the police kept a peace which had not been broken and with no signs that it was about to be broken, by putting into prison over 700 men, women, and children who were exercising basic American rights to assemble peacefully and to petition the government for a redress of grievances. To put it bluntly, this was not a situation where local police needed to protect citizens from private violence, but where the exercise by citizens of constitutional rights required protection.

There may be a valid question about the propriety of demonstrations which may influence judicial proceedings, but the chief did not raise this question, nor did his responses to other demonstrations that week indicate that this factor was primary for him.

Albany apparently followed the pattern of police action devised by the State of Mississippi and the City of Jackson at the time of the Freedom Ride: arrest quickly, quietly, and imprison. There have been times in the past when southern authorities have delegated "law enforcement" to the mob. No mobs formed in Mississippi around the Freedom Riders, nor in Albany. This is undoubtedly a great improvement. Yet if police action effectively suppresses the exercise of legitimate protest, leaving nothing for the mob to do, there is no real advance.

The Jails

A sheriff in a neighboring county surveyed the prisoners sent over from Albany, spotted a button in the lapel of one of them. It read, "We Believe in Human Dignity." The sheriff snatched the button, threw it to the ground, and stamped on it. This could

hardly be called "police brutality" but it suggests the kind of jailhouse psychology which determined the treatment of 400-odd prisoners in the Albany crisis.

There were eight places of confinement finally, when the city ran out of space: the city and county jails in Albany, the National Guard armory, and county jails at Americus, Dawson, Leesburg, Camilla, and Newton. The conditions ranged from just plain discomfort and bad food for most, to sickness for some, to cuffs and blows for a few, though probably jail conditions here are not worse than in many other local prisons in the country.

Charles Sherrod -- who had come to Albany to open the SNCC office in September -- said that when he arrived at Dawson in Terrell County with a number of other prisoners, Sheriff E. Z. Mathison told him, "Now remember. You left all your rights behind in Albany. I don't want to hear nothing about freedom." Sherrod said the group wanted two devotions a day, that though he was in jail he was still a man and still a Christian. The sheriff hit him with his hand and took him to his office. Then another man hit him in the mouth, cracking his lip. His mouth was full of blood. He was put in a cell by himself from 11:30 a.m. to 6:00 p.m., then returned to Albany where F.B.I. agents listened to his story.

A small group of Negro men and women, just out of jail, sat on a bench outside the office of the Shiloh Baptist Church and told about prison conditions:

A woman in jail for a week said, "I was in the Leesburg stockade with 51 other women. There was no place to sleep. The mattresses were wet and dirty.... They would put the food in a box, place it on the floor, and kick it into the cell.... Peas, peas, peas. Grits in the morning, fatty meat, crushed bacon in

grits, two slices of bread, water. I wouldn't eat for four days....We continued to pray and prayer does change things."

Another woman was in the Dougherty County jail in Albany: "We got bitter black coffee...there was a sick woman there...it was eight hours before the county doctor came...she asked for glasses because she gets headaches without glasses...they didn't get her any glasses...they told us if we don't stop singing they'd put us in the dark."

A man arrested Saturday night: "Although no one put a hand on me, I feel like I been beaten. When you sleep on steel and concrete you are automatically sore. I'm a trailer driver, on the job a year, came back to work this morning, found I got no job...they told me, 'You a Freedom Marcher'...My wife lost her job, too."

A woman: "We were 88 in one room from Saturday night to Monday night, with 20 steel bunks and no mattresses...most slept on steel benches and the concrete floor. Waited 12 hours from one meal to the next... grits and gravy...Sheriff took us to Camilla. On the bus he told us, 'We don't have no singin', no prayin', and no handclappin' here.'"

Another man: "Forty-two of us in a cell for 12 in the city jail...then we were put in a bullpen, 60 men, 16 beds...all standin' up on one another. The food? Oh bad, man!"

A young married woman, senior at Albany State College, left two children with her mother and demonstrated Wednesday evening. "I didn't expect to go to jail for kneeling and praying at City Hall." She slept on an iron cot in the city jail and got sick. From Wednesday to Friday she ate nothing. Slater King, Albany Negro leader in the same prison, tried to slip his food to

her through a hole in the door, but a guard came along and hit him in the back as he was passing the plate through the opening. He fell against the bars and hurt his head. (Police Chief Pritchett fired the guard soon after.)

When I went to the sheriff's office Wednesday morning, December 20, to see one of the original Freedom Riders still in the county jail, I was told they were allowed no visitors except for a lawyer. Husbands, wives, mothers, fathers, could talk to prisoners only by shouting through a barbed wire fence at a thick-meshed wire window through which no one inside was visible.

At the prayer meeting in the Shiloh Baptist Church that Tuesday night after the settlement, a young white girl arrested with the original group on Sunday, came down the aisle to the rostrum. She had been released from jail a few minutes before and was out of breath. She spoke briefly, softly. "First time I'd ever seen a jail. It's a funny mixed-up feeling to hate being in a dirty place but to be glad you're there for a good reason....We hope you'll keep going."

The Police Chief of Albany said, "We met non-violence with non-violence."

Where was the Federal Government?

While young people on three separate occasions were being ordered out of Albany terminals and arrested, while over 700 persons were arrested and over 400 kept in jail for marching downtown to sing, pray, and protest, the Federal Government, pledged through specific Constitutional guarantees, statutes, and administrative rulings to protect the rights of citizens against local usurpation, took the following visible actions:

On November 1, 1961, when Selyn McCollum watched the police order nine young Negroes out of the white waiting room at the Trailways Bus Terminal, and this was reported to the F.B.I., there was no apparent result. On November 22, when five students were arrested for using the Trailways facilities in Albany, no federal action was visible. When Chief Pritchett ordered the Freedom Riders outside the railroad waiting room on December 10, and then arrested 11 in the street, for the third time in six weeks the express ruling of a Federal Agency failed of enforcement. With the start of demonstrations and mass arrests on Tuesday, December 12, local police practice came into conflict, not with the very pointed I.C.C. ruling, but with broader -- and more complex -- issues represted by the Bill of Rights: freedom of assembly, the right of petition.

On Wednesday, with more demonstrations and more arrests, telegrams began going to Attorney General Kennedy asking federal intervention. On Thursday -- more demonstrations, more arrests--and the New York Times reported from Albany that, "The Justice Department was watching developments here closely." That day, Attorney General Kennedy conferred by phone with both Governor Vandiver and Mayor Kelley. The Mayor said he assured the Attorney General that law and order could be preserved without federal aid. Also that day, the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division talked with Albany Movement leader W. G. Anderson. On Friday, with demonstrations and negotiations in progress, he phoned Mayor Kelley and offered to mediate, and the mayor assured the Assistant Attorney General that the city could work out its problems. On Saturday, negotiations broke down. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the march downtown that

evening, hundreds more were arrested, and the NAACP wired Vice President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy to protest the arrests. F.B.I. men were reported cruising the streets in cars.

On Monday, December 18, a settlement was announced, and within a hour Mayor Kelley said Attorney General Robert Kennedy called to congratulate him for a good job.

Events in Albany were caused by the city's violation of the Interstate Commerce Commission's regulation. The Federal Government took no apparent action to curb that violation, although it undoubtedly has power to enforce its own orders. Today in Albany the I.C.C. order is being complied with. It was enforced, not by federal authority, but by demonstrations in the streets.

Conclusion

Over 700 Negroes in Albany, and a few sympathetic whites, spent time in prison in December of 1961, as a mass substitute for federal action to compel recognition of a legal right. They were not opposed by the white people of Albany, but by local law enforcement officers. These officers acted, not out of malice, but out of a too-faint comprehension of the changes which are rolling slowly, but inevitably, through the South today, and which, with McComb, Jackson, and Albany, have begun to move into the heart of the Black Belt. As in other cases, a movement born of specific grievances was nurtured in crisis and developed larger objectives, those of full equality and untarnished human dignity.

The real feelings of the Negro community were kept from a fundamentally fair-minded white community by the powerful barrier of segregation, propped up by a hostile press and an unsympathetic city administration. As Christmas approached in 1961, masses of Albany Negroes

pressed the weight of their bodies against this barrier. They moved it only slightly, but the tremors were felt in Albany and through the nation. They may have to press against it many more times, but now that the first rumblings have sounded in the ears of the white community, help may come from that side of the barrier. One day, certainly, it will be dismantled, and Albany whites and Negroes, quietly, unspectacularly, will begin to live together in a manner consistent with the new expectations of this century.

The following items appeared side-by-side in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution, January 7, 1962:

ALBANY STUDENT PENALTY STRESSED

By Gordon Roberts

An Albany attorney contended Saturday that Negroes suspended from Albany State College were dealt with more harshly than white students who took part in anti-integration riots at the University of Georgia last year.

C.B. King, who represents about 40 Negro students who have been suspended thus far at Albany, charged that punitive action was taken against them "for doing what they had a right to do," while white university students were not punished for participating in "mob action."

The suspended Negroes will appeal their cases, if necessary, to federal court, Mr. King said. Appeal procedure calls for seeking a rehearing at the college, and that failing, to ask the University System Board of Regents to review the suspensions.

The Negro students were suspended for taking part in anti-segregation demonstrations in mid-December, which for the most part involved "freedom" marches to the Albany City Hall.

Mr. King said he knows personally of at least 40 who have been suspended, but the number could run as high as 100. He said there were about that many Albany State students arrested as a result of the marches.

The students were charged with "conduct detrimental to Albany State College." College officials were still holding closed disciplinary hearings Saturday morning.

In appealing the cases, Mr. King said he would contend that the Negroes were ousted for doing what they had a right to do, but white University of Georgia students were allowed to stay, though what happened there last January "was clarly mob action."

(According to university officials, three university students — two of whom were indicted by a grand jury for allegedly participating in the riot — were suspended, but were cleared to return to the University after being out about one quarter. Two other students withdrew while university action was still pending against them.

(Seventeen students arrested by Athens police in connection with the rioting and other protest demonstrations on and off the campus were tried in the city court and a number of them convicted. The University placed them on probation.)

Attorney King also noted that the Albany demonstrations occurred after school hours or while the Negroes were out for the holidays, and that they did not occur on the college campus.

College President, William H. Dennis reportedly has received from the State Law Department advice on the actions he is taking. There also are rumors in Albany that University System Regent Roy Harris, an arch-segregationist, has advised President Dennis.

ATHENS RIOT TRIAL PLANS STILL LACKING

Another term of criminal court is about to begin in Athens, and there still are no definite plans for trying 11 persons indicted in connection with the desegregation riot at the University of Georgia, according to Sol. Gen. Marshall Pollock.

Criminal court week will begin January 15, and Sol. Gen. Pollock said Saturday he has not decided whether he will call the year-old cases for trial. However, he said he had no intention of dropping the charges. "I just don't know if they'll be tried now," he said.

Indicted in connection with rioting when the university admitted two Negro students, were two students and nine Atlanta area men, eight of whom were admitted Klu Klux Klansmen.

Their trials have been postponed from the April, July and October terms of court.

However, Mr. Harris Saturday said that report was without foundation, that he has not discussed the situation with the college president. He said the regents did discuss it at a recent meeting, but decided to let Pres. Dennis handle the matter.

Meanwhile, Regent Chairman, Robert O. Arnold supported Mr. Dennis in the suspen-

THE ALBANY MOVEMENT

an example of the civil rights movement

by James Monsonis
National Secretary, SDS

Prepared by Students for
a Democratic Society
for
The Liberal Study Group
NSA Congress, August 19-30, 1962

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disease. Recently, a counterpoint has emerged: sit-ins and Freedome rides; nonviolent direct action; voter registration; the student movement; SNCC and SCLC abd CORE and the Albany Movement and the Nashville Movement and the Jackson Nonviolent Movement and the host of other local and national organizations. The rhythm is the same, though the lyrics differ from story to story. It all adds up to one simple fact: Negroes have been slaves, and now are struggling to be free.

The problem with most of the analysis is that it is bloodless. It is projected either as a news story with few if any of the underlying causes explained, or it is a psychological and sociological and political and economic tract which misses somehow the stark reality of a man without work and without hope of finding work, or a man lying dead in the street in McComb, Mississippi. It is reporting or analysis bereft of flesh and blood, of passion and humanity.

This discussion paper will neither"tell the story" nor give a complex analysis. Its goal is much more modest. The fact is that one particular story has developed which is a synthesis of all of the analysis and many of the possibly events; this paper shall try to tell that story and in so doing illustrate the situation of civil rights in the South. Albany, Georgia, is not typical. Too many things have happened there for it to be typical, But every event is an event typical of "race relations" in the South somewhere Perhaps in the telling--with frequent sidesteps to use some event as a point of reference for analysis and generalization--we may understand the Southern situation not as a collection of political and economic principles fighting each other or as "tradition" and "change" but as a civil rights movement and struggle involving real people.

As I was not in direct contact with the Albany situation until February, I am very dependent for early events upon Howard Zinn's report on Albany issued by the Southern Regional Council in January. The conclusions drawn from the material, however, are my responsibility.

Albany "Before"

In the beginning Albany was not unique. It is situated in southwest Georgia, about a three or fourshour's drive south from Atlanta, and in the heart of a large rural area. The area is still plentiful with small farms; of a labor force of 22,940 in 1959, only 3,550 were employed in manufacturing. The largest single employer in the area is the U.S. Government, which has a military base there. Albany is the county seat, much like any other county seat in the South, and headquarters for the rural area around it, while not being rural itself: its total population (1960) is 55,890, while the total county population is less than 20,000 more. While not being rural, and although it is rapidly growing--the population is up 73.5% since 1950--it would be difficult to consider it with Atlanta, Birmingham, Richmond, or other large southern cities. Its orientation is definitely toward the rural population surrounding.

Albany was peaceful; it was also totally segregated. Its Negro population--36.2% of the total, down from 42.9% in 1950--shares none of the facilities of the white community--except that it is allowed to spend its money in the stores downtown. Even the voting booths were segregated until a Federal court order recently changed that. The two communities live completely apart except for the necessary business contacts and the servants

in the white men's homes. The power structure and the political structure, of course, is in the hands of the white community. It is only recently even that any of the roads in the Negro sections of Albany were paved, but when the Negroes tried to press beyond this simple act of justice what cooperation there was broke down. It is, naturally, a solidly Democratic community. In the 1960 Presidential election it voted 71.5% for Kennedy, roughly the same margin as for the preceding three elections. No votes were cast for a Republican for the House of Representatives at the last election.

The argument that one hears in the white community, often from what would normally be called men of good will, is that the trouble is being made over nothing. "They have their community, we have ours." Separate but equal is never separate and equal. The wage scales for Negroes in Albany are half of what they are for white workers; the average pay for all workers in the county is only $1,400. Unemployment is life within the Negro community; no figures are available, but if one wanders through the Negro community on a weekday he will find hundreds of men standing around, lounging on sidewalks talking in small groups: the unemployed. No comparable sight exists in the white community. The difference in income shows up in other statistics: 50% of the white persons own their own homes, and roughly 40% of the homes in the white community are classified by the Census as "deteriorating" or dilipidated." While this is a high figure--Albany is poor, like almost all of the South--it should be compared to the Negro community: 33% own their own homes, and 65% of all Negro homes are classified as "deteriorating" or "dilipidated."

There is always the problem of white violence and destructiveness which exists all through the South. It is no crime worth punishment to beat a Negro--even should he wish to prosecute, in which case he will probably lose his job, if he has one. There is the problem of voting: the white community seems unanimously opposed to letting the Negro have a share in the political process, even through voting. In the entire county in 1960, 2,861 Negroes were registered, compared to 12,544 whites--although Negroes are over one-third of the population in the county. In adjoining Terrell County, things are worse; violence is much more common, and while in 1960, 2,894 white persons were registered out of a potential of 3,043, only 51 Negroes were registered out of a potential of 4,957. Such discrimination is common all over the South (statistics in some counties in Georgia will show more white persons registered than there are white people--men, women, and children--living in the county). The Federal Government has evidence of this but so far seems relustant to take action except in occasional instances, although it has the power to do so; and whenever Negroes try to eliminate the unequal balance, intimidation and violence become the order of the day.

Albany in "peacetime", then, was a quiet city as long as the Negroes "stayed in their places." The white population was growing rapidly; the Negro population, migrating to the big cities and to the North, was shrinking proportionately. The gulf between the communities, however, was large; the Negro was the exploited workers, the ignored resident, the avoided social contact, the voteless cipher.

The Movement Begins

Albany is no longer an idolated center for a rural population. No Southern community today can stay isolated from the movement for integration. The word spreads from other protest areas. It comes by radio and television and newspaper--the Negro newspaper even if the white newspaper proposes to black out news (the Augusta, Georgia, newspaper, owned by arch-segregationist

Roy Harris, still carries scant news of racial unrestaround Augusta and by letters from friends and relatives. It comes from the integgated army base nearby (the Armed Services, integrated in 1948 by order of President Harry Truman, is the largest integrated institution in America). It comes through the increased mobility of the population which studies and works in other areas. In Albany, the college in the community--Albany State College for Negroes,with 650-odd students, knew what was happening in other college communities.

Albany Negroes were not"satisfied" --no Negro population in the South is, and the movement in Albany begins with an attempt to work these things out peacefully. In January of 1961 the Negro community petitioned the city commissioners to initiate the desegregation of some of the city-owned facilities. Instead of an answer--even a negative one--the Albany Herald , edited by James H. Gray, leading segregationist and Chairman of the Georgia Democratic Party, editorialized rejecting the request both now and forever. The fiery editorials stirred up the white community and several incidents occurred around the Negro college. The college administration did nothing. A letter to Gray and a registered letter to Mayor Asa D. Kelley asking for the establishment of a bi-racial committee received no response.[1]

It is the series of incidents indicating unrest that first caught the interest of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, SNCC was born out of the sit-in movement, first as a resource for information and planning among spontaneous student protest centers, and later, as it added staff, as a planner and developer of the movement. (See appendix on civil rights organizations.) Durin the summer of 1961 SNCC turned its eyes toward voter registration, convinced that lasting change will come only as the N egro obtains the ballot and becomes a political force. In July and August Charles Sherrod o SNCC made a survey of the southwest Georgia area; it was viewed as a critical area for Negroes in Georgia; and in September he headed a team of SNCC workers who came there to work on voter registration.[2]

Albany was not of central concern to SNCC at that time--trouble had broken out in Mississippi and McComb was keeping SNCC's hands full --but Sherrod and his people slowly gained the confidence of the people by living with them, working in the community, and giving voice to the aspirations of the people. His work there, along with Charles Jones and Cordell Reagon, was a model of the way an "outside" group works with a community anywhere in the South. Never in a hurry, the task was to lift fear that engulfed the Albany Negroes, continue the momentum of the previous spring, and teach the people whattheir rights and potentialities might be. The leadrship was one of encouragement from the middle, rather than a take charge one. When developing a mass movement, a leader can lead only if the people follow.

About this time a major civil rights victory was won. As an aftermath of the Freedom Rides, the Interstate Commerce Commission ruled that segregation of bus terminal facilities and segregation on buses was illegal fo interstate travelers (since broadened to include all kinds of travel on public cafriers, intrastate as well as interstate). The I.C.C. ruling triggered a series of tests on the Trailways terminal in Albany and the first of the Albany arrests. There was a non-arrest test by Sherrod and Reagon on November 1, the day the ruling went into effect. Since other groups had also planned to test the ruling in Albany, this led to the formation of the Albany Movement, a coalition of various forces in Albany.

(-- Digression: the forming of the Albany Movement is typical of the way the protest movement in the South has developed local organization and strength. --)

The NAACP Youth Council made the next move and began the long series of arrests in Albany. On November 22, they tested the Trailways lunch counter and were arrested for breach of the peace. The action which was really to launch the mass protests however, came two weeks later.

On December 10, eight persons left Atlanta for Albany, using the white facilities on the train and traveling as an integrated group. Although they quietly went about leaving the train station (having gone into the white waiting room), they were arrested by Chief Pritchet along with three persons who were already in Albany. The charge was obstructing traffic, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer Bond was set at $200.

About one hundred local Negro citizens ahd gathered to watch them arrive. Editor Searles of the Southwest Georgian, the local newspaper, reported it this way:

> "There was no traffic, no disturbance, no one moving. The students had made the trip to Albany desegregated without incident. Things had gone so smoothly I think it infuriated the chief. There was a good feeling in the group. They wanted this to stop."

The ride itself was an example of cooperation in the civil rights movement, which exists although a great deal of attention is given to

apparent division:one organization paid for the ride (SCLC), while another supplied most of the personnel (SNCC).

(--Digression: several things should be noted here:

1. The total disregard for the I.C.C. ruling, although more than a month had passed since the Federal government made it clear that segregation in this area was illegal. The government has still not made any effort anywhere to prosecute for violation of this order.

2. The action of the police in arresting persons for nothing more than the violation of segregation.

(--End of digression.--)

On December 12, when the trial was to take place, over 400 Negro high school and college students formed a protest march when they did not disperse on police order, were all arrested. The next day, 370 more persons were arrested. By Thursday, Dec. 14, 560 persons had been formally arrested. 300 of these had chosen to remain in jail. Governor Vandiver called out the National Guard. A few more arrests came that day when other persons tried to use the Trailways restaurant. Finally, late that night, negotiations began, but quickly brokedown. Demonstrations continued: on December 16, Dr. W. G.Anderson, president of the Albany Movement, Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had come in during the week, and others led a march downtown. Some 250 persons were arrested; by nightfall, a total of 737 persons had been arrested.

(-- Digression: It is believed that this is the largest mass arrest that has taken place in the United States in peacetime including all the labor disputes in the earlier part of the century, and various riots which have occured from time to time. In its mass character, it is unique. Several characteristics are common to other demonstrations, and should be noted here.

Why the arrests, anyway? How can one continue "breaking the Law," regardless of the reason? Especially in this situation when the courts are avenues of redress? A pre-requisite is that the courts are by and large not available without a very expensive and time-consuming process. The NAACP has used the avenue for years, and while they have won many battles they have not destroyed segregation. We could not get along without the legal victories; but they are not sufficient. A beginning argument for arrests is that one of the ways in which you test the constitutionality of a law is to break it and appeal the conviction. This involves only one or two cases; not a mass arrest. The answer is in the moral and political nature of the protest. A mass arrest focuses upon the problem in a way that no other means can: it raises a moral issue: are these people justly arrested (a different question from whether the arrests were legal or not) to be decided by the courts. It is only though violation that the Negro community can indicate the degree to which they protest the system of segregation.

But probably the ultimate answer to the question comes not from such tactical considerations. It is very simple: a large part of the Negro community has decided it can no longer cooperate with an unjust and immoral system. If this means arrest, so- be it. End digression.)

Following the Saturday demonstration in which Martin Luther King Jr., W.G. Anderson and other leaders were arrested along with 250 citizens, negotiations began once again. Resuming Monday norning, they continued all day. Finally verbal agreement was reached on the following points:

a) desegration of the bus and train facilities;
b) release of all the demonstrators except the original Freedom Riders on simple property bonds;
c) the calling off of further demonstrations;
d) a promise by the city commission to hear the grievances of the Negro community.

(Perhaps we are getting ahead of the story, but it is interesting to note the status of these agreements as of August 1 --over seven months later: a) the train and bus stations are sometimes desegregated, sometimes not. They are desegregated if it is a "test" with attendant publicity or if the pressure is on; they are segregated most of the time.

b) trial has not been held, nor have the cases been dropped for the 700 plus demonstrators--thus tying up the property of the Negro community.

c) the city commission has not met with the Albany movement.

d) as a result, the demonstrations resumed in July- six months later--and are still continuing.)

Was it a defeat? The answer can only be an ambiguous yes and no. In terms of concrete results, this, the largest civil rights protest featuring the most important "names" in the civil rights movement, accomplished no more than ashort-lived demonstration undertakenby a group of teenagers or college students. The terminals were desegregated, yes-- officially. But then, this was now Federal orders. In a larger sense, though the movement was a success. For never again will the city of Albany be "peaceful" as long as discrimination exists. There is a new spirit in the Negro community. The words of the leaders have taken root. There is the fervent belief in the heart of the members of the Negro community that "we shall overcome -- someday."

Retercussions

To this day there exists a boycott of the downtown section of Albany. If you were to wander through the streets of the main shopping district -- as I did last week -- you will see few Negroes on the streets. One of the interesting things that has developed out of the direct action movement of the past two years is an understanding of the economic position of the Negro and the power that he wields as a part of the purchasing public. Because of the economically depressed situation of Negroes in general, they do not tend to represent a very large share of the white merchant's business. But they do represent the difference between profit and loss.

The Montgomery bus boycott was the first boycott used as a tactic for desegregation by the Southern Negro. That took place in 1955, though, and since then it has been used only sporadically. When Nashville began its desegregation movement in 1960, the boycott became one of its major weapons, along with the sit-ins; and it was largely because of the boycott that the merchants of the community forced the city to meet many of the demands of the Negro community. Since then it has been used successfully in many places: wither total boycotts or selective boycotts, occasionally just busses. Atlanta; Savannah; Birmingham; Jackson, Tennessee; Jackson, Mississippi; many other communities have also used the tactic, with varying success but always with results in terms of unifying the Negro community and forcing the white community to discover that the Negro is no longer an inconsiderable part of the economy. Whether it is effective or not in Albany is hard to tell; the white merchants claim that it is ineffectual, and so far there is no sign that they will intervene into the nonviolent battle between the law enforcement agencies and the Negro community. It was clearly effective in one area: after the agreement was reached on desegregation of the bus terminals, pressure was put on the local bus company by the Negroes to desegregate its busses and to hire Negro drivers. When negotiations broke down, a boycott was called; soon afterward, the bus line went out of business when the desegregation of the bus lines was tied into other demands which the city refused to meet. In general its purpose is to motivate the city's businessmen to take an active part in working out agreement which meets at least some of the demands of the Negroes. On occasion, when aimed at a specific store, it is an effort to get that particular store to change its policies.

A second aftermath of the December protests is on the negative side: almost every student from Albany State College who took part in the demonstrations was suspended from schoo. Despite mass protests by the student body on behalf of the students, they have not as yet been reinstated, nor does the college appear to be planning to reinstate them. Again we have the familiar pattern. Administrators and faculty of Negro colleges tend 1) to be conservative and thus opposed to direct action on principle, and 2) to be at the mercy of the white boards of education who control their financial support and even their job.

Note on the "Outside Agitators"

Much attention has been given to the role of "outsiders" in the movement. The white community blames all the trouble on outsiders, and says either 1) that if the outsiders were not here, the Negro community would not be "acting up;" or 2) that if the outsiders would leave, we could work out our own problems in a nice community-spirited manner. At times within the Negro community, particularly from the older, established leadership which is being replaced, one hears complaints also. Let us look at the role of "outside agitators" in Albany.

Before the Albany Movement was, the NAACP was. In fact, the NAACP is not open to the charge of being an outside force. It is, however, open to the charge that it was not doing anything. When the other groups came in to fill the gap in dynamic, experienced leadership, NAACP objected to the encroachment upon their "territory". In this way, Albany is representative of situations all over the South. It is almost impossible to find a town of any significance or size that does not have an NAACP chapter in it. In a great many places these are doing a quiet and effective job; but in all too many there is nothing happeneing, and certainly nothing to keep up with the greatly accelerating pace of the protest maovement during the past two years. When the Albany movement was formed, the NAACP kept itself clearly apart from the Movement. Because o the growing importance of the Albany Movement and tis clear role as the main civil rights organization of Albany, however, its aloofness was shattered, and the Albany Movement has become theNAACP's also.

The white community seldom criticises NAACP. (This is true all over the South. Whereas once the NAACP was considered "radical" and"communist" direct action approach and return to the intelligent

and sensible NAACP approach.) Criticism is focused on the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which are accused of having come down from the outside to stir up trouble. The whites seek to avoid the facts; there will always be trouble--as long as there is segregation and inequality as subsistence wages, unequal conditions and voteless citizens, unresponsive politicians and bigotry in high places as well as violence. Civil rights organizations do not start trouble, but try to end troubles that are built into the "southern way of life." A movement like the Albany one is impossible unless there is mass dissatisfaction with the status quo. Leadership from the outside can only supply the experience and technical advice--and, let us not forget, time and money and legal resources-- that may not be available locally.

How does the Negro community receive them? It does not consider them to be outsiders. It welcomes their skills and abilities. That SNCC Field Secretaries could live in Albany on next to nothing in salary in an already impoverished community is a testimony to their welcome. Martin Luther King was invited to come to Albany; he did not come on his own. There are some dangers, though. Despite the open welcome, the local Albany Movement considered the movement to be primarily <u>their</u> movement; and some slight tensions did develop in December when Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, announced he was taking charge in a moment of crisis. The press gave this "split" extensive coverage. Although it is a fact that there are tensions, in the face of the common enemy, segregation, these differences fade in importance and are not generally disruptive.

There is another "outside" force in Albany with whom neither community is satisfied: the Federal Government. The South continues to think of the Federal Government as an outsider. When trouble erupts in the South and the Justice Department and the F.B.I. begin to be concerned, then the cries are heard that this is a local affair, that it is under control, that the Federal Government should stay away. When they do come, as they did in Albany, to observe, there is constant objection to them. (Question: is this because the FBI agents and the Federal Marshalls by their presence inhibit free expression of anger through violence?) On the other hand, the Negro community, while welcoming the presence of Federal officials, is dissatisfied with their actions. Violation of Federal laws take place constantly--yet the Government refuses to act. Testimony which proves the violations pours into the Civil Rights Commission; and following each telegram of protest a letter is received from Burke Marshall, Kennedy's assistant in charge of civil rights, which says, more or less, "thank you for your wire. We are investigating and if there is any violation of Federal law you can be assured of our action." They have not yet acted. Nor are the FBI agents much help. The practice is to assign <u>southern</u> agents--generally from nearby counties, who have worked with local law enforcement officials in any number of cases over the years--who greet each complaint with a "moderate" attitude which implies that the witness is exaggerating and things are not as bad as they seem. They are not disposed to act.

The Movement Continues

Following the December compromise direct action abated in Albany The Southern Christian Leadership Conference returned to Atlanta. Sherrod, Jones and a few other SNCC personnel stayed around Albany, but not specifically in order to engage in direct action. Their job was to help the car pool which was set up after the bus boycott; and to solidify the Albany Movement, which still had some ragged edges and conflicts in leadership. At this time (early Spring) they again turned to what had been their first purpose in coming to Albany--voter registration--and worked out an extensive plan for a registration profect in Albany and the surrounding counties.

Harrassment continued; not in massive ways, but in subtle ways which indicated clearly that the white power structure did not want them there. Repeated traffic arrests took place. It is suspected, though unproveable, that SNCC and Albany Movement mail was delivered via the police station, where it was read first. (Pritchett is known to have copies of letters addresed to the movement, and the mail itself looked tampered with.) But there was little overt tension during this period. The Negro community was slowly going about the task of building itself, building new leadership, working out in the rural counties. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference had set up a Citizenship School in nearby Dorchester, Georgia, to which potential leadership came for leadership training and others came for such basic skills as reading and writing. The community attended these programs, and they quietly set about the task of the long hard process of building up the deprived Negro community--deprived edu-

cationally as well as politicall and economically.

At the beginning of the summer of 1962 action started again.

It started in two organizationally independent operations, which gradually became merged in such a way that the story of the summer is the story of both. The white community considers them the same operation.

When colleges ended the Spring term the staff workers for SNCC took a few students down to southwest Georgia and began a summer voter registration project. Using these college students, Negro and white, to make as many contacts as possible, they began to hold mass meetings in the surrounding counties, in an effort to inspire these persons to overcome the wall of fear thar had been set up between them and the attainment of their political rights and responsibilities. Small at first, they gradually grew--and, of course, drew the attention of the white power structure. On July 3, Ralph Allen, a white student and summer worker, was beaten in Terrell County--the sherriff would not even listen to his complaint. A few days later, he was again severly beaten after escorting some voters to the registration office. Threats are constant, and since it is clear that the law enforcement officials are also opposed to their presence matters often go beyond threats. In Lee county harrasment is a bit more subtle--$100 fines for going through stop signs, to be paid at the time of arrest or off to jail. Few have been registered, of course; regardless of what time people go down to register, the office is either "closed" to registration or too busy to handle them. In Albany proper, a person makes an application to register; a time for registration is them supposed to be set. Most people who apply do not hear from the registration office, and must apply again and again. If it is known that the person has been working with the voter registration project or is a "trouble-maker" registration is all but impossible.

Although no progress had been made in registering voters, progress was certainly being made in inspiring Negro citizens to demand their constitutional rights. The white community was on edge.

The other event which immediately touched off mass demonstrations was the sentencing of Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and 2 others for their part in the December action. They had been convicted in February; sentence was witheld until Tuesday July 10, and on that date each was sentenced to 45 days hard labor on the public streets of Albany. At a large mass meeting immediately following the sentencing, Rev. Wyatt T. Walker of SCLC spoke long and strongly about the death of justice in Albany, and introduced into the movement the wearing of black crepe arm-bands to symbolize mourning for that death (still worn by some persons there).

King agreed to serve his sentence. Although his lawyers talked about appeal, he himself thought that the moral protest would be best made if he served "an unjust sentence." Abernathy and one of the other persons decided to stay with him. The next day, Wednesday, July 11, 32 persons marched in protest of the sentence. As they marched toward the courthouse, they were met by Chief Pritchett and nineteen policemen (he was taking no chances) and ordered to disperse. Soon they were marching to jail to join King and Abernathy, singing loudly, according to the newspaper reports, "We Shall Overcome." The charges were extensive: parading without a permit, failure to obey and afficer, congregation of the sidewalk, disregarding traffic signals, and blocking the flow of traffic. Pritchett said that "they would be docketed along with the other 700." Four persons werre also arrested for picketing.

On Thursday, King and the others were released from jail. The police informed them that "an unidentified, well-dressed Negro" had paid the fines. Pritchett had a long talk with King before the men left jail, and tension seemed to be easing. The night before he had made a suprise and unprecedented visit to the mass meeting, had asked for nonviolence and cooperation and pledged the same; he had been received with polite applause at what could have been potentially a very dangerous situation. The next several days were spent digesting the meaning of the apparently new attitude on the part of the police and in building up momentum. Mass meetings each evening averaged a thousand or more. A few scattered arrests occured, but nothing very extensive or organized. King told one of the rallies that Pritchett has agreed to four of the demands of the Albany Movement:

1) if the bus line returns, it will operate on a desegregated basis;

2) there would be compliance with the I.C.C. ruling on bus terminals;

3) there would be a proper channel set up for the hearing of

grievances -- agreed upon as Pritchett himself and the city manager;

4) the cash bonds of last December would be returned and property bonds accepted in their place;

but, King said, the fifth demand, the most important of all -- dropping the charges from last December's arrest -- had been rejected and would not be negotiated. When asked publicly about this discussion, Pritchett denied that he had given any concessions to King, insisting that all four of these points had been made months before. Several days passed while King and Pritchett debated through the press and the mass meeting about just what exactly had been said in the meeting.

By Monday, July 16, King and the leaders had given up on Pritchett. Still willing to negotiate, they had telegrammed Mayor Kelley asking for a meeting, with direct action implied as an alternative to negotiation. Kelley's answer was uncompromising: there would be no negotiation with "law-breakers". On Monday afternoon the Confederate flag was flown on the flag pole in front of the City Hall.

That demonstrations would occur in force then was clear. Nevertheless they were held off while some sort of negotiation attempt seemed still to be a possibility. At the Monday night rally, King called for volunteers -- and from the reaction of the 1,000 plus at the rally, there would be no shortage of numbers. During the week, though, the only overt action was a series of attempts at using segregated facilities all over town, mostly tests of the non-arrest variety (persons leave when requested to). At none of the places tested were the Negroes served or allowed to use the facilities. On Thursday, several young people were arrested at a drugstore.

The object of these tests has not been formally announced. One of the ways of breaking down segregation in city-owned facilities, however, is to file an omnibus suit -- for which evidence of systematic discrimination, and particularly segreation enforced by the police, is needed. The Albany Movement now has all the formal evidence it needs to file suit. The systematic testing, sponsored by the Albany Movement, was under the direction of Charles Jones of the SNCC staff.

While this was taking place, the verbal sparring continued. James Gray spoke against the Movement on his television station on Tuesday might, particularly addressing himself to the matter of outside agitators:

> " For the Albany Movement does not belong to Albany; it has not sprung from the ranks of Albany Negroes; it has been brought to them by outsiders seeking profit. This movement will fail. Albany will never, never make a deal with deceit."

The next day W.G. Anderson, local dentist and president of the Albany Movement, asked for equal time, and was given it on Thursday night. Anderson's reply was quiet, softspoken, and pointed out to the community of Albany just what the protest was all about and what were the root causes. This was the first time the Negro community had had a chance to express itself to the white communiity at large (Atlanta had a fairer idea of what the issue was, through its newspapers, than did the citizens of Albany who saw only Gray's local newspaper.)

Anderson's words were too late to lead to negotiation. The next night, Friday, July 20, the leadership of the white community acted in a manner that was certain to create further tension: it obtained an injunction issued by Federal District Judge J. Robert Elliot prohibiting picketing, boycotts, and speeches promoting racial demonstrations in Albany. This closed off the last avenue of expression for the Negro community. Without political power, with no means of making its concerns felt among the white citizens, with a local power structure officially segregation-minded and determined to keep the city that way, they now found their one avenue of expression -- demonstration -- officially closed also.

It was decided not to obey the injunction. While emergency plans for an appeal to another Federal Judge were made, the Movement marched anyway on Saturday, In three successive demonstrations, 161 were arrested, led by a number of the ministers.

Following the violation matters became tense. On Monday, Mrs. Slater King, wife of one of the jailed leaders, was kicked and beaten while trying to leave packages for the prisoners in nearby Leesburg. (The Albany police have had to "farm out" prisoners to nearby jails.) Mrs. King is five months pregnant and was carrying

her three year old daughter. Since it is only her word against theirs, no action is being planned. Seven persons who went on a prayer vigil in front of the City Hall Monday night were arrested. 200 state troopers were out and on guard for a mass demonstration which was not even planned for that evening.

On Monday, July 23, the Negro community appealed the injunction to Judge E. P. Tubtle in Atlanta. In a short, decisive hearing, Judge Tuttle ruled that improper procedures had been followed in obtaining the injunction, and ordered a stay of the injunction until July 30 -- which was the date Judge Elliot had set for a hearing on whether or not to make it permanent. The demonstrations had been halted only for the weekend, officially; and in fact, had not ceased, since the injunction had been violated. They were to resume on Tuesday.

Tuesday night, the inevitable happened. After 40 persons were arrested for "parading without a permit" when they went toward City Hall to pray, some 2,000 Negroes massed together in the Negro area, infuriated because they had assumed Tuttle's stay of the injunction meant that they would not be arrested. About 170 police moved into the crowd to break up the demonstration. Rocks and bottles were thrown from the Negro group at the troopers; two officers were injured. Moderates who had kept quiet for weeks suddenly "were tired of" the demonstrations, and thought the Negro community had "gone too far." The Klu Klux Klan publicly offered to retaliate. And a great deal of sympathy for the cause of the Negro in southwest Georgia was lost.

Wishing to avert further violence, to reinforce the philosophy of nonviolence, and to cool down flaring tempers, Martin Luther King Wednesday morning called for a "Day of Penance," in which there would be no further demonstrations for 24 hours. His calling of a halt caused some disagreement within the Albany Movement; he had done so without consultation with many of the leaders who wanted to continue the movement. Once the Day had been announced however the Movement stood behind the proclamation, and the leaders spent the day visiting at restaurants, pool rooms, and wherever the Negro population might congregate, preaching the philosophy of nonviolence.

If Albany was quiet other areas were not so quiet. During all of the tense period of demonstrations SNCC workers continued to work at voter retistration out in the adjoining counties, especially in Lee and Terrell counties. The Terrell County project had a mass meeting every Wednesday night. This was usually a fairly small crowd -- 50 to 70 persons -- since the Negroes in the county had a much higher degree of fear than in Albany itself and being rural were much more vulnerable to retaliation. The week before the sheriff of Terrell County, Z.T. Matthews, had come into the meeting with a group of "disturbed citizens" with guns and had intimidated the crowd, though he claimed to be just checking in case the "secret"meeting turned out to be "subversive." This week the Terrell County workers, led by Charles Sherrod, had expected that the sheriff might return, and so they invited a number of the many newsmen who were covering the Albany story to come out to the meeting and learn of rural intimidation. Reporters from the New York Times, the Atlanta Constitution, and the Atlanta Journal were on hand when the sheriff and his men entered. Although their intentions apparently were somewhat diverted by the presence of newsmen, they interrupted the meeting for over an hour, ordering the SNCC workers out of the county and isisiting that the "niggers " in Terrell could handle their own affairs.

"We want our colored people to go on living like they have for the last 100 years," said the swearing, cigar-smoking sheriff as he harangued the crowd from the chancel of the church. His thirteen "assistants," including some sheriffs from nearby counties, lounged around the back of the room, wearing guns and swinging long five-cell flashlights. After they thought they had done a sufficient job of intimidation, they stayed until the meeting was finished and took note of allthe people who were there.

The presence of the reporters may have made the intimidation backfire. Through extensive reports, white citizens of Georgia are beginning to learn for the first time what is happening in the rural counties. Whether anything will come of that is not clear; nor is it clear that the long report in the New York Times will accomplish anything, though reportedly it has moved the Civil Rights Commission of the Justice Department to investigate. If the government lives up to its past performances, however, "investigation" will be the extent of action.

Back in Albany, things remained quiet but tense until Friday Partly because of a definite change in tactics after the violence,

but also because it was no longer possible to get large numbers of Negroes to go in mass arrests -- several hundred were in jail at this time already -- it was decided to hold prayer vigils at the City Hall in small numbers. The leadership itself held the first vigil: WGAnderson, Martin Luther King, Jr. Ralph Abernathy, and other leaders-- 10 in all-- went down to the city Hall that afternoon and after praying stood there until arrested for disturbing the peace and refusing to obey an officer.

A short while later about 28 more, led by Charles Jones and Wm. Hansen of SNCC, did the same thing and joined them in hjail.

The same pattern took place on Saturday afternoon. First a group of eight picketers were arrested by Chief Pritchett; then, s shortly afterward, came another group of almost thirty who prayed and then were arrested. On Friday and Saturday the movement introduced a new tactic: some arrested persons went limp and had to be carried in on stretchers. The police were quick, efficient: only a small crowd gathered across the street; I stood less than 50 feet away, watching the whole thing, and during the picketing talked with an on-duty policeman while the arrestedwere made(he "didn't know what this was all about"). The most dramatic Saturday events took place not outside the jail, though, but within it. Wm. Hansen, 23 year old white field secretary for SNCC who had been arrested the previous day, was transferred to another jail a and thrown into a cell with other white prisoners who were informed by the police that he was a "nigger lover". Within two hours Bill was in the hospital with a broken jaw and other injuries. When the Movement heard of this-- by accident; when Jim Forman happened to be passing by the jail, he heard Hansen's cries to release-- Attorney CB King, attorney for the Movement and the only Negro lawyer in Albany, went to the County Sheriff's office to arrange bond. (Hansen was in the county jail, outside of Chief Pritchett's direct supervision.) When King walked into the office Sheriff Campbell, an old man of about seventy who has been sheriff for many years, shouted at him, "Nigger, didn't I tell you never to come in - to my office?" and hit him with a heavy walking stick, breaking it over his head. C.B. also spent the night in the hospital, where he received eight stitches.

Shocking. But not unusual. Despite all the protestations of the police that they were "meeting nonviolence with nonviolence", it was clear that sooner or later someone would be beaten. It was just a matter of time. And what happened here could be generalized to include most of the Deep South. Beatings of white integrationists while not common--there are not that many of them who get arrested-- are also not terribly unusual. Nor, of course, are beatings of Negroes. The days of lynchings are not too far behind us.

Albany: Events and Reaction

Chief Pritchett and his men have become more careful since the Fall, but the pattern of police adtion remains the same. Arbitrary arrests; violations of the First Amendment, not to mention the Fourteenth Amendment; treats; enforcement of segregation by the police when the citizens do not appear to be taking a strong enough stand; these are common all across the South. The law enforcement agencies of the South, like law itself in the South, are firmly, officially, and uncompromisingly segregationist. Any action which challenges that situation will be met with arrests, whether it is done within the context of the rights given by Federal law or not. It is then possible for the political forces to refuse to deal with the protest on the grounds that these are law-breakers and criminals. This is why local laws must be broken--they cannot help but be--and why protesters must be prepared to jail. Notice though that the charges never have anything to do with segregation and integration. They are local charges, not coming under the jurisdiction of the Federal Courts of Appeal; and the mention of integration is studiously avoided. (In the Freedom Ride trials in Jackson, Mississippi, the integration-segregation qestion and the race of the riders was held to be irrelevant. The sole question was whether their presence was disturbing the peace.)

Although the police stand is clear, it is much more difficult to gauge the reaction of the white community in general. Considering the attention given Albany in the outside world, the citizens of Albany seemed supremely indifferent. At no time was there a large crowd on hand to greet the demonstrators. The largest that I saw was about 100 people on a Saturday afternoon, the day when the rural folk traditionally come into the city, and they were quietly

watching from the porch of the New Albany Hotel across the street. Their reaction was interest, some laughter, and a total lack of understanding--but no anger. Perhaps it is simply that the white citizens of Albany do not feel threatened by the demonstrators. They have been told over and over again that outsiders are the only ones who are upset and that the Negroes from Albany themselves are satisfied. Their maid service answers in response to questions that most of the community is satisfied, and it's just a small group of hotheads and loafers (the greatest acting job in the South today is that being done by Negro maids and yardmen. The white citizens do not compose an active opposition; on the other hand, none of them have come forward with any degree of support and understanding. The biggest task yet facing the movement in Albany and elsewhere, a superhuman and almost impossible task, is to develop in the white community an understanding of something of what it means to be a Negro in the South and what is it that is being fought for so strongly.

The press helps in this understanding, to an extent. The newsmen who cover a story such as this come to all the meetings; they hear the desires of the Negro community voiced in mass meeting after mass meeting; they interview many who have suffered for the simple attempt to exercise the vote, or who have been beaten; and understanding comes to them. That the private sympathies of the newsmen are with the movement seems evident. On the other hand, many of them write for segregationist or "neutral" papers; and as newsmen, even where the paper is in sympathy with the movement, their reporting must be objective, not editorializing. In the simple presentation of the story, though, the Negro community finds that some sympathy is engendered. A story like the one on intimidation of voters in Terrell County gives a better picture of the situation, than all the speeches the Negro community can make. Unfortunately, these come along only seldom. Generally the stories cannot get at underlying causes and resentments which have built up over the years; and the point of the demonstrations sometimes becomes lost. On the whole, the Movement in Albany and elsewhere enjoys excellent press relations.

Working against the understanding that the press presents, however, are the politicians. It is no news that Georgia politicians (and all Southern politicians) stand for segregation. At the present time there is a gubernatorial race taking place in Georgia. The two major candidates for the primary are former governor Marvin Griffin and state senator Carl Sanders. Griffin, a proven grafter in his first term, is a rabid segregationist who would not only prevent further desegregation in Georgia if he could, but would re-segregate all the desegregated schools and facilities (or so his campaign speeches say). He has pledged himself to outlawing any picketing which is not in a "bona fide labor dispute." Sanders, ib the other hand, is a "modefate" segregationist who steadfastly insists in response to Griffin's accusations that he does not have and does not want the support of the Negro people and the "Ohio-owned integrationist Atlanta newspapers." since Albany exploded the two have ta talked about little else. Rather than talk about Georgia's critically needed reapportionment or terrible schools system or tax reform or the highway program or even the possibility of a balanced state budget they vie with each other tossee who could be morefirm in solving Albany's problem. Griffin would banish Martin Luther King and the other "agitators" from the state and, if elected, keep them out for good. Sanders would call in the National Guard and quell the demonstrations with violence if necessary and put King in jail for good. Their absolute refusal to deal helpfully with the Albany situation simply reinforces white prejudices and means that the battle for the Negro's rights as citizen will be that much harder and longer. Rather than playing a helpful role, the politicians are making things infinitely worse.

It is difficult to be a moderate in the South. The integrationist forces oppose you for not being liberal enough; the segregationists simply lump you in the integrationnist camp. A great many Southerners though are by tendency and background "moderates" on the race question. Not yet convinced that the direct action nonviolent approach is the way to do things, fearful of social integration, nevertheless they do believe that all Americans ought to have equal rights and favor the achievment of these rights. As exasperated with the moderates as thosein the movement sometimes become, we must realize that they hold the key to permanent change in the South. Their reaction to Albany has been one of wonder, that the Negro community

can sustain this kind of a movement this long; anger, at the stubbornness and blindness of the white power structure in its refusal even to listen to the grievances of the Negro community; interest, as they try to predict where this, the biggest civil rights movement in the last year or so, will finally end up. But their reaction has not yet turned to one of involvement. Only a few dedicated souls are busy in the work of reconciliation which is a necessary part of permanent peace with justice. "Moderates" who will so declare themselves in Albany are hard to find.

Whether the Negro community will be able to win many of its battles in Albany and come to a greater measure of justice; whether the "moderates" will be able to exert enough influence to come to a settlement acceptable to both sides for a time, at least; whether the rural white folk who feel most threatened by Negro equality, encouraged by the Klan, will become violent; or whether the segregationist status quo white power structure will win out in the long run, is impossible to tell. At this point the white power structure looks unshaken, though worried. But Albany will never be the same again; and in one form or another the movement will continue in Albany so that, someday, "we shall overcome."

Some Broader Considerations on Civil Rights

The Albany situation, complete as it is, does not tell the full story of civil rights in the South. It says little about the "politics" of the South; little about the thought and direction of the civil rights organizations as a whole at this point in their development; it says little of what actual change has occurred in the South in the past few years; it says little about the changing character of the resistance, less about the changing character of the student movement; and it makes no predictions about the future. As a conclusion I want to take a quick look at some of these aspects of the civil rights struggle, though not all.

First we must ask a very important question regarding Albany: if the nonviolent movement fails there, what does this say about the civil rights movement? Albany is the most concentrated attempt to change a southern community since Montgomery. If it fails, then it will be a severe blow for the nonviolent movement. And at this point it does not appear that success is just around the conner. What then? If nonviolence fails, what are the alternatives to the southern Negro? To remain silent in the face of the status quo is not possible. The slow, painstaking way through the courts and the political process apparently is closed--the NAACP's excellent use of this process still has not broken down the walls of separation. No help seems on the way from the southern moderate and the few liberals. There seems logically to remain then only the path of retaliation, force and violence. Yet this is so against the whole direction of the protest movement that in most circles this possibility is not even considered. It is thus doubly important that Albany and its movement succeed: not only because of the Negroes who live in the community, but because of its meaning to the movement as a whole.

Change comes slowly to the South. There are the events that stand out: the sit-ins, the Freedom Rides, There are the memorable legal victories: May 17, 1954; the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts; the I.C.C. ruling. But these sharp, simple, dramatic changes must be seen against a backdrop of long and gradual and agonizingly slow change over decades. Nor are any of the dramatic events real <u>changes</u>; bus stations are still segregated, school integration is at a token rate if at all (93% of southern Negro children still attend segregated schools; Albany points with pride at its "separate and equal" school facilities, and it si true that one of the Negro schools matches in facilities the best of the white schools.) How to speed up the change? This is the major question of the civil rights movement. And there are no simple answers.

"Convert the hearts and change from within" says the moderate, the moralist, the Church. But the moderate never gets close enough to the Negro mass to convince them that it is possible; the moralist talks of private morality and not of corrupt government and economic exploitation and police brutality and unjust arrests and legal lynching; and the Church remains the most segregated institution in southern society--even including law enforcement agencies.

"The direct nonviolent action approach raises the moral questions in a way that they cannot be ignored" says the nonviolent direct action movement; but we wait to see whether Albany will

integrate any of its city-owned and tax-supported facilities.

"Become involved in politics and exert your pressure there" say the radicals and rrformers, especially the young radicals who come down to "see what's going on." But how can you, in a one-party system, where the primary is crucial--and where, until court cases in the late 1940's, Negroes were excluded by law from voting in the primary? Southern politics is one of factions waging war against each other for the nomination for office, and becomes a matter of personality; anyone who has a flare and money can run (where else but in the South--in its politics Texas is generally southern?--would you have 72 candidates for U.S. Senator?). And not only could the Negro never get on the ballot in most states: they cannot even register to vote in large numbers anywhere but in a few islands such as Atlanta. How can we talk of political action for immediate change?

"Support Kennedy and he will support you" say the big city Negro leaders. Negroes did support Kennedy overwhelmingly in the last election; but Kennedy's first appointment to a Federal judgeship in the South--and much of the southern battle is in the courts--was Cox of Mississippi, a close friend of Senator James Eastland. Of the many kinds of action possible under the Civil Rights Act of 1960, almost none have been tried. And although two pieces of legislation which would help Negro voting in the South were introduced in the 1962 Congress, one outlawing the poll tax and the other the literacy requirement, neither was fought for very strongly and both were defeated. Kennedy's administration does not seem about to shake the demagogic political structure of the South.

Nor are the Federal Courts always the most reliable source of help. Federal judges in the South are waging a private war which comes into the open only indirectly. Albany is an example: one judge overturned the other's ruling, and then the two argued over who had jurisdiction on the hearing for the permanent injunction (this hearing has not yet had a judgement) before the first judge retained control. The appeal however wil probably go back to Judge Tuttle. . . so goes the merry-go-round. The same thing is true in Mississippi over a case involving the integration of the University of Mississippi.

What then does the future hold? I think the key to integration in the South still is with the nonviolent direct action movement, regardless of its weaknesses. This is true for three reasons:

1) The absolute impossibility of the alternatives;
2) It is the only force capable of uniting almost the entire Negro community, and drawing into itself more and more liberal whites (the history of the past two years indicates that this is becoming more and more an integrated movement);
3) It is the only force which the Federal government is willing to condone, even in half-hearted and minor ways. Someday, we may hope, the continual presence of Federal agents in tense civil rights situations and the steady stream of evidence on the violation of Federal law will have some impact on the situation. The movement has not altogetherlost faith in the Federal government. Especially if three million Negroes register to vote before the next election.

I would like to end this paper with a call to participation. But I will not. If what has been said so far has not motivated persons to support the movement for equality and human dignity in the South,

then further exhortation is useless. Instead I would indicate some of the ways in which support can and must come, assuming that support is a concern of the national student community.

1. A job of interpretation and communication must be done. A large segment of the nation, and even of the student community, have no understanding of the revolution going on in our midst. The movement depends to a great extent upon public opinion. Informed and expressed public opinion on this issue can make a major difference in Federal legislation.

2. Financial support is essential. The Southern Negro community has little money as it is, and with excessive bail fees and movement expenses it is possible to spend a considerabel amount of money just in expenses to keep the movement going. Without intending to favor any single one of the civil rights organizations, it is my opinion that SNCC is certainly the most critically in need of funds and in fact, at times has to be supported by some of its more affluent fellow organizations. In addition, SNCC is astudent organization whose roots are deep in the protest movement which has been initiated by students during the past few years. Its spirit is the same as that in the peace movement, the civil liberties movement, the student political movements: young people trying to live responsibly in an irresppnsible society.

3. Segregation exists all over the United States, and not just in the South. One of the problems facing the Negro people in the nation is that no matter where they are, the stigma attached to being a Negro travels with them. Student communities all over the nation must serve notice on the white majority that white does not make right, and they must use every possible means to eliminate discrimination. Discrimination within the university is particularly revolting: how can one talk about an atmosphere of free discussion and exploration when a major "question" of American society--whether Negroes should be treated equally in our society or not--is implicitly answered in the Negative.

The real struggle though is in the South. In a strange, peculia way, our whole system of life is on trial. If the verdict is that the Negro shall have to "wait", then demagoguery will havewon. And the American dream of a land where all men are brothers and are treated for what they are worth, democratically, will have been consigned forever to the past or to the unattainable future.

Footnotes

1. In this prelude to the movement, you will note several fairly widespread and traditional causes of the disruption to come.
a. The majority of the southern Negro community is aware of the protests.
b. Protests begin almost always within the established democratic procedures. It is the refusal of the white community to act w within these procedures--even to acknowledge them--that forces the demonstrations which cannot be ignored. The total failure of even minimal recognition of the Negro in the South as citizen is the root cause of much of the protest.
c. Although the protests are usually led by substantial figures in the Negro community, they are not thosenormally seen by the white community as "Negro leaders." College administrators are not the only conservative or timid Negro leadership; any leadership which owes its position to the placement or regognition of the white community is expected to be a supported of the status quo--for obvious reasons. With the exception of some of the ministers, the protest movement means a displacement in Negro leadership.

2. We must note the importance of voter registration in the protest movement. Throughout the last seven or eight years there have been sporadic voter registration campaigns in the Negro community. In some of the big cities--notably Atlanta, a large percentage of the Negro community is registered. In the last mayoral election in Atlanta, in fact, it was clearly the Negro vote which elected the mayor. But the situation in the ruralcounties is appalling. In Mississippi alone in 1959 there were 15 counties without a single Negro registered--despite the fact that Negroes averaged 49% of the population in these counties. Rather than "despite the fact", we should rather say "because" --for it is clear that the greater the percentage of Negroes in a county's population, the more difficult it will be for him to register. Segregation will end in the South only as the Negro through the political process can force it to end. A frist pre-requisite to this is to be registered to vote. This has long been recognized, but only in the present day have we seen the beginnings of an organized, systematic attempt at voter registration.

During the summer of 1961 there began plans for a foundations-financed, multi-sponsored, Voter Education Project. After a great deal of negotiating the Project began in earnest this summer. Financed by a$350,000 grant the Taconic and Field Foundations, five organizations--the Congress of Racial Equality, the NAACP, the National Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee--are cooperating in an intensive two-year voter registration campaign under the direction of Wiley Branton, a lawyer from Little Rock, Arkansas. The ultimate effects of the Project are not yet clear. The immediate effects--of lifting the Negro community to some understanding of their rights and responsibilities as citizens--is already beginning to take effect. But there are many question marks: the extent to which Federal support will come, for example. Though it is pledged, it seems reluctant to help--particularly in those Negro majority areas where enforcement of fair registration practices might mean a radical change in political leadership. The long range effects can only be guessed at; the guesses range from such pessimistic opinions as permanently wishing for Kennedy the support of the Negro vote without any change in the Southern power structure to optomistic opinions of forcing a split in the Democratic Party and ejection of the Dixiecrats, or the forming of a Negro-labor third party.

Many of the organizations were working on voter registration before the Project officially began and are working in some areas independently of the Project finances. It was in this way that Sherrod first began to work in Albany.

3. Why did they stay in jail? The majority of the persons arrested stayed in jail for long periods of time, enduring terrible conditions and treatment. Why? Here again is partly apractical answer: southern law enforcement sets bond very high for civil rights cases--as high as $11,000 in one situation--and to supply bond for all cases means to tie up a lot of money. Especially when the southern states will delayindefinitely before calling to trial civil rights cases which they are sure to lose--they prefer the harrassment

technique of tying up large sums of money, rather than a speedy trial and conviction. To stay in jail forces the trial date to co me quickly.

But that is the practical consideration--secondary for most of the arrested persons. Very simply: to accept bond means an implicit recognition that the state has a legitimate right to make the arrests and that it had jurisdiction. Non-cooperation with evil means kkxk to withhold that recognition and force them to hold you by force. In the long run, "jail vs. bail" is a moral rather than a practical question.

File

[1963, JAN]

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

PLANS FOR PROGRESS: ATLANTA SURVEY

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January 1963

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In the summer of 1961, just a few months after the Kennedy Administration took office, representatives of nine large corporations, each of them a defense contractor, affixed their names to the first Plans for Progress, pledging their voluntary support for equal employment opportunities. They would work affirmatively, they promised, toward elimination of job discrimination in all of their branches, plants, and divisions. They would chart their progress on self-analysis forms supplied by the government. And they would do this, they declared, in the knowledge that they were committed, as defense contractors, to making their jobs available to all qualified Americans, regardless of race, religion, color, or creed.

The first Plans for Progress embodied a program originally designed to implement President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, issued the previous March. This order gave the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity powers to require government contractors to eliminate discrimination in hiring and promotions. The key aspects of the Plans, as the program's supporters pointed out, were the "voluntary" and "affirmative" points of the documents.

The Plans not only pledged non-discrimination; they also committed the companies to positive steps in bringing Negroes and other minority groups into their work force in non-traditional positions.

The Plan signed by Lockheed Aircraft, for example, stated: "Lockheed will in its employment recruitment aggressively seek out more qualified minority group candidates in order to increase the number of employees in many job categories..."

Western Electric Company's agreement noted that "High school and college recruiting programs will include non-white students. Qualified minority group members will be considered for all job categories for which we hire including professional engineering positions, technical positions, administrative and clerical positions and shop work."

Because of the commitment to "affirmative" action, the criterion for success of the Plans is simple. Has employment of Negroes (and other minorities) increased, and have they been placed in non-traditional job categories?

Robert B. Troutman, Jr., an Atlanta lawyer and member of the President's Committee, has been credited with conceiving and carrying out the Plans, and became chairman of a sub-committee charged with spreading them. An advocate of voluntary compliance, Mr. Troutman was quoted in the summer of 1962 as saying: "Compulsion is not the thing. I'm a lawyer. I can show you how to get around the executive order. It's got to be voluntary."*

Since Lockheed Aircraft Corp., the first signer, joined the program in May 1961, a total of 105 firms nave signed up, including 19 new signers in January 1963.

President Kennedy has acclaimed the program as "an historic step forward in the effort to secure equal employment opportunity for every American of every

*Mr. Troutman resigned from the Committee in the summer of 1962, but has since maintained a strong interest in the Plans program.

race, color, and belief." Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, in a statement made in 1961 when eight companies followed Lockheed's lead, cited the companies for "proclaiming to all the world that we mean what we say when we pledge equal employment opportunity for all, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin."

Nonetheless, there was controversy over the true value of the Plans for Progress. The controversy, reported the New York Times on June 17, 1962, "has strong political overtones. It centers on reconciling the 'compulsory' program and a 'voluntary' approach being pressed by Robert B. Troutman Jr....who is a close friend of President Kennedy." The Times article pointed out that "some civil rights groups" felt that "Mr. Troutman's operation, if uncontrolled, will weaken the 'hard line' originally laid down by the President." The strongest attack came from Herbert Hill, labor secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who charged in April 1962 that the Plans had "resulted in more publicity than progress." In a speech delivered at the NAACP convention in Atlanta in the summer of 1962, Mr. Hill said:

> It is our experience that major U. S. government contractors regard the signing of a 'Plan for Progress' as a way of securing immunity from real compliance with the anti-discrimination provision of their government contract.... the program called 'Plans for Progress' is simply a public relations term for what in previous administrations was called 'voluntary compliance'.

The Plans for Progress, in idea, are akin to a recommendation made by the Southern Regional Council in January 1961. In describing possible action which the President could take to combat job discrimination,

the Council declared:

> ...the executive department, in consideration of practical difficulties, might adopt as its first goal the ability to report to the people that all of the large contractors of the government practice fair employment. ...the method of attaining this goal could be certification by the Government Contract Committee (if it is continued), or by /a/ new office...that the bidder or proposed contractor is presently operating, in all its plants and offices, without discrimination. Such certification could be made a prerequisite to the award of any contract above a specified sum (perhaps $1,000,000) or of any contract which would increase the total active orders of a company and its subsidiaries beyond that amount. (For lesser contracts the non-discrimination clause could still be inserted, and procedures made available for receiving and processing complaints.) Enforcement would not require litigation, and would be administratively far simpler than either sole reliance on the processing of individual complaints, or the proposed use of sanctions.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Bureau of Employment Security maintain copious data on the nation's work force, and can with minimum difficulty prepare and publish current information on the number of Negroes in various categories of the working force. These data could be taken into account in determining upon certification. The test would be the record of actual employment, including enrollment in the company's in-service training program, if it has one. The large contractors of the

government would, in effect, be required to do more than pledge non-discrimination; they would be required to recruit Negroes throughout their operations.

This would be an undeniably arbitrary requirement. Its premise, however, would be clear cut; viz., that as a condition for doing business with the government above a certain amount, the company will cooperate with the government by a positive program of developing Negro talent and skills. It would be asked to assume partnership with the government in achieving a national goal.

It will be noted, however, that the Council's recommendation did not visualize voluntary compliance, and would have, in fact, required compliance as a prerequisite to holding a contract.

While the controversy over the effectiveness of the Plans has diminished somewhat, there is still a widespread difference of opinion about the results of the program. Mr. Troutman made his final report to the President on the Plans on August 20, 1962. In it he noted that "the potential of Plans for Progress can now be clearly seen." He supplied these figures in his report:

--Thirty-seven of the Plans signers who had carried out analyses reported a six-month total employment increase of 3.1 per cent. In the same period, the number of non-whites employed increased by 10 per cent, a great deal, even considering that some non-whites would normally be expected to obtain employment.

--When translated into income, these figures show that "where expected total increase for

non-whites was $7,800,000, the actual increase was $27,000,000."

--In salaried positions, as distinguished from hourly-paid jobs, the 37 companies reported at the beginning that only one per cent of the jobs were held by non-whites. At the end of the six months, according to Mr. Troutman, 6.6 per cent of the new salaried jobs were filled by non-whites.

The Atlantan ended his report with the statement that "Plans for Progress is one approach. It was never intended nor expected to be a panacea; it is merely one avenue toward bettering the employment picture."

Mr. Troutman's final report coincided with the release of a specially-prepared study of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity made by Theodore W. Kheel, a former president of the National Urban League. Mr. Kheel's report was prepared at the request of Vice President Johnson. It urged the Administration, reported the New York Times on August 18, "to give priority to compulsory rather than 'voluntary' approaches to ending discrimination against Negroes by employers with government contracts."

In his report, Mr. Kheel contended that "purely voluntary approaches are not likely to produce lasting results," although he praised the "energetic leadership" of Mr. Troutman in getting 85 major corporations to join the Plans for Progress.

* * * *

Results, such as those reported last August, are largely general. They show what has happened in the nation. But what about the South? A $27,000,000

increase in non-white income is fine, but how much of that income was made available to Negroes in places such as the Deep South, where they have been systematically barred from equality in employment. If most or all of the increased opportunities occurred in places, such as California, which outlaw discrimination anyway, then the effectiveness of the Plans was being overstated.

To get an impression of the degree of compliance which has been reached by Plans signers in the Deep South, a limited survey was taken. Of the original 52 signers, it was found that 24 had plants, offices, or regional headquarters in the Atlanta metropolitan area. Of these, only one firm declined to answer questions about its Atlanta operation. Information was obtained about this firm from other sources. In almost all other instances, the regional executives talked freely and with apparent sincerity about the part their organization is playing in Plans for Progress. Most of the executives asked that their names not be used, and this request has been honored.

Of course, the way to test the effectiveness of the Plans in the 24 Atlanta firms surveyed would be to count heads and thereby determine what increase there had been in the number of Negro employees hired since the firms signed up under the program. Unfortunately, however, these figures were not available. Accordingly, this report is drawn from interviews with the Atlanta regional executives.

The firms are:

American Machine & Foundry
Burroughs Corporation
Chrysler Corporation
Collins Radio
Continental Motors
Ford Motor
Garrett Corporation
General Dynamics
General Electric

General Motors
Goodyear Tire & Rubber
Hercules Powder
International Business Machines
International Harvester
Kaiser Industries
Lockheed Aircraft
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator
Pan American World Airways, Inc.
Philco Corporation (a division of Ford)
Radio Corporation of America
Raytheon Corporation
Thompson Ramo-Wooldridge
Western Electric
Westinghouse

All together, the 24 firms employ, or have regional jurisdiction over, about 26,000 employees. The biggest employer of the group is Lockheed in nearby Marietta, with 14,500 workers. General Motors, with its assembly plants, is second with 6,490; Ford has 2,000. The others number their employees in the hundreds or dozens; some have as few as three employees in Atlanta. A large majority operate only sales and service divisions in Atlanta, while some also have distributing warehouses. All these firms, with the exception of Lockheed, are keyed to the city as a hub of southeastern business, service, repairs, and distribution.

All had at least one year in which to implement their Plans, to take affirmative and voluntary action toward elimination of job discrimination. Yet the results of the survey clearly indicate that, except for a handful of the companies, the Plans for Progress were, for the regional office in Atlanta, largely meaningless.

Only seven of the firms interviewed produced evidence of affirmative compliance with their pledges. Of the seven, three--Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear--demonstrated what appeared to be a vigorous desire to create job opportunities.

The remaining 17 firms have paid varying degrees of attention to Plans for Progress, ranging from ignorance

to indifference. Some did not know what the Plans were (one regional manager referred to the program as the "Alliance for Progress") and others simply dismissed them. An office manager for another firm said: "I'm not familiar with the Plans for Progress. I have other things to worry about, like selling merchandise, rather than what Mr. Kennedy says". When it was explained that the president of his company had signed a document promising that his company would work affirmatively in all fields, this official had a ready answer: "They don't mean regional divisions like us. They mean something else."

Similar replies, perhaps a little less blunt, were made by several other executives. The most frequent comment was: "This is just a sales and service office; we don't have any manufacturing in Atlanta"--an unstated admission that little if any thought had been given to hiring Negroes outside assembly lines. When an executive was asked what his company's policy was toward job opportunity, he was likely to retort: "our company has always been open to every qualified worker, regardless of race, creed, or color." But, with only a very few exceptions, the policy was not being carried out in the Atlanta office. Or, in firms which have hired Negroes for hourly-paid or production-line jobs, the door to salaried, white-collar employment remains closed. The exceptions to this rule are discussed below.

The "fact" that Negroes were not suited for any but production jobs was voiced repeatedly, even by the executives who had a clear understanding of the Plans and who took a measure of pride in their company's participation in the program. An official at the Ford assembly plant explained on a tour of the 22-acre facility, that the company "always hires employees on

the basis of ability," but pointed out that layoffs at the plant had impaired the company's ability to hire more Negroes. The few Negroes who do work at Ford busy themselves, usually in twos and threes, apart from their white fellow workers. The official was asked if there were any Negroes among the plant's 250 salaried employees. He answered, "No," with a note of surprise in his voice.

Other companies, whose regional executives seemed genuinely aware of the provisions of the Plans for Progress (and the Executive Order), said their work was extremely technical, implying that it was too technical for a Negro. Few appeared to have considered the hiring of Negroes as secretaries and clerical workers. And only one of the companies has hired a Negro as a salesman. The others reflected the statement of one regional manager, whose firm sells appliances and housewares all over the nation: "We signed it because practically all of our major manufacturing is in the northern part of the country. When /we/ signed this Plans for Progress thing we signed it as a corporation as a whole. It doesn't mean that down here in Atlanta we have to hire them. This is a sales office." His company has a few Negroes on its Atlanta staff. The executive referred to them as "material-handling" people.

An official at Pan American World Airways said that "even though we're an international firm, we have to be localized in Atlanta." A manager for Kaiser Aluminum, whose president is a member of the President's Committee, commented "it would strike me as rather ridiculous to hire someone /such as a Negro/ for an outside sales responsibility.... If we had a lot of Negro customers, we would have a Negro salesman."

Another company, which has tried to find "inside" jobs for Negroes in its Atlanta office, has not yet hired a Negro salesman. It took a survey, an executive

related, "to determine whether we might employ a Negro salesman. The results indicated there wasn't a need for it at this time. If our marketing needs should change, I don't think we'd hesitate to hire a Negro salesman." By "marketing needs," the representative freely admitted that he meant the Negro market. Yet this firm's Plans for Progress, signed almost one year ago, states: "Persons from minority groups will continue to be considered and selected for hiring for any job openings for which they are qualified, including, but not limited to, supervisory, professional, technical, administrative, clerical, and production jobs."

These statements from company representatives themselves show that, for every company which wants to keep its promise to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, there are several which view the Plans lightly--or who somehow believe that the program does not affect their Deep South operations. There is also some apparent confusion over the meaning of the phrase, "equal employment opportunity."

At Continental Motors, for example, an official contended that "we allow no discrimination whatsoever." Then he explained the differences between his 23 white and three Negro employees: "Back in the back, where we work these three Negroes, there are eight whites. One of the Negroes is a porter and general helper.... The other two are engine teardown and cleanup men. We term them 'mechanic's helpers'. Their restroom is called the 'janitor's room'. They're not told to go anywhere; they just go where they want to go."

* * * *

Seven of the 24 firms showed evidence of compliance with the objectives laid down in their Plans for Progress. Of these, only three appear to have responded with vigor

in their Atlanta operations. They are Lockheed, Western Electric, and Goodyear. The remaining four do at least report the employment of more than a token number of Negroes.

In the last analysis, only three of the 24 firms studied appear to be genuinely interested in adhering to both the spirit and the letter of the Plans for Progress, but even in those three cases, there are other considerations which overshadow the Plans to some degree. Lockheed now has an unannounced number of Negro employees--unannounced because the company desegregated not only its assembly lines, wash rooms, and cafeterias, but its employment records as well. While an accounting of the number of Negroes employed at Lockheed exists, it exists only for the company and the interested federal agencies. There is sufficient evidence from unofficial sources, however, to show that Lockheed is carrying out its pledge and its obligation under Executive Order 10925.

It is worth noting, though, that even before Mr. Kennedy's election and the subsequent creation of Plans for Progress, Lockheed was claiming more than 1,300 Negroes among its Marietta workforce, which then numbered 20,000 persons. Some of these Negroes were foremen. Much of what has occurred at Lockheed since the new administration took office can be credited not to the Plans, but to a series of complaints filed by the NAACP. A man close to the situation at Lockheed, observed that most of the firm's progress resulted from the NAACP complaints and from the company's own sense of responsibility. "In a way," he said, "they were doing everything they could before the Plan was signed.... But there was certainly this idea of going and doing a little bit more. When Lockheed signed the Plan, they went into it wholeheartedly. This wasn't

just something they were signing and then turning their backs on. There were some areas that may have gotten a little added impetus from the Plan--some cases where the Plan made it easier to do some things."

Western Electric, one of the 22 companies associated with the giant American Telephone and Telegraph, operates a facility in Atlanta where 275 production workers and 175 office people handle the repair and distribution of all telephone sets and other equipment for Southern Bell's Atlanta and Georgia systems. The plant also repairs equipment owned by AT&T in the same general area. Western Electric was one of the original ten Plans signers.

"Our commitment is being carried out here and elsewhere," said W. F. Gannon, manager of the distributing house. "That's obvious." Fourteen Negroes are currently employed by Western Electric, 13 of them in production jobs. One is on the office staff. A tour through the production facilities revealed Negroes at work beside whites, with no apparent discrimination being practiced, either by their co-workers or by the company. "We have made more than a subtle effort to find qualified Negroes," said Mr. Gannon. "We looked three weeks for a comptometer operator. We have felt in all sincerity that we should hire people on their merits, rather than because of their origin." It appears that Negroes already employed by Western Electric will stand equal chances with whites of being promoted into white collar, even executive, jobs in the future. Yet an assessment of the firm's Atlanta stand on discrimination must include the knowledge that the NAACP has previously filed numerous complaints against the company's operations in other cities.

Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company is a good advertisement for Plans for Progress--and for the power of the Negro market. The firm has about 160 employees in its Atlanta headquarters and in its 12 company-operated stores in the region. Personnel in these stores report to the Atlanta office. Of the 60 store employees, four are Negroes. The four are full-fledged "incentive salesmen," (as Goodyear calls its employees who deal with the public) in Miami, Fla.; Lima, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; and Pritchard, Ala., a suburb of Mobile. R. H. Donaldson, regional personnel manager of Goodyear, said all four are paid the same as whites (a base salary plus commission) and all are treated the same as whites. All four of the stores have substantial, but not exclusively, Negro trade.

"Good business? It's excellent business," observed Mr. Donaldson. "Good business from everybody's standpoint except those who are staunch segregationists. As long as they leave this thing more or less voluntary, it'll be all right. We won't have any trouble. In fact, before next year is over I believe we'll have some more Negro salesmen." In all four stores, he said, "Quite a few colored people have dropped in and said 'I bought this set of tires from you because you have a Negro salesman'.

"Sure it's good business. Of course, there are some places in the Deep South where it would be hard to force this on the public. But we are going to carry this program out, wherever we can--wherever the store is big enough and the situation allows it. Presidential order or no, we would like to have qualified colored salesmen. It would be to our distinct advantage."

* * * *

Such is the range of reaction among Atlanta regional executives to the Plans for Progress. Most felt--and

readily stated--that the Plan was not applicable to them. A few said it would become applicable when the hiring of a Negro would be advantageous, i.e., when the Negro market demanded it. Some did not even know of the existence of the Plans for Progress, while others who knew, and who did employ a few Negro janitors or porters on their staffs, felt that they were thereby upholding the object of the Plan.

To sum up, indications are that the interpretation of the voluntary and affirmative provisions of the program is being left to the individual signers themselves.

- : -

NEB CORE -
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RESEARCH
PAPERS

Reports - Government - Louisiana

M23
1964, July -
1965, May

Of the several PARISH Voter Registrars about whom we have complaint data: Their "REASONS" for FAILING Registrants fell into 3 (three) MAIN classes + MISC.

I - ERRORS; ONE OR MORE ON APPLICATION FORM AND/OR CITIZENSHIP Test.

divide

Such ERRORS consisted of e.g. a) failure to dot the "i" of "Iberville", b) using the small letter "j" instead of the CAPITAL letter in writing July for the date of APPLICATION.

c) FORM requires Applicants to state date of birth AND ALSO CALCULATE AGE IN YEARS, MONTHS AND DAYS; Several Applicants were Rejected for MISCALCULATING their AGES by A single day. If ALL such MINOR ERRORS were ENUMERATED in detail, I FEAR the list would be AS long AS it is NAUSEATINGLY offensive to ANYONE with the MEREST vestige of A "sense of fair play."

II Refused to Accept ~~[illegible]~~ IDENTIFICATION —

HERE, some REGISTRARS Refused to a) ACCEPT A DRIVER'S LICENSE because ---" it is NOT issued by this PARISH" The ALTERNATIVE to ACCEPTIBLE DOCUMENTARY PROOF is the witness of two Registered VOTERS of the PARISH. The improbability of this LATTER, ~~CONDITION~~ being fulfilled is ALL too CLEAR IN PARISHES where NEGROES ARE ~~UNREGISTERED~~ NOT Registered - OR those few who ARE INTIMIDATED to the POINT OF VIRTUAL immobility.

III NO APPARENT REASON-

within ~~Under~~ this class— complainants were simply told that they had failed and that they were to Return in ten days etc.
Some of the complainants (APPROXIMATELY 1/2) ~~Asked And were curtly Refused~~ Asked the Registrars for details of their "failures". Their requests were either curtly denied or met with evasive replies "---I'm not Allowed to tell you- you missed A little something-- come back in 10 day---
Several Asked for And were refused, certified copies of their tests & Applications.

IV Miscellaneous — this category covers A multitude of sins.

a) A MR. & MRS. Whitaker- Registered voters in St Gabriels Parish, moved to Another Parish where- under State Law - After 6 mos residence they were entitled to either TRANSfer their Registration OR Reregister, Requests Refused by the Registrar

b) MRS LAURA SPEARS of Clinton, A bookmobile Assistant- Refused by Registrar - who wouldn't tell her of ANY Mistakes, was subsequently fired from her job.

Note: LOUISIANA Registration form requires information As to employer - lending itself to economic intimidation of Negro Applicants.

IV c) Katie Shropshire of Clinton La. Attempted to Register on Aug. 8, 1963 — "Made one mistake" etc — was subsequently interrogated by Sheriff and D. A.

D)

Mrs ~~Scott~~ Annie Scott of Ethel, La. On August 2nd 1963 failed by Registrar because she -- didn't write even (sic) on the Line — Mrs. Scott has a good handwriting, excellent knowledge of the procedures — had been teaching other Applicants.

e) ~~Finally~~ — Eddie Spears of Felixville of East Feliciana Parish went before Registrar Henry Palmer, who told him that he had to go before a doctorg to determine the nature of his illness. before he would Allow him to become a Registered voter — He had passed the Test!!.

f) Finally — Rosemary Brown of Ethel La. East Feliciana Parish ~~Appeared~~ before Registrar Henry Palmer — on August 16th, 1963.

Registrar swore in the Applicant and then Relented and stated that She had failed.

PARISH	ERRORS ON FORM AND/OR TEST	IDENTIFICATION REFUSED	NO APPARENT REASON FOR FAILURE	MISC
EAST BATON ROUGE	1	1	5	1
EAST FELICIANA	1-32	30	29	11
IBERVILLE	48	4	91	15
OUACHITA	79	18	9	4
POINTE COUPEE	11	0	78	0
ST. HELENA	130	0	46	2
TANGIPAHOA	20	2	25	0
WEST BATON ROUGE	14	0	12	1
WEST FELICIANA	4	0	6	0

35 COMPLAINANTS ABOUT WHOM WE HAD DATA ON NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING, FAILED TO INDICATE THE REASON FOR THEIR FAILURE. OR TO COMMENT IN ANY WAY UPON IT.

FOLLOWING IS A COMPOSITE ~~CHART~~ OF TABLES AND WORKSHEETS INDICATING THE NUMBER OF YEARS OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED BY APPLICANTS. NOTE THAT IN EACH PARISH THE APPLICANTS REJECTED HAD COMPLETED ~~AT~~ MORE THAN THE MEDIAN AVE FOR THE PARISH AS REPORTED IN THE 1960 CENSUS. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST ARE THOSE "FAILURES" WITH 12 YEARS OR MORE.

What NO table OR chART CAN INDICATE OR MEASURE IS the degree AND depth OF HURT AND humiliation experienced by those treated with contempt, by the PARISH Registrars. NOR IS there ANY method AVAILABLE TO MEASURE the NUMBER OF a college GRADUATE IN the NEGRO COMMUNITY, who NEVER TRIED to Register - NOT ONLY OUT of fEAR OF REPRISAL (loss of job) but could NOT face the contumely AND ARROGANCE OF their white "peeks".

What PRICE human dignity?

Parish.	Average Years of school completed per complaint	1960 Media per census	Diff + or −
East Baton Rouge	10.14 *	6.9	+3.24
East Feliciana	8.21		+2.81
Iberville	8.68	4.5	+4.18
Ouachita	7.48	6.3	+1.18
Pointe Coupee	7.52	3.6	+3.92
St. Helena	7.84	5.10	+2.74
Tangipahoa	7.59	5.4	+2.19
West Baton Rouge	8.42	4.6	+3.82
West Feliciana	6.0 *	5.1	+.9

* Data for these are based on small sample size —

Mass Freedom Rally

GEORGE WALLACE WAS HERE

ROSS BARNETT WAS HERE

They Talked About **SEGREGATION**

NOW

JAMES
NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF CORE

FARMER

IS COMING TO TALK ABOUT

MASS RALLY **FREEDOM**

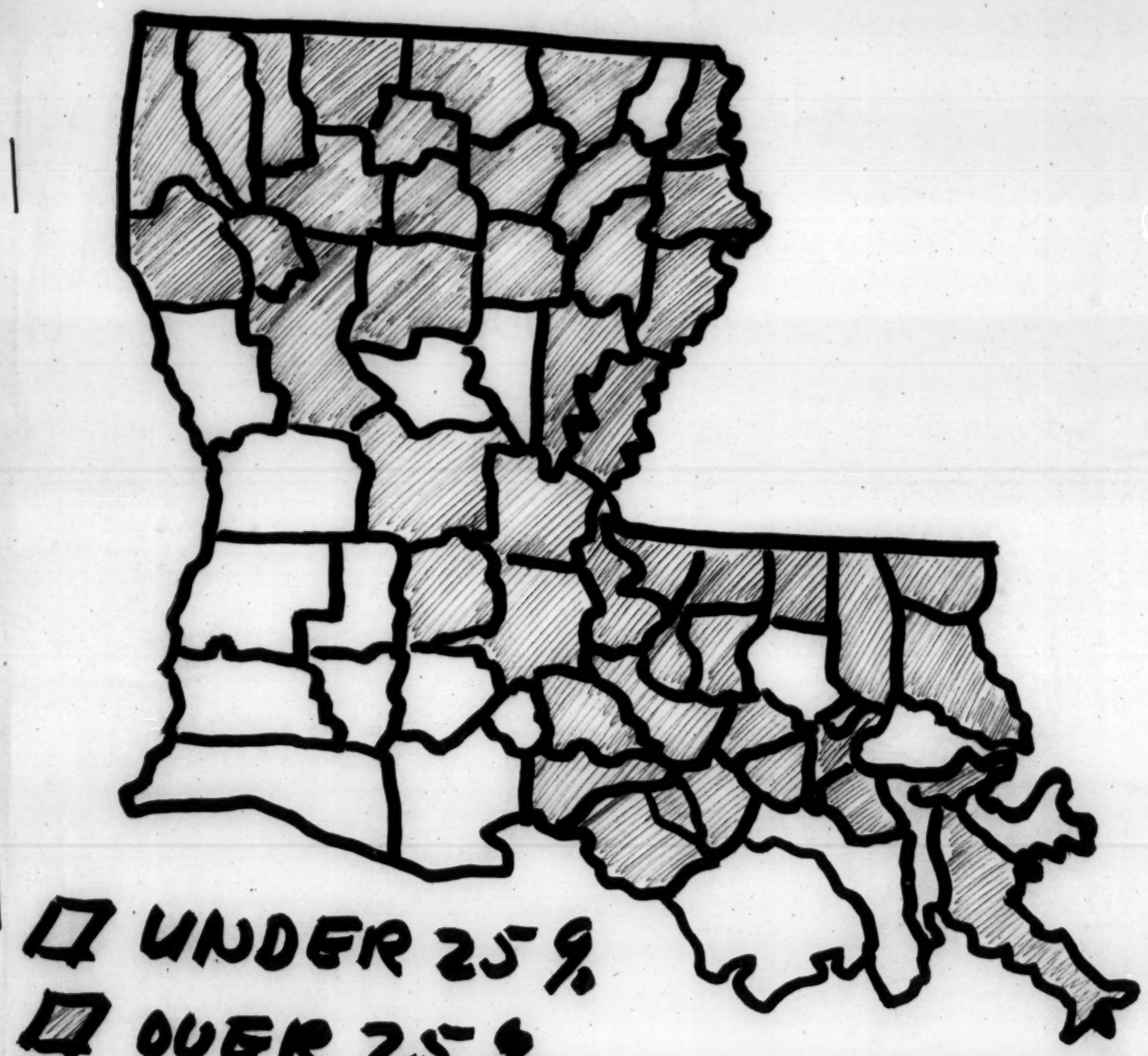
MACEDONIA BAPTIST CHURCH

309 LAMYVILLE LANE MONROE, LOUISIANA

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1964 - 7:30 P. M.

NON-WHITE POPULATION LOUISIANA PARISHES

[1904, Nov 28]



UNDER 25 %

OVER 25 %

OVER 50 %



LOUISIANA PARISHES POPULATION REPORT

November 28, 1964

CORE/Research

POPULATION STATISTICS - LOUISIANA

Total Population	(1960)	3,257,022
White Population	(1960)	2,211,715
Non-White Population	(1960)	1,045,307 (1,039,207 Negro)
Negro Voting Potential	(1964)	581,751
White Voting Potential	(1964)	1,414,900
Registered Negroes	(Jan. 1964)	1,034,724
Registered Whites	(Jan. 1964)	163,133

PARISHES WITH OVER 50% NON-WHITE

Parish	1964 Population % Non-White	Total	White	Negro *	1964 Voting Age White	Non-White	Jan. 1964 Registered White	Non-White
Claiborne	50.3	19,407	9,646	9,755	6,849	5,707	5,373	69
DeSoto	57.5	24,248	10,294	13,949	7,039	7,710	5,971	764
East Carroll	61.2	14,433	5,602	8,800	3,282	4,677	1,860	118
East Feliciana	54.0	20,198	9,284	10,907	7,425	6,729	2,749	126
Madison	64.9	16,444	5,767	10,650	3,612	5,769	2,540	264
Pointe Coupee	53.6	22,488	10,434	12,048	6,613	6,082	4,314	1416
St. Helena	55.5	9,162	4,075	5,081	2,578	2,461	1,979	452
St. John	51.6	18,439	8,926	9,047	5,484	4,942	4,348	2988
Tensas	65.0	11,796	4,128	7,665	2,527	3,918	2,096	35
West Feliciana	66.1	12,395	4,902	8,190	3,029	5,185	1,313	13

* Figures in this column indicate Negro Population only - do not include other non-white races.

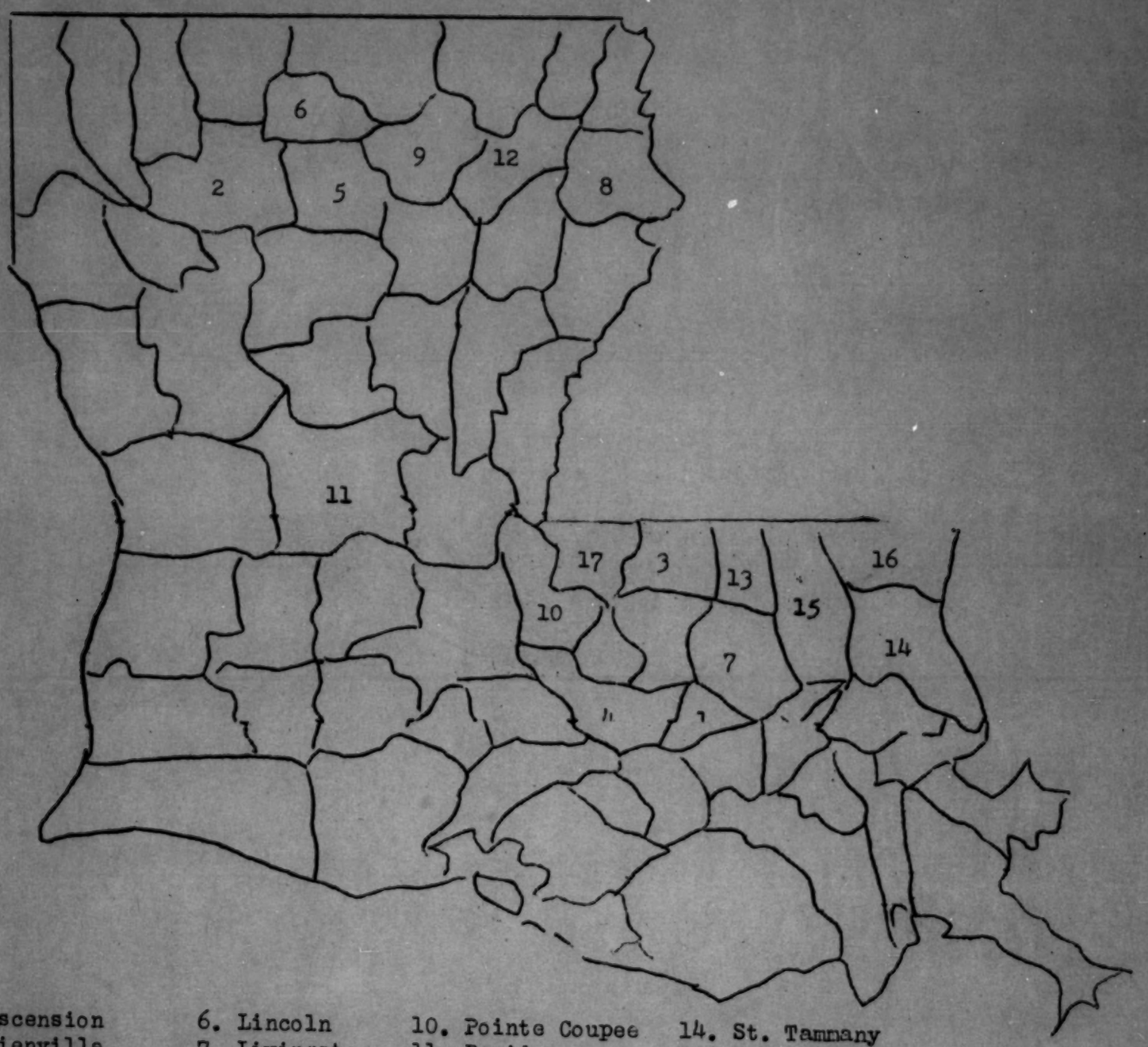
PARISHES WITH OVER 25% a NON-WHITE

(But less than 50%)

Parish	(Population 1960) % Non-White	Total	White	Negro	(Voting Age 1964) White	Non-White	(Registered, Jan. 1964) White	Non-White
Ascension	31.9	27,927	19,013	8,906	11,203	4,753	19,565	2,580
Assumption	41.2	17,991	10,573	7,417	6,529	3,795	5,348	2,067
Avoyelles	27.8	37,606	27,134	10,438	17,235	5,439	13,612	1,769
Bienville	49.4	16,726	8,470	8,255	5,982	4,657	5,047	563
Bossier	24.9	57,622	43,276	14,241	26,439	7,823	14,011	541
Caddo	36.5	223,859	142,203	81,486	94,334	48,405	61,039	4,701
Caldwell	27.8	9,004	6,499	2,503	4,169	1,324	3,987	350
Catahoula	35.2	11,421	7,405	4,015	4,517	2,135	4,018	230
Concordia	46.3	20,467	10,993	9,462	6,479	5,120	6,014	527
East Baton Rouge	31.8	230,058	156,895	72,993	98,654	23,212	72,390	11,559
Evangeline	26.8	31,639	23,158	8,478	14,886	4,016	13,980	3,127
Franklin	40.6	26,088	15,497	10,589	9,818	5,134	7,952	257
Iberia	28.7	51,657	36,843	14,781	22,183	8,140	17,865	4,516
Iberville	49.0	29,939	15,272	14,615	9,494	8,023	7,615	3,011
Jackson	32.4	15,828	10,696	5,127	7,249	2,882	6,202	1,119
Lincoln	41.8	28,535	16,594	11,928	11,971	7,614	7,724	1,221
Morehouse	46.9	33,709	17,911	15,778	11,276	7,996	7,355	404
Natchtoches	43.7	35,653	20,082	15,529	13,613	8,470	9,787	2,002
Orleans	37.4	627,525	392,594	233,514	278,719	139,257	162,903	35,140
Ouachita	32.2	101,663	68,904	32,727	44,444	18, 168	28,911	1,434
Plaquemines	28.8	22,545	16,041	6,339	9,467	3,355	7,533	97
Rapides	30.5	111,351	77,345	33,769	51,344	20,373	32,294	3,592

(CON'T)

[1964, Nov]



1. Ascension
2. Bienville
3. West Feliciana
4. Iberville
5. Jackson
6. Lincoln
7. Livingston
8. Madison
9. Ouachita
10. Pointe Coupee
11. Rapides
12. Richland
13. St. Helena
14. St. Tammany
15. Tangipahoa
16. Washington
17. West Feliciana

LOUISIANA DATA

17 PARISHES

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE

RESEARCH PROGRAM

November, 1964

TO:

FROM:

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TO: CORE LOUISIANA STAFF

FROM: CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE/RESEARCH PROGRAM

It is hoped that this handbook is only the beginning of the information to be furnished to you by the CORE/Research Program. Requests for additional information, of all kinds, are encouraged - this is the only way we have of knowing what specific information is needed in the field. All requests will be answered as quickly as possible.

In the near future you will receive a packet of information on all the federal programs which are of major importance. Also, this handbook will be continuously supplemented with new material as it is available to us.

Any comments or suggestions about improving this handbook will be most welcome.

Please address all requests and correspondence to:

C O R E R E S E A R C H
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

S E C T I O N I

G E N E R A L S T A T I S T I C S

(Pages 1-5)

RURAL POPULATION BY PARISH AND WARD 1960

(figures for wards are total urban & rural population)

PARISH AND WARD	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
Ascension - total rural	12927	5659	7
farm population only	1117	432	-
Ward 1	996	2054	-
" 2	693	431	-
" 3	2438	1632	1
" 4	834	852	-
" 5	568	944	4
" 6	163	216	-
" 7	5516	1336	-
" 8	2433	899	1
" 9	1791	161	1
" 10	3581	381	1
Bienville - total rural	7090	7088	1
farm population only	609	1186	-
Ward 1	1866	1902	-
" 2	1257	1830	-
" 3	521	470	-
" 4	2412	2208	1
" 5	1235	427	-
" 6	535	1029	-
" 7	644	388	-
East Feliciana - total rural	9284	10907	7
farm population only	541	1416	-
Ward 1	1642	1031	2
" 2	386	1232	-
" 3	3181	1909	2
" 4	392	981	1
" 5	2021	2631	2
" 6	1373	1397	-
" 7	114	758	-
" 8	175	968	-
Iberville - total rural	9512	12693	45
farm population only	858	342	-
Ward 1	2613	3092	-
" 2	3643	3693	3
" 3	2260	877	5
" 4	588	775	-
" 5	616	1074	36
" 6	1287	1333	-
" 7	1044	1232	-
" 8	2471	1033	3
" 9	750	1506	5
Jackson - total rural	7961	4014	5
farm population only	529	207	-
Ward 1	722	243	-
" 2	6591	3029	5
" 3	1065	380	-
" 4	229	465	-
" 5	232	190	-
" 6	1118	162	-
" 7	739	658	-
Lincoln - total rural	6567	4830	3
farm population only	1151	301	-
Ward 1	11205	8195	10
" 2	490	569	2
" 3	716	1195	-
" 4	1153	579	1
" 5	774	260	-
" 6	1261	674	-
" 7	408	109	-
" 8	584	347	-
Livingston - total rural	18219	2750	14
farm population only	2376	338	-
Ward 1	2091	198	1
" 2	7234	1392	2
" 3	1144	67	-
" 4	3055	589	4
" 5	1136	223	-
" 6	1688	578	8
" 7	1051	62	-
" 8	880	-	-
" 9	1991	381	-
" 10	365	157	-
" 11	2286	391	-
Madison - total rural	2893	4137	1
farm population only	1656	2548	-
Ward 1	91	257	-
" 2	235	720	-
" 3	101	306	-
" 4	3974	7753	27
" 5	205	380	-
" 6	466	688	-
" 7	196	469	-
" 8	499	77	-
Ouachita - total rural	16837	4268	12
farm population only	1453	844	-
Ward 1	2592	744	1
" 2	2864	6519	3
" 3	16441	11094	16
" 4	741	485	-
" 5	24362	3955	9
" 6	1597	324	
" 7	596	615	-
" 8	1353	89	-
" 9	545	50	-
" 10	12813	8852	3
Pointe Coupee - total rural	8245	10276	2
Farm population only	2221	2181	-
Ward 1	671	932	-
" 2	444	1381	1
" 3	318	732	1
" 4	1180	832	-

Figure for parish is rural population; figure for ward is total population (including urban)

PARISH AND WARD	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
Pointe Coupee (CON'T)			
Ward 5	417	1441	-
" 6	569	229	-
" 7	835	695	-
" 8	992	1384	-
" 9	2998	3388	-
" 10	2010	1034	-
Rapides - total rural	42159	10474	186
farm population only	3764	911	-
Ward 1	30598	22139	44
" 2	2483	1092	-
" 3	1892	2750	-
" 4	3377	1135	-
" 5	1818	60	-
" 6	1646	-	-
" 7	2667	1595	150
" 8	6298	1015	26
" 9	13219	3073	12
" 10	9662	780	5
" 11	3685	130	-
Richland - total rural	9353	7897	8
farm population only	5227	4141	-
Ward 1	3409	2284	1
" 2	5723	4195	5
" 3	1148	811	1
" 4	1384	1223	1
" 5	1110	1057	-
" 6	171	679	-
" 7	310	312	-
St. Helena - total rural	4076	5081	5
farm population only	1344	1737	-
Ward 1	347	431	-
" 2	871	1407	-
" 3	391	1056	-
" 4	730	988	-
" 5	973	1043	-
" 6	764	156	-
St. Tammany - total rural	18874	6597	62
farm population only	1385	367	-
Ward 1	1350	497	-
" 2	2804	648	-
" 3	6860	2600	9
" 4	2557	781	3
" 5	1257	188	-
" 6	1636	4	-
" 7	945	1066	8
" 8	2943	1025	7
" 9	6786	3542	11
" 10	893	181	42
Tangipahoa - total rural	25742	12474	5
farm population only	6421	1511	-
Ward 1	2449	2132	-
" 2	1117	450	-
" 3	4888	4493	1
" 4	1888	935	-
" 5	2528	638	5
" 6	6099	2578	
" 7	19095	8721	7
" 8	1251	164	-
Washington - total rural	13502	5946	3
farm population only	4265	2148	3
Ward 1	1158	150	-
" 2	1178	454	-
" 3	2685	2484	3
" 4	16886	7800	11
" 5	1682	569	-
" 6	1743	16	-
" 7	1941	1311	1
" 8	1126	1614	1
" 9	708	494	-
West Feliciana - total rural	4197	8190	8
farm population onl	224	1605	8
Ward 1	1107	810	4
" 2	221	535	-
" 3	310	1398	1
" 4	98	611	1
" 5	152	372	-
" 6	NO WARD NO.	6	
" 7	1998	2672	1
" 8	48	563	-
" 9	183	557	-
" 10	80	672	1

M I S C E L L A N E O U S S T A T I S T I C S F O R L O U I S I A N A

1. Percent of Change in Nonagricultural Employment, 1947-1962
   a. Percent of increase - 34.1% (Louisiana)
   b. rank in nation - 20
   c. national average - 26%

2. Percent of Distribution of Nonagricultural Employment, 1962
   a. Percent of U.S. total - 1.4% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 22
   c. median - 1.1%

3. Percent of Change in Manufacturing Employment, 1947-1962
   a. Percent of **decrease** - 11.5% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 47
   c. national average - 8% increase

4. Percent of Change in Agricultural Employment, 1950-1962
   a. Percent of decrease - 32.4% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 28
   c. national average - 33% decrease

5. Agricultural Employment as Percent of Total, 1962
   a. Percent - 15.3% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 20%
   c. national average - 11%

6. Total unemployment Rate, 1962
   a. Percent of unemployment - 6.3% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 44-45
   c. HIGHEST RATE OF UNEMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH

7. Percent of Population 25 Years and Older With Less Than 4 Years of High School, 1960
   a. Percent - 67.6 (La,)
   b. rank in nation - 42
   c. national average - 59%

8. Nonwhite Population as Percent of state total, 1960
   a. Percent - 32.1% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 5
   c. national average - 11.4%

9. Persons Employed in White-Collar Occupations as Percent of state total, 1960
   a. Percent - 37.8% (La.)
   b. rank in nation - 33-34
   c. national average - 41%

10. Average Income of Private Nonfarm Wage and Salary Workers, 1962
    a. $4,394. (La.)
    b. rank in nation - 36
    c. national average - $5,088.

(OVER)

11. Percent of Families With Income Under $3,000, 1959
    a. Percent - 35.6 (Louisiana)
    b. rank in nation - 43/44
    c. national average - 21%

12. Estimated Percent Change in Population 14 Years and Older, 1960-1970
    a. Percent Increase - 20.4% (Louisiana)
    b. rank in nation - 16
    c. national average - 19% increase

13. Estimated Percent Change in Total Labor Force, 1960-1970
    a. Percent Increase - 20.8% (La.)
    b. rank in nation - 20
    c. national average - 22% increase

14. Estimated Percent Change in Teenage Labor Force (14 to 19 Years Old), 1960-1970
    a. Percent increase - 17.5%
    b. rank in nation - 35
    c. national average - 35% increase

PARIS

Ascen
Bienv
East
Iberv
Jackso
Lincol
Living
Madiso
Ouachi
Pointe
Rapide
Richla
St. He
St. Tam
Tangipa
Washing
West Fe

, 1959

ars and Older, 1960-1970

e, 1960-1970

rce (14 to 19 Years Old), 1960-1970

1960

EDUCATION MEDIAN

NON-WHITE POPULATION

PARISH	MEDIAN YEARS COMPLETED
Ascension	4.9
Bienville	5.6
East Feliciana	5.4
Iberville	4.5
Jackson	6.4
Lincoln	7.1
Livingston	4.9
Madison	4.5
Ouachita	7.8
Pointe Coupee	3.6
Rapides	6.3
Richland	4.4
St. Helena	5.1
St. Tammany	6.0
Tangipahoa	5.4
Washington	6.1
West Feliciana	5.2

D E S E G R E G A T I O N I N H I G H E R E D U C A T I O N

Listed below are formerly all-white colleges and universities of Louis.. which were"desegregated"as of April 1, 1963. This list may not be complete.

PUBLIC

Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.....State
Louisiana State University at New Orleans.....State
McNeese State College, Lake Charles.....State
Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond.....State
University of Southwestern Louisiana, Lafayette.....State

NON-PUBLIC

Immaculata Minor Seminary, Lafayette.....Roman Catholic
Loyola University, New Orleans.....Roman Catholic
New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary.....Southern Baptist
Notre Dame Seminary, New Orleans.....Roman Catholic
St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans.....Roman Catholic
Tulane University, New Orleans.....Private

In January, 1961 there were 5 "desegregated" public schools, and 2 "desegregated"non-public schools. By March, 1963, 4 more non-public schools had "desegregated".

SECTION II

AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION

(Pages 6-9)

1959 N U M B E R O F F A R M S A N D F A R M O P E R A T O R S 1959

Parish & tenure of operator	White	Negro	Parish & tenure of operator	White	Negro
[illegible] - total farms	812	84	Pointe Coupee - total farms	831	468
full owners	620	60	full owners	397	90
part owners	125	17	part owners	210	44
managers	11	-	managers	6	-
all tenants	56	7	all tenants	218	334
Bienville - total farms	654	322	Rapides - total farms	2105	233
full owners	511	229	full owners	1584	78
part owners	94	29	part owners	263	32
managers	-	1	managers	12	-
all tenants	49	63	all tenants	246	123
East Feliciana - total farms	443	457	Richland - total farms	1290	597
full owners	337	277	full owners	625	111
part owners	70	21	part owners	343	47
managers	7	-	managers	8	1
all tenants	29	159	all tenants	314	438
Iberville - total farms	366	59	St. Helena - total farms	588	457
full owners	148	19	full owners	436	315
part owners	99	17	part owners	103	36
managers	12	1	managers	4	-
all tenants	107	22	all tenants	45	106
Jackson - total farms	414	105	St. Tammany - total farms	650	55
full owners	382	92	full owners	598	52
part owners	18	3	part owners	30	1
managers	1	-	managers	3	-
all tenants	13	10	all tenants	19	2
Lincoln - total farms	669	166	Tangipahoa - total farms	2535	450
full owners	575	115	full owners	2073	341
part owners	51	10	part owners	227	26
managers	4	2	managers	17	-
all tenants	39	39	all tenants	218	83
Livingston - total farms	1434	86	Washington - total farms	1759	507
full owners	1322	71	full owners	1393	335
part owners	52	4	part owners	241	62
managers	-	-	managers	8	-
all tenants	60	11	all tenants	117	110
Madison - total farms	441	294	West Feliciana - total farms	160	335
full owners	213	116	full owners	92	48
part owners	127	28	part owners	46	12
managers	14	-	managers	7	-
all tenants	87	150	all tenants	15	275
Ouachita - total farms	768	204			
full owners	586	99			
part owners	81	16			
managers	11	-			
all tenants	90	89			

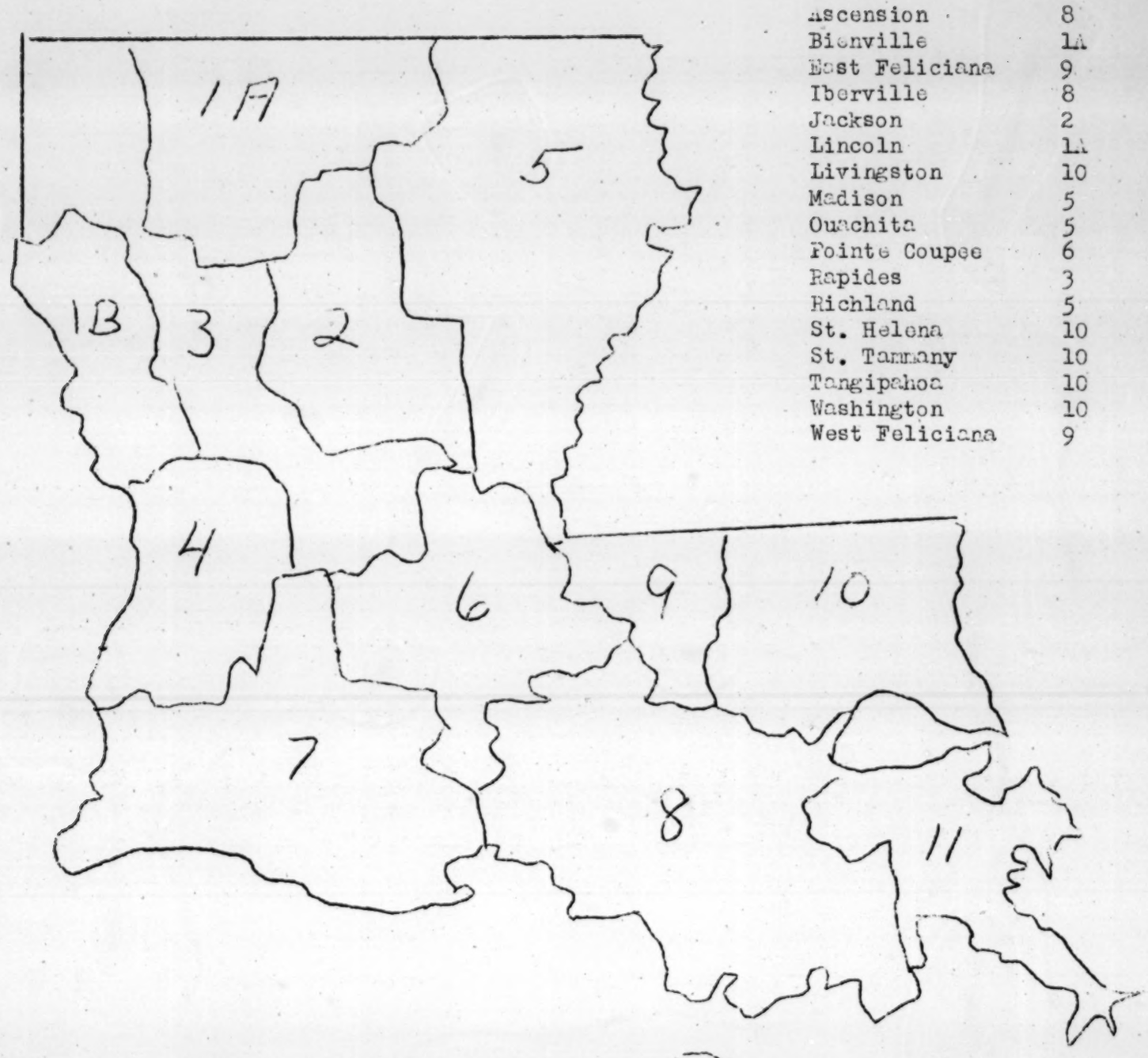
A M O U N T O F F A R M L A N D O W N E D B Y F U L L O W N E R S

PARISH	NUMBER OF ACRES		PARISH	NUMBER OF ACRES	
	WHITE	NEGRO		WHITE	NEGRO
Ascension	33,278	1,174	Pointe Coupee	82,163	4,560
Bienville	74,085	14,120	Rapides	143,860	2,615
East Feliciana	114,715	14,458	Richland	75,854	5,596
Iberville	15,396	505	St. Helena	49,618	11,601
Jackson	38,608	4,519	St. Tammany	57,756	1,189
Lincoln	87,172	7,327	Tangipahoa	131,110	6,951
Livingston	58,666	802	Washington	129,755	14,177
Madison	83,976	5,829	West Feliciana	48,410	3,733
Ouachita	55,477	4,124			

A V E R A G E V A L U E O F L A N D & B U I L D I N G S P E R F A R M

PARISH	$ VALUE PER FARM	PARISH	$ VALUE PER FARM
Ascension	$226,872.	Pointe Coupee	$ 35,716.
Bienville	21,156.	Rapides	50,821.
East Feliciana	59,477.	Richland	17,164.
Iberville	70,219.	St. Helena	14,939.
Jackson	18,313.	St. Tammany	37,566.
Lincoln	20,110.	Tangipahoa	17,907.
Livingston	11,960.	Washington	20,339.
Madison	43,756.	West Feliciana	38,586.
Ouachita	51,278.		

(BREAK-DOWN BY RACE NOT AVAILABLE)



Ascension	8
Bienville	1A
East Feliciana	9
Iberville	8
Jackson	2
Lincoln	1A
Livingston	10
Madison	5
Ouachita	5
Pointe Coupee	6
Rapides	3
Richland	5
St. Helena	10
St. Tammany	10
Tangipahoa	10
Washington	10
West Feliciana	9

FARMING AREAS

1A. Upland Louisiana Timber Area
1B. Northwest Louisiana Hill Area
2. North Central La. Cutover Pine Area
3. Red River Cotton Area
4. Cutover Flatwoods Area
5. Mississippi Delta Area
6. Central Louisiana Mixed Farming Area
7. Louisiana Rice Area
8. Louisiana Sugar Cane Area
9. Southeast Mixed Farming Area
10. Louisiana Dairy, Poultry and Truck Area
11. New Orleans Truck and Fruit Area

PERCENT OF TOTAL CROPS BY FARMING AREAS

	1A	1B	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Corn for grain	5.3	-	-	9.7	-	26.4	27.5	-	12.5	-	7.3	-	A
oats harvested	-	-	-	15.5	-	60.5	-	9.0	-	6.0	-	-	A
soybeans	-	-	-	-	-	85.0	10.1	-	-	-	-	-	A
hay	6.1	-	-	19.1	-	17.3	15.0	12.6	7.8	4.7	7.5	-	A
cotton	-	-	-	18.9	-	52.6	18.3	-	-	-	-	-	A
rice	-	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	79.9	-	-	-	-	A
cane for sugar	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	-	89.5	-	-	-	A
cane for syrup	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.5	25.5	43.8	-	5.2	-	A
sweet potatoes	-	-	-	-	-	5.3	69.3	10.1	-	6.9	-	-	A
irish potatoes	5.6	-	-	5.2	-	6.2	18.0	-	41.4	9.1	6.2	-	A
commercial vegetables	9.2	-	-	9.6	-	4.7	6.9	-	28.2	5.1	13.8	15.3	A
nursery & greenhouse	*	*	*	11.5	-	-	12.5	*	*	8.4*	27.6*	24.9	$
peaches	59.3	-	6.0	..	-	24.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	T
pecans	-	-	5.0	40.7	-	20.4	7.8	..	6.1	5.4	-	-	T
oranges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92.4	T
tung	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	99.0	-	T
strawberries	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	98.0	-	A
cattle & calves	4.8	-	-	13.5	-	17.0	14.3	17.5	7.5	5.2	9.4	-	N
milk cows	7.9	7.1	-	7.3	-	8.0	14.6	6.9	6.7	-	31.7	-	N
hogs & pigs	6.2	-	5.1	10.9	-	25.5	27.0	6.9	4.8	-	4.6	-	N
sheep & lambs				10.6	25.5	14.6	6.3	27.8	4.9	-	4.8	-	N
chickens	9.0	-	5.2	10.7	5.0	10.8	15.1	9.4	7.3	4.8	19.9	-	N
eggs sold	11.1	-	5.8	14.8	6.9	8.4	6.0	7.2	5.6	-	28.3	-	D
broilers sold	29.4	19.0	5.1	16.2	-	7.2	-	-	-	-	19.2	-	N

A - Acres, $ - Dollars, T - Trees, N - Number, D - Dozens, * - some data not shown

SEE FARMING AREA MAP FOR LIST OF WHICH PARISHES ARE LOCATED IN EACH FARMING AREA

SECTION III

PROGRAMS

(Pages 10-31)

What you should know about

HOW FARMER COOPERATIVES CAN HELP YOU

A cooperative is a business owned and operated by the people who use the goods and services it supplies. It is one way that people can pool cash and some of their other resources to work together for a better life for each of them.

Most successful farm operators depend upon cooperatives. They get their electricity through their local rural electric cooperatives, and their seed, fertilizer, feed, and other supplies through purchasing co-ops; sell the products they grow through marketing co-ops; and borrow the money they need to carry on their operations through cooperative land banks and credit unions. Even the smallest farmer -- and the farm worker, too -- may find that cooperatives can help him save money in his farming and in supplying his family's needs.

An Example of a Need - Credit Unions

One of the easiest ways to save money is not to borrow it from the landlord, the supply merchant, the ginner, the loan shark. Yet almost all farmers and sharecroppers must borrow during the growing season, and farmworkers often must borrow during the off season. A study showed that Negro small farmers in St. Landry Parish, Louisiana, were really paying their landlords 11.7% and their supply merchants 14.8% interest (even though it was reported at a lower rate). Those who could borrow from the Production Credit Association or from a bank paid 6% to 6.8% interest (with no extra hidden charges). Most of the loans were from $50 up to $500.

A credit union is one kind of cooperative. It could have lent this money cheaper and might have worked out a better schedule for repayment. It might have been able to help those that the Production Credit Association and the banks would not help, including farmworkers and non-farmers.

How a cooperative operates

A cooperative is organized to save money for all its member-users and to bring them needed services, not to make a profit for just a few stockholders. Most cooperatives operate on these basic principles.

1. Open membership. Anyone can join who can use its services and pay its membership fee. (You have to be a farmer to belong to many farmer co-ops. The fee depends upon the kind of business, usually ranging from $5.00 to $100.00.)

2. Democratic control. The business is controlled by the members, every member can vote, and each member usually has only one vote no matter how much stock he owns.

3. Limited interest on capital invested. Members buy shares in the cooperative so that it will have enough money to operate, but it is set up to serve its members, not to make a profit, so the members limit the amount of interest they pay themselves on their invested capital.

4. Service at as near to cost as possible. After cooperatives have paid their operating expenses and put something in reserve for the future, they pay the interest owed to the members on their invested capital. The money left over is paid to the member-users as patronage refunds. This means that it is divided up on the basis of goods bought or services used during the year. The more you use your co-op the larger refund you will get.

Types of cooperatives

There are almost as many kinds of cooperatives as there are needs for goods and services. Here are a few that have been most useful for rural people:

Purchasing co-ops - to buy at wholesale and to sell to their members such products as seed, fertilizers, machinery, gasoline, home appliances, and groceries.

Marketing co-ops - to gin, pack or prepare their members' products for market; and to sell them locally or ship them to market.

Credit unions - to lend money to its members at reasonable rates. Usually, all members must belong to the same organization, such as a church or civic group.

Other Service co-ops - to own and operate expensive machinery; to develop water, forestry, and conservation districts; to build and operate housing for older persons, and health clinics; to reduce insurance and funeral costs.

How to use a cooperative -- or start a new one

First, visit the cooperative nearest you. Get its literature on how it operates and how to join. If it can meet some of your needs, join it, take part in its meetings, vote in its elections, and use its services. If there is no co-op nearby, try to get the one that best meets your needs to open a branch in your area.

Many co-ops have failed. Before starting one, learn if a cooperative will meet your local needs and if you have the resources to make it successful. (This is called a feasibility study; experts on cooperatives can help you with this.)

Some of the causes of co-op failures have been: (1) Not enough persons in the area had enough need for it; (2) The members did not understand how cooperatives really operate; (3) There was no convenient source of supply for a purchasing co-op or a reasonable market for the products of a marketing one; (4) The manager was not qualified to run the business; (5) The members could not raise enough capital (although loans may have been available if the plans were really feasible).

No matter how big some cooperatives now are, most of them started with just a few persons sitting down and planning together how to get the things and services they need cheaper and better. But expert help is needed; get it from the start.

How to get help

Private organizations and the federal government are ready to help you learn about cooperatives, and to form one if a feasibility study shows you can use one successfully. For further information on cooperatives and the nearest cooperative association that may help you, write to: The Cooperative League of the USA, 59 East Van Buren Street, Chicago, Illinois 60605.

For information and help on credit unions, write to: Credit Union National Association, 1617 Sherman Avenue, P.O. Box 431, Madison 1, Wisconsin.

The Farmers Cooperative Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington, D. C. 20250) is set up to advise and help farmers organize and operate cooperatives successfully. Write to it for Bulletin Reprint 6, What is a Co-op, and Circular 18, Organizing a Farmer Cooperative, and for other information. Ask Farmers Cooperative Service for help as you go along.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

C O O P E R A T I V E S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT - [illegible]

Ascension

1) Evan Hall Sugar Cooperative, Inc. (1936)
Ascension, Assumption & St. James
P.O. Box 431, Donaldsonville Tel. GR 3-8241
General Mgr. - J. H. Thibaut
Office Mgr. - Larry Montero
(Raw Sugar Milling)

2) Ascension Farmers' Cooperative Assoc. (1939)
Ascension
P.O. Box 182, Gonzales Tel. HO 3-3434
Mgr. - Cleveland J. Marchand
(Purchasing)

Bienville

1) Arcadia F.C.A. (1934)
Bienville, Claiborne, Jackson, Lincoln, Union, Webster & half of [illegible]
P.O. Box 478, Arcadia
Sec'y & Mgr. - Roy Brice
(Short-term agricultural financing)

2) Northwest Louisiana Agricultural Assn. (1937)
Bienville
Box 99, Saline Tel. 2141
Sec'y - Van H. Burns
Mgr. - Dewey Williams
(Marketing Produce)

3) Federal Land Bank Assn. of Arcadia (1947)
Bienville, Lincoln, Jackson, part of Claiborne
Box 215, Arcadia Tel. 2316
Sec'y & Mgr. - none at present
(Long-term farm loans)

4) Ringgold Producers Assn. (1961)
Bienville
Rt. 1, Box 9, Ringgold Tel. 2509
Treas. & Mgr. - Harry Evans
(Farm Supplies)

East Feliciana

1) Tri-Parish Co-op
East Feliciana, East Baton Rouge, & West Feliciana
Slaughter Tel. OL 4-2026
Mgr. - L. M. Womack
(farm supplies)

2) Feliciana Farmers Co-op (1962)
East & West Feliciana; Clinton (Brandh of Amite County, Miss. co-op, Liberty, Miss.)
Sec'y & Gen. Mgr. - Milton Walker (Amite County Co-op)
Branch mgr. - Lester White (Clinton) Tel. 683-5158
(farm supplies)

C O - O P S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE

(CON'T)

Iberville

1) White Castle Fertilizer Co-op (1950)
Iberville
P.O. Box 434, White Castle Tel. 2205
Pres. & mgr. - Victor L. Wintz
(Anhydrous Ammonia & chemicals)

Jackson

None

Lincoln

None

Livingston

1) First Hungarian Farmers Cooperative Assoc. (1928)
Livingston
P.O. Box 136, Albany Tel. 486 (Hammond Exchange)
Sec'y - Frank Nemith
(Produce marketing and farm supply)

2) Louisiana Poultry Producers Co-op Assn. (1962)
Livingston
Pres. & Mgr. - Herman Simeon
(Poultry marketing & Supplies)

Madison

1) Tallulah P.C.A. (1943)
Madison
P.O. Box 1111, Tallulah Tel. 229
Sec'y - C. B. DeMoss, Jr.
(Short - term credit)

2) Staple Cotton Cooperative Assoc.
Tallulah, La. (home office 210-214 W. Market, Greenwood, Miss.)
Office mgr. - Lombard Burns
(Cotton Marketing)

3) Tallulah Cooperative Gin
Madison
Tallulah Tel. 537
Mgr. - Lem F. Powell
(Cotton Ginning)

Ouachita

1) F. L. B. A. of Monroe
705 N. Second Street, Box 2628, Monroe Tel. F. 2-0940
Sec'y - Mgr. - A. C. Ranson
(long-term loans)

Pointe Coupee

1) Pointe Coupee Electric Membership Corp, Inc. (1939)
Pointe Coupee, West Baton Rouge, Iberville
P.O. Box 137, New Roads Tel. 638-9333
Mgr. - Alfred A. Robinson
(Elictric Power Distribution)

C O - O P S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE

(CON'T)

Rapides

1) Meeker Sugar Co-op Inc.
Avoyelles, Rapides, Landry,
Meeker Rural Station, Lecompte Tel. 3511
Pres. & Mgr. - E. L. Klock
(Raw Sugar Milling)

2) Valley Farmers Co-op (1959)
Rapides
Box 68, Boyce (home office: Natchitoches, La.) Tel. SY 3-2145
Mgr. - Charles Faircloth
(Farm supplies)

3) Bayou Boef Corporation
Rapides; Cheneyville Tel. BR 9-3075
Mgr. - Burt Broussard
(farm supplies)

4) Cotton Growers Gin Company
Rapides; Lecompte Tel. 5177
Pres. & Mgr. - Frank Hathorn, Sr.
(Cotton Ginning)

5) Alexandria Federal Land Bank Assoc.
Rapides
P.O. Box 1832, Alexandria Tel. HI 2-7564
Secty & Mgr. - Adrian Land, Jr.
(Long-term loans)

6) Producers Mutual Gin
Rapides; Cheneyville Tel. BR 9-3591
Pres. - Clyde Smith
Operator - Jack Whatley
(Cotton Ginning)

7) Rapides D. H. I. H.
Rapides, Alexandria Tel. HI 2-3042
Sec'y - Ben Simpson
Supervisor - Clennon D. McCann
(Dairy Herd Testing)

8) Alexandria P. C. A.
Rapides
P.O. Box 1511, 621 Washington St., Alexandria Tel. HI 2-7863
Sec'y & Mgr. - S. F. Trammel
(Short-term loans)

9) Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch Store)
Rapides
2112 Lower Third St., Alexandria Tel. HI 3-5625
Mgr. - E. C. Marler
(farm supplies)

C O - O P S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE

(CON'T)

Rapides (CON'T)

10) Bayou Robert Farmers Cooperative (1962)
Rapides
P.O., Lecompte Tel. - none listed
Pres. - C. Wayne Hunt, Lecompt
Sec'y - Richard G. McGraw, Lecompt
Mgr. - Bernard Smith
(farm supplies)

11) Central Louisiana Milk Producers Assoc. (1963)
Rapides
Rt. 1, Box 96, Alexandria
Pres. - Aylwin L. Lachney
Sec'y - L. C. Danehower, Simonesport
(Milk bargaining)

Richland

1) Richland Farmers Co-op Assoc., Inc. (1947)
Richland
406 North Benedette St. P.O. Box 747, Rayville Tel. 728-3642
Mgr. - Frank W. Brunson
(farm supplies)

2) Farmers & Owners Cooperative Gin (1959)
Richland; Rayville Tel. 728-3914
Sec'y - Ottis Henderson
Mgr. - Emmet Greer
(Cotton Ginning)

3) Richland Sheep Growers Assoc. (1959)
Richland; Rayville
Sec'y & treas. - R. V. Norman - Rayville Tel. 728-4183
(wool and lamb marketing)

4) Federal Land Bank Assoc. of Rayville
Richland
Franklin, P.O. Box 329, Rayville Tel. 728-2562
Sec'y - G. Lynn Gladney
(long-terms loans)

St. Helena — None

St. Tammany — None

Tangipahoa

1) Ponchatoula Farm Bureau Assoc. (1931)
Tangipahoa
Box 175, Ponchatoula Tel. 6569
Mgr. - Leonard N. Hoover
(Produce marketing & farm supplies)

C O - O P S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE

(CON'T)

Tangipahoa (CON'T)

2) The Farmers Cooperative Assoc., Inc. (1936)
Tangipahoa
Box 224, Independence Tel. 7128 or 4091
Sec'y & mgr. - San Carafola
(Produce marketing & farm supplies)

3) Farmers Educational & Coop Assoc. (1948)
Tangipahoa
Box 132, Tickfaw Tel. 349-W or 866-J-1 (Hammond Exg.)
Mgr. - Pete Morales
(Produce marketing & farm supply)

4) The Hammond Farmers Co-op Assoc., Inc. (1954)
Tangipahoa
P.O. Box 693, Hammond Tel. 2565
Sec'y & mgr. - Frank Faldetta
(Produce marketing & farm supplies)

5) Amite Farmers Cooperative (1961)
Tangipahoa
Amite Tel. 8194 or 8574
Pres. - Tony Lascaro, Amite
(Strawberry marketing)

6) Gulf Dairymens' Federal Credit Union (1961)
Florida Parishes; Montwood Tel. 8224
Sec'y & treas - Glenn S. Hendry
Rt. 3, Amite
(Short-term credit)

7) Fourth Ward Federal Credit Union
Tangipahoa
Rt. 2, Amite Tel. 6237
Sec'y -mgr. - Mrs. Belle R. Lanier
(Short-term credit)

8) Husser Community Credit Union (1942)
Tangipahoa
Husser Tel. 2496
Sec'y & treas. - Loretta Smith
(Short-term credit)

9) Little Chappapeela Credit Union (1943)
Tangipahoa
Rt. 2, Amite Tel. 5609
Mgr. - Mrs. Vera Lanier Griffin
(Short-term credit)

C O - O P S

PURCHASING, MARKETING AND CREDIT-TYPE

(CON'T)

Tangipahoa (CON'T)

10) Tall Pines Egg Producers Assn. (1963)
S. E. Louisiana; P.O. Box 76, Springfield, La.
Pres. - Donald Travis Lobell
Sec'y. - Mrs. James O. Pratt, Baton Rouge, La.

11) Louisiana Agriculture Cooperative (Branch Store)
Tangipahoa; Amite
Mgr. - Orlis Crawford

12) Ard Dairy Cooperative Association (1963)
Rt. 2, Independence
Pres. & Mgr. - Alfred Ard
Sec'y - Ivy Ard
(Milk Marketing)

Washington

1) Washington - St. Tammany Electric Co-op, Inc. (1938)
Washington: Franklinton Tel. VE 9-3562
Mgr. - Lyle Killingsworth
(Rural Electrification)

NEGRO CO-OP →

2) WASHINGTON PARISH COLORED FARMERS MARKETING & BUYING ASSOC. (1943)
Washington, Rt. 6, Franklinton Tel. VE 9-2142
Mgr. - Charlie Wilson
(Produce marketing & farm supply)

3) Gulf Milk Association (1959)
Florida Parishes P.O. Drawer 467 Tel. VE 9-3551
Franklinton
Mgr. - V. F. Ledford

4) Washington Co-op (1963)
1103 Greenlaw Ave., Franklinton
Mgr. - Jasper Smith, Rt. 1 Tel. VE 9- 3625
Franklinton
(Farm supply)

5) Louisiana Agricultural Cooperative (Branch Store)
P.O. Box 155, Franklinton Tel. Ve 9 - 3625
Mgr. - Martin Fenton

West Feliciana None

What you should know about

FARMERS HOME ADMINISTRATION LOANS

If you are a farmer and need additional funds at reasonable terms and rates to consolidate debts, for operating expenses, to improve your crop, stock, house, or buildings, or to buy a farm or equipment, Farmers Home Administration may be able to help you. You may have been turned down for an FHA loan in the past--or have been told that it is useless for you to apply. But if your farm experience makes you believe that with enough credit you can manage a farm successfully as either an owner or a tenant, you should apply again. Be sure to apply in writing, as only written applications can be considered.

Floyd F. Higbee, FHA Deputy Administrator, instructed all FHA offices:

> "We must concentrate on helping farmers improve their conditions... rather than to use their problems and shortcomings as a basis for rejecting their applications for assistance....The best efforts of this agency are now directed specifically to assisting family farmers through loans and guidance to the end that no deserving family farmer will have to give up the struggle of remaining on the farm because of factors that have come about through reasons beyond his control."
> (FHA Bulletin No. 691, February 15, 1961.)

Kinds of loans available

If you think any of the FHA loans listed here might help you, ask your FHA county office for the special leaflets that will tell you much more about them.

Operating loans: To help make your farm and home operations successful. Loans for livestock, feed, fertilizer, and farm equipment; for food, clothing, medical care, and other household expenses; to refinance debts; to produce trees, and to do other things to make your farm more productive. Terms: Loans up to seven years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry operations.

Farm Ownership loans: To buy, enlarge, and improve family farms. Loans for farm homes and buildings, to drill wells, to develop and improve forest or recreational enterprises. They are for larger, longer-range projects that operating loans. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% interest for forestry.

Rural Housing loans: To build or improve farm homes or buildings, or non-farm homes in rural areas or communities of less than 2500. Loans to install heating or water, or to modernize; or to buy a house or homesite for persons over 62 years. Terms: Loans up to 33 years at 4% interest. Owners unable to repay a loan may be able to get a grant of up to $1000 for minor safety or health improvements.

Water Development and Soil Conservation loans: To improve your water supply and your land; for wells, farmstead water, irrigation and drainage, grading, fertilizing and seeding; to develop permanent pastures and improve forestry practices; to join a water district; and to pay for engineering plans and legal fees. Terms: Loans up to 40 years at 5% interest; 3% for forestry.

(CON'T)

Emergency loans: To help farmers who need special credit to carry on their normal operations because of widespread losses caused by floods, droughts, and other natural disasters. They are usually made only in area specially designated by Secretary of Agriculture but sometimes can be made when only one or a few farmers are affected. Terms: Loans up to 7 years for livestock and equipment, up to 20 years for buildings and land improvement, at 3% interest.

Loans to groups: These are available for watershed improvement, water system irrigation, soil conservation, the development of grasslands, and forestry and recreation enterprises, and for the building of housing for older persons. Ask the FHA county office for infomation about these programs.

Who is eligible for FHA loans

The special requirements for the different types of loans are given in the FHA leaflets. All of the loans (except for rural housing) require the following:

1. that you are unable to get credit for the loan you need at reasonable rates and terms for private or cooperative lending agencies;

2. that you have a farm background and the farm experience or training necessary to be successful in carring out the planned farm operation;

3. that you work out a plan with the FHA county supervisor that will make it possible to carry through the operation and pay off the loan;

4. that after the loan is made you actually will be managing or operating a farm either as owner, or tenant under a written lease, and that you be of legal age (and, in some cases, a U. S. citizen);

5. that you have the character, industry, and ability to carry out the farming operation for which you obtain the loan.

How to apply -- Who determines whether or not you are eligible

Consider your own farm operation very carefully. If you think that with a loan you can increase your cash income enough to both live better and pay off the loan, ask the FHA county supervisor to help you plan your operations and help you prepare your application. Your application will be reviewed by the FHA county committee which will decide whether or not you get the loan. The FHA committee is made up of three local farmers appointed by the FHA state director. The committee may ask you and your family to meet with it. Try to have other farmers who know you tell the committee about your background and ability. The local committee should decide in about two weeks. Appeals may be taken to the state director. Even if you don't qualify for an FHA loan at this time, the FHA office can help you plan for farm improvements.

What to do if you think you are not being treated fairly on an FHA loan

You have the right to have the FHA county office help you review your farm operations and plan your improvements. You are entitled to be treated with courtesy at the FHA county office and to receive help in preparing your loan application. If other debts are keeping you from qualifying, the FHA office may be able to help you try to work out new arrangements with your other creditors. The FHA county committee must consider your application fairly regardless of your color, the smallness of your farm, or any bad credit or operating experiences in the past.

(CON'T)

Keep a careful written record of all your contacts with the FHA office and a copy of your applications. Keep every letter or notice that is sent to you, and keep the envelope it came in. If you think that you are not being treated fairly, write a letter telling everything that happened to: The Administrator, Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Prepared by NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, 112, E. 19th Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

FSA COUNTY SUPERVISORY OFFICIALS

County offices throughout the state are open Monday through Friday. The office period listed below refers to the day and hours that supervisory personnel will be in the office.

ASCENSION - Mr. J. F. Butterworth, Courthouse, P.O. Box 313, Port Allen, La.
Telephone: 346-7181 (Ext. 218)
Hours: Friday - 8 AM to 4:30 PM
County supervisor for: West Baton Rouge, Ascension, East Baton Rouge

BIENVILLE - Mr. Clyde Lee Butler, SCS Building, Ringgold, La.
Telephone: 2482 (Jonesboro)
Hours: Tuesday - 8:30 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: Bienville, Jackson

EAST FELICIANA - Mr. Willie L. Tatum, Old High School Building, P.O. Box 165, Clinton
Telephone: 683-8249
Hours: Friday - 8 AM to 5 PM
County supervisor for: East Feliciana, Livingston, West Feliciana

IBERVILLE - same as Ascension

JACKSON - Mr. Clyde Lee Butler, Federal Building, P. O. Box 306, Jonesboro, La.
Telephone: 2482
Hours: Friday, 8 AM to 5 PM
County Supervisor for: Jackson, Bienville

LINCOLN - Mr. William R. Alexander, Federal Bldg. , Austin, Louisiana
Telephone: 255-2826 (Ext. 1)
Hours: Tues. & Fri. 9 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: Union, Lincoln

LIVINGSTON - same as East Feliciana

MADISON - Mr. James A. Courtney, Yerger Bldg., 507 E. Green St., P.O. Box 190, Tel
Telephone: 464
Hours: Friday - 8 AM to 5 PM
County supervisor for: Madison

OUACHITA - Mr. Charles M. Standard, Rm. 336, Agriculture Bldg. 704 Cypress St. West Monroe
Telephone: ?
Hours: Wednesday - 8 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: Caldwell, Ouachita, Winn

POINTE COUPEE - Mr. Thomas J. Dewey, Jr., Courthouse, Box 26, New Roads, La.
Telephone: 638-5431
Hours: Friday - 8 AM - 5 PM
County supervisor for: Pointe Coupee

RAPIDES - Mr. Alvin B. Landers, 931 Main St., Alexandria, La.
Telephone: 445-6511 (Ext. 674)
Hours: Friday, 8 AM - 5 PM
County supervisor for: Rapides, Grant, Vernon

(OVER)

RICHLAND - Mr. Cloyd O. Hopkins, B-3 Richland Parish, Courthouse, Rayville, La.
Telephone: 728-2001
Hours: Monday - 8 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: Richland

ST. HELENA - Mr. V. Dempsey McMorris, Courthouse, P.O. Box 57, Greensburg
Telephone: 222-4340
Hours: Friday - 8 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: St. Helena

ST. TAMMANY - Mr. Vincent C. Byrd, Courthouse, P.O. Box 369, Franklinton, La.
Telephone: VE 9-3406
Hours: Monday - 8 AM to 12 noon
County supervisor for: Washington, St. Tammany

TANGIPAHOA - Mr. L. Cullen Shows, Monroe Finch Bldg. Box 248, Amite, La.
Telephone: 3331
Hours: Friday - 8 AM to 5 PM
County supervisor for: Tangipahoa

WASHINGTON - same as St. Tammany

WEST FELICIANA - same as East Feliciana

What you should know about

..CRE.GE .LLOTMENT PROGR.MS
(for cotton, rice, and peanuts)

This fact sheet tells how the acreage that you can plant in cotton, rice, and peanuts is determined, when it is determined, and what you can do if you think that you are not being fairly treated. It does not try to tell everything about how acreage allotments, along with marketing quotas, operate as a part of the overall price support program.

Market quota, referendum, and acreage allotment

Your local or county .SC committee* each year holds a referendum called by the Secretary of .griculture to approve the marketing quota for each of these crops for the coming year. This referendum is held not later than December 15 (except for rice, which maybe held in the following January). Before the referendum is conducted, your .SC county committee has made the acreage allotment for each farm in your county, and the notice of your allotment (if you are entitled to one) should have been mailed to you. If you hear that a marketing quota referendum is going to be conducted and you have not yet received your notice of acreage allotment, check at once with your county agent or at your local .SC office.

Who takes part in the referendum, the .SC committees, and the acreage allotments

You are entitled to participate in the referendum (and in the election of your .SC committee) if you operate a farm as a sharecropper, tenant, or owner and are entitled to an acrea.e allotment. You must have an acreage allotment if you produce cotton, rice, or peanuts for market (if two-thirds of the producers of the country who vote in the referendum approve the marketing quota for the crop).

How big an acreage allotment should you get?

The acreage allotted to you should be your fair share of the acreage allotted to the county for the crop. Generally, your fair share is based upon the past history of your farm and of the other farms producing the crop. (.bnormal growing conditions, the land, crop rotation, and your own experience are sometimes considered.) The allotments for all the farms in your county are listed at the .SC county office. Examine this list right away if you do not think your allotment is fair. Even if you have a small farm or a new farm you are entitled to some allotment for the crop. .sk the .SC office or your county agent to explain your allotment to you.

What to do if you don't get your notice on time or think your allotment is unfair

If you do not get a notice of your allotment in the mail at the same time that your neighbors get theirs and before the marketing quota referendum, inquire at once at your local .SC office and write a letter to the Secretary of .griculture, Washington, 25, D. C. telling him what happened.

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* The .SC committees are committees elected by the local farmers to help carry out the programs of the .gricultural Stabilization and conservation Service of the U.S. Dept. of .griculture. (More information on .SCS on pages 23-29)

(OVER)

When you get a notice of your allotment in the mail, read it carefully right away and save it. If you do not understand it, ask your local ASC office or your county agent to explain it to you. If you are not satisfied with the acreage allotted to you (or your farm marketing quota upon which it is based), file a written application for review with your local ASC committee within fifteen days of the postmark on your notice. Keep a copy of th application for yourself.

If you apply for a review of your allotment in time, it will be reviewed by an ASC review committee of three farmers who have been appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture and who are different from your local ASC committee. This committee will change your allotment if it decides, after considering all aspects of your case, that you did not get a fair share of the crop acreage allotted to your county.

If you still do not think that you are being treated fairly after the review committee has made its findings, you can appeal to the United States District Court or to the State Court of your county for further review. This is likely to be expensive, however, and you should get legal advice before you try to do this.

How to get an extra allotment

If you want to put more acres in the crop than you were first allotted, apply to the ASC committee. The county committee has held in reserve part of the alloted land to take care of the adjustment of any claims made, and sometimes growers do not want to plant all the acreage given them. This excess is divided among all those who apply for it.

The measurement of your land

The correct measurement of your farm is important to you and to the government. If your fields are measured too big, you will not be planting all the acres to which you are entitled. If they are measured too small, you may be planting more than you were allotted and have to plow up some of it or be subject to other penalties. Regularly -- at least once every three years -- the local ASC committee is supposed to measure all the lands you cultivate without cost to you and can, at any time, check by measuring to be sure you are not planting an excess of the crop. If you request it, the ASC committee must measure your fields before you plant them or will remeasure them later. But you must pay for the cost of this special measurement, so be sure you find out how much it is going to cost you before you ask the committee to do it. If you don't ask for prior measurement or remeasurement, you are bound by the ASC committee's determination of your acreage.

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If your ASC committee office does not treat you with fairness and with courtesy, or if it segrates you or discriminates against you in any other way, get all the facts you can, including what happened and when and where it happened. Get the names of the persons involved and of witnesses if you can. Send a full report of it to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington 25, D. C.

Prepared by National Sharecroppers Fund

C O U N T Y E X T E N S I O N A G E N T S

Ascension:	Mr. Claude Songy Donaldsonville, La.	Tel. 4866
Bienville:	Mr. E. A. Fulmer Arcadia, La.	Tel. 2321
East Feliciana:	Mr. F. M. Roberts Clinton, La.	Tel. 683-5456
Iberville:	Mr. Edward Burleigh Plaquemine, La.	Tel. MU 7-2066
Jackson:	Mr. W. C. Abbott, Jr. Courthouse Jonesboro, La.	Tel. 2452
Lincoln:	Mr. F. O. LeVasseur Rustin, La.	Tel. AL 5-3402
Livingston:	Mr. R. H. D'Armond 104 Mattie Street Denham Springs, La.	Tel. NO 5-2585
Madison:	Mr. Max McDonald Tallulah, La.	Tel. 207
Ouachita:	Mr. J. J. Joyce, Jr. Box 485 West Monroe, La.	Tel. FA 3-2251
Pointe Coupee:	Mr. S. J. Deville New Roads, La.	Tel. 638-4421
Rapides:	Mr. Ben T. Simpson P.O. Box 1126 Alexandria, La.	Tel. HI 2-3042
Richland:	Mr. Basil Doles Rayville, La.	Tel. 728-3216
St. Helena:	Mr. G. K. Alford Greensburg, La.	Tel. 222-4414
St. Tammany:	Mr. J. M. Bankston Covington, La.	Tel. 892-2208
Tangipahoa:	Mr. Roy D. Mitchell P.O. Box 848 Amite, La.	Tel. 9381
Washington:	Mr. Victor Murray, Franklinton, La.	Tel. VE 9-2146
West Feliciana:	Mr. W. D. Magee St. Francisville High School St. Francisville, La.	Tel. NE 5-3614

ASCS COUNTY COMMITTEE SYSTEM
(Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service)

Functions of ASCS County Committee

1. Acreage allotments - determines the number of acres farmers may plant of certain crops (wheat, corn, cotton, peanuts, tobacco, rice)
2. Determines which farmers may participate in the following programs
   a. Agricultural Conservation Program (ACP) - cost-sharing program
   b. Soil Bank Program - cost-sharing program
   c. Storage activities - approves government loans for storage facilities
   d. Sugar Act Programs - determines wage rates paid to workers, enforces child labor laws, etc.
3. Enforces price support

Elections of ASCS County Committee

1. How is the committee set up?
   a. A parish is divided into one or more communities
   b. Each community has a 3-man committee: 1 chairman, 1 vice-chairman, 1 regular member, and 2 alternates
   c. Each county has a 3-man committee: chairman, vice-chairman, regular member, 2 alternates.
   d. The county committee has a county office manager (see list by parish for name)
   e. The county Extension Agent is present, but doesn't vote

2. Elections
   a. Anyone who is a farm owner, part owner, tenant, or shares in the crop is eligible to vote
   b. Any qualified voter can be nominated by a petition with at least 6 signatures (sample petition forms and deadline dates will be sent to you before the elections which are held in August.)
   c. Nominating petitions are given to the office manager
   d. Ballots are cast either by mail or at a polling place (you will be told which) Voters may select up to 5 men.
   e. The man with the most votes is Chairman, second most votes is vice-chairman, etc. THIS IS THE COMMUNITY COMMITTEE.
   f. The chairman of each community committee goes to the ASC County convention.
   g. The chairman vote to elect the ASC County Committee. It is necessary, therefore, to have enough Negroes elected as chairman of the community committees so that they may attend the county convention and elect a Negro to the County Committee.

DETAILED INFORMATION ABOUT THE ASCS COMMITTEES IN EACH PARISH IS NOW BEING GATHERED BY THE RESEARCH DEPT. AND WILL BE AVAILABLE TO YOU SOON.

ASCS INFORMATION - SPECIFIC PARISHES

The following pages consist of information for specific parishes concerning ASCS. The information for all 17 parishes is not yet available, but will be sent to you as soon as possible.

Each parish ASC Office has a mailing list of local farmers. The list is important because the ballots are sent to the farmers on the list. There are also regular mailings to the farmers - usually newsletters - informing them about the local ASC programs. (Kind of mailings sent out in individual parishes follows). Find out if the Negroe farmers in your parish receive these mailings. The following information will tell you how the list is made up in your parish. Also, how many farmers are on the list. (Check this with the farm population statistics in this handbook).

The ASC programs which are carried out in your parish are listed on the following pages also. Find out if any Negroes participate. Ask the local ASC office for information about these programs. (If they do not cooperatie, notify CORE research in New Orleans).

ELECTIONS - See the following pages for the number of communities in your parish. Find out the community bounderies. Each community should nominate 1 Negro farmer for the community committee election in August. All Negro farmers should vote for that man only (though they are allowed to vote for 5 men) to be sure that he is elected chairman of the committee and will be able to attend the county convention to elect the county committee.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT ASC IN SPECIFIC PARISHES, CONTACT THE RESEARCH DEPT. OF THE CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE IN NEW ORLEANS, OR THE ASC COUNTY OFFICE MANAGER IN YOUR PARISH, WHO'S ADDRESS IS LISTED ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

ASCS INFORMATION FOR SPECIFIC PARISHES

1. ASCENSION
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. Charles M. King
      Ascension Parish ASC Office
      P. O. Box 149
      Donaldsonville, Louisiana Tel. GR 3-8446
   b. Mailing list
      1) 800 farmers on list
      2) list is made up from surveys made of farmers in past years and farmers who participate in programs
   c. Elections
      1) held by mail
      2) 495 farmers voted in the community committee election in August, 1964.
      3) there are 3 ASC communities in the parish
   d. Programs
      1) the following programs are carried out in Ascension parish - sugar, cotton and rice allotment and marketing quotas, price support, feed grain, wool, disaster, livestock feed programs
      2) local farmers are informed of these programs through circular letters, monthly news letters, newspapers, and meetings with non-farm groups in the parish

2. BIENVILLE
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. W. F. Peterson, Sr.
      Bienville Parish ASC Office
      P. O. Box 235
      Arcadia, Louisiana Tel. 2207
   b. Other information not yet available for this parish

3. EAST FELICIANA
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. David Saint
      East Feliciana Parish ASC Office
      Box 125
      Clinton, Louisiana Tel. 683-8155
   b. Other information not yet available for this parish

4. IBERVILLE
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. Bert J. Ourso
      Iberville Parish ASC Office
      P. O. Box 365
      Plaquemine, Louisiana Tel. 687-2184
   b. Other information not yet available for this parish

5. JACKSON
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. W. O. Durrett
      Jackson Parish ASC Office
      Box 396, Federal Building
      Jonesboro, Louisiana Tel. 3306
   b. Other information not yet available for this parish

ASCS INFORMATION FOR SPECIFIC PARISHES (CON'T)

6. LINCOLN
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. W. L. Aswell
      Lincoln Parish ASC Office
      Federal Building
      Rustin, Louisiana Tel. Al5-2826
   b. Mailing list
      1) 1508 farmers on list
      2) Ask local ASC office (above) how list is made up
   c. Elections
      1) held by mail
      2) an average of 485 farmers voted in each of the last 5 community committee elections
      3) there are 8 communities (ASC) in the parish (there are also 8 wards - bounderies may be the same - find out)
   d. Programs
      1) the following programs are carried out in Lincoln parish - soil conservation, crop allotment, soil bank, agricultural adjustment
      2) local farmers are informed of these programs through personal contacts, radio, news letters, newspapers, etc.

7. LIVINGSTON

   a. County Office Manager - Mr. Claude K. McAdams
      Livingston Parish ASCS Office
      P. O. Box 338
      Denham Springs, Louisiana Tel. NO 5-2414
   b. Mailing list
      1) approximately 1600 farmers on list
      2) the list is composed of all known operators and owners (according to the Livingston ASC Office, there are no tenant farmers or sharecroppers in the parish. New participants are added to the list and any other person in the parish who is interested can be added by request.
   c. Elections (sample ballots available in CORE office - research - New Orleans)
      1) held by mail
      2) 711 farmers voted in the community committee election in August, 1964
      3) there are 9 ASC communities in the parish
   d. Programs
      1) the following programs are carried out in Livingston parish - soil conservation, crop allotment, soil bank
      2) local farmers are informed of these programs by newspaper, radio, and circular mail

8. MADISON
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. James B. Stewart
      Madison Parish ASCS Office
      503½ East Green Street
      Tallulah, Louisiana Tel. 354
   b. Mailing list
      1) 626 farmers on mailing list
      2) list is made up from farm work-sheets
   c. Elections
      1) held by mail
      2) an average of 497 farmers voted in each of the last five community committee elections

(CON'T)

ASCS INFORMATION FOR SPECIFIC PARISHES (CON'T)

8. MADISON (CON'T)
   3) there are 5 ASC Communities in the parish
   d. Programs
      1) the following ASC Programs are carried out in Madison parish - soil conservation, crop allotment (cotton and wheat), soil bank, agricultural adjustment, CCC price Support operations
      2) local farmers are informed of these programs by newsletters, newspapers radio, television, over the counter in office

9. OUACHITA

   a. County Office Manager - Mr. E. G. Davidson
      Ouachita Parish ASCS Office
      P. O. Box 1057
      West Monroe, Louisiana Tel. FA 2-5970

   b. Mailing list
      1) 1074 farmers on list
      2) list made up from index cards of farms
   c. Elections
      1) held by mail
      2) 502 farmers voted in the community committee elections in August, 1964
      3) there are 5 communities in the parish
   d. Programs
      1) the following programs are carried out in Ouachita parish - soil conservation, crop allotment (cotton & wheat - possibly other crops), soil bank, agricultural adjustment
      2) local farmers are informed of these programs through newsletters, bank newspapers, radio and television

10. POINTE COUPEE
   a. County Office Manager - Mr. Elliot E. Jewell
      Box 105
      New Roads, Louisiana Tel. 638-5661
   b. Other information not yet available for this parish

11. RAPIDES

   a. County Office Manager - Mr. Fabian Vanhoof
      Rapides Parish ASCS Office
      Box 327
      Alexandria, Louisiana

   b. Mailing list
      1) 2800 farmers on list
      2) list is made up of farm operators who have participated in one or more programs throughout the years (actually, they are not supposed to this stipulation - all farmers should be on list regardless of parti-
   c. Elections
      1) held by mail
      2) an average of 1275 farmers voted in the last 5 elections for community committeemen
      3) there are 11 communities in the parish (there are also 11 wards - bounderies may be the same - find out)

(CON'T)

ASCS INFORMATION FOR SPECIFIC PARISHES (CON'T)

11. RAPIDES (CON'T)
    d. Programs
        1) the following programs are carried out in Rapides parish - soil conservation, crop allotment (cotton), soil bank, CCC loans
        2) local farmers are informed of these programs through monthly letters, special circular letters, news articles, radio, T.V.

12. RICHLAND
    a. County Office Manager - Mr. R. B. Green
        Richland Parish ASC Office
        216-20 Courthouse
        Raybille, Louisiana Tel. 728-2081
    b. Other information not yet available for this parish

13. ST. HELENA
    a. County Office Manager - Mr. Roger M. Venable
        St. Helena Parish ASC Office
        Box 36
        Greensburg, Louisiana Tel. 222-4385
    b. Mailing list
        1) 1439 farmers on list
        2) list is made up of producers, operators, and owners that have part or are participating in the ASC programs (they are not suppos have this stipulation - all farmers should be on list regardl of participation)
    c. Elections
        1) held by mail
        2) an average of 610 farmers voted in each of the last 5 community committee elections
        3) there are 6 ASC communities in the parish
    d. Programs
        1) the following programs are being carried out in St. Helena paris soil conservation, crop allotment, soil bank
        2) local farmers are informed of these programs through letters, cou committeemen, community committeemen, and local newspaper

14. ST. TAMMANY
    a. County Office Manager - Mr. Dale Broussard
        Courthouse
        Covington, Louisiana Tel. 892-3921
    b. Mailing list
        1) 908 farmers on mailing list
        2) list is made up of farmers in parish who participate in programs administered by the local ASCS Office (they are not supposed to ha this stipulation - all farmers should be on list regardless of participation)
    c. Elections
        1) held by mail
        2) 627 farmers voted in the community committee elections in August,
        3) there are 7 ASC communities in the parish
    d. Programs
        1) the following programs are carried out in St. Tammany parish - soil conservation, crop allotment, soil bank, CCC purchasing
        2) local farmers are informed of these programs through monthly new radio programs, and local newspapers

(CON'T)

ASCS INFORMATION FOR SPECIFIC PARISHES (CON'T)

15. TANGIPAHOA
    a. County Office Manager - Mr. Dan C. Webb
       Tangipahoa Parish ASC Office
       P. O. Box 247
       Amite, Louisiana Tel. 8751
    b. Mailing list
       1) 3700 farmers on list
       2) the list is made up of all farmers that have requested assistance through the office in the past and new farmers as they come in for assistance (all farmers, regardless of whether they ask for assistance, should be on the mailing list)
    c. Elections
       1) held by mail
       2) an average of 2018 farmers voted in the community committee elections in each of the last 5 years
       3) there are 12 ASC communities in the parish
    d. Programs
       1) the following programs are carried out in Tangipahoa parish - soil conservation, crop allotment (cotton, perhaps others), soil bank
       2) the farmers are informed of these ASC programs through personal contacts, radio, newsletter and newspapers - available to all farmers and other individual that might be interested.

16. Washington
    a. County Office Manager - Mr. Warren P. Greer
       Box 370
       Franklinton, Louisiana Tel. VE 9-3416
    b. Mailing list
       1) 2385 farmers on list
       2) any person operating a farm is put on list according to office manager (in Washington parish local Negro farmers <u>are</u> on mailing list, and <u>do</u> receive ballots for elections)
    c. Elections
       1) held by mail
       2) 1926 farmers voted in the community committee elections in August, 1964
       3) there are 9 ASC communities in the parish - the bounderies are the same as the 9 wards
    d. Programs
       1) the following ASC Programs are carried out in Washington parish - soil conservation, crop allotment (cotton, perhaps others), soil bank, CCC purchasing
       2) local farmers are informed of these programs through newspapers, radio, newsletter, county committeemen, community committeemen, and information supplied by clerks in the ASC office

17. <u>WEST FELICIANA</u>
    a. County Office Manager - Mrs. Willia L. Hobgood, West Feliciana Parish ASC Office, P.O. Box 157, St. Francisville, Louisiana Tel. NE 5-3694
    b. Mailing list - 1) made up of farmers participatin in various programs (should be <u>all</u> farmers)
    c. Elections - 1) held by mail
       2) average no. of farmers voting in each of last 5 elections - 233
       3) find out how many ASC Communities are in the parish
    d. Programs - 1) the following programs are carried out in the parish -soil conservation, crop allotment, soil bank
       2) farmers are notified of the programs by mail and press - no radio or T.V. available

* * *

What you should know about

SURPLUS FOOD PROGRAMS

(Direct distribution, Food Stamp, and School Lunch Programs)

What they are

"Surplus food" is some of the food the farmer grows but cannot sell at the price he wants to get for it. It is available for distribution to people who need it but cannot buy it because they are out of work, unable to work, or paid too little when they are working to carry them over the off-season, or because disaster strikes.

The Department of Agriculture buys or takes over this food under price-support and other governmental programs and, through the Agricultural Marketing Service, gives it to state and local welfare agencies and to schools. The federal government usually does not distribute this food directly to the persons who need it, and the Department of Agriculture does not have the money or the staff to do this except on an emergency basis.

How the food is distributed

1. Direct distribution through local welfare agencies. The Agricultural Marketing Service packages the food and delivers it without charge to central distribution points within a cooperating state. Local public welfare officials decide whether or not they want to participate, to what extent, and for what period of the year. As they pay the cost of collecting the food from the central depots in the state and of distributing it to the persons entitled to it(sometimes with help from the state), there is no way legally to force a local community to take part in the program--or continue in it--if it does not want to do so. Occasionally, a local community has permitted a private welfare agency to assume the responsibility for (and the costs of) local distribution, but the public officials still must supervise the program with the help of AMS workers.

If a local community does take part in the direct food distribution program, it must follow the standards set by the federal government. It can distribute the food only to those in need, and it determines what families are in need. However, it cannot apply different tests to different families. It cannot deny food to persons because of their color or punish them by withdrawing food because of their civil rights or other political activities.

If your community is not taking part in the program or if it ends the program altogether at the end of the off-season, only negotiation or public pressure can bring it to take part of continue in the program. Sometimes local civic and religious groups can be persuaded to intervene. Sometimes a private welfare agency will take up the burden with the consent of the local officials. Sometimes state officials or the Department of Agriculture will intercede.

2. The Food Stamp Program. This program permits low- income families and families on welfare to spend their food money to buy food stamps of higher value. The family can then use the stamps to purchase food at any grocery. If your community has need for this program, rally local backing and write to the Secretary of Agriculture urging that your community be included in the Food Stamp Program.

(OVER)

3. National School Lunch Program. Any public or nonprofit private school can take part in this program if it operates its lunch program on a nonprofit basis, serves lunches free or at a reduced cost to those who cannot pay the full price, and serves lunches that meet the Department of Agriculture's nutritional standards. The federal government will pay $1 out of every $4 paid for some of the food bought locally for the lunch program and will contribute most of the rest of the food needed. Any group, such as a parent teacher association, church, or fraternal or other service club, can help the local school start and carry on the program.

If your local school does not have a school lunch program, find out why from the school board. Interest local individuals and groups in helping to get a program launched. Seek help from the state Department of Education, which supervises the program in each state.

4. Special Milk Program. Even if a school does not take part in the school lunch program, it can still get federal assistance to serve milk free or at a reduced cost. This aid is also available for camps, orphanages, and other child care institutions. For information, write to Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250

5. Disaster Relief. Substantial supplies of federally donated food are almost always quickly available to whole communities when such disasters as hurricanes, floods, drought, and widespread fire strike. But disasters sometimes strike single families too, and the same relief is often available if quickly sought. Check in time of need with local welfare officials and the local chapter of the American Red Cross.

* * *

If you find that any federally assisted food program is not being administered fairly and you cannot work it out with local and state officials, gather your facts carefully and send a full account of them to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 20250.

Prepared by National Sharecroppers Fund, 112 E. 19 Street, New York, N. Y. 10003

LOCAL AUTHORITIES PARTICIPATING IN PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION LOW - RENT PROGRAMS

Column 1 - total no. of dwelling units under reservation, in pre-construction, under construction, under managment
" 2 - number of units reserved but for which Annual Contribution Contract (ACC) has not yet been approved or executed
" 3 - number of units for which an ACC has been approved and/or executed, but are not yet under construction
" 4 - number of units under construction
" 5 - number of units under management under the Housing Act of 1937, 1949, 1950, and the farm labor camps program
" 6 - total number of projects under active development (preconstruction or constriction) and management
" 7 - number of projects under ACC, but not yet under construction
" 8 - number of projects for which notices to proceed have been issued, but in which all units have not been completed
" 9 - number of projects in which all units have been completed

LOCAL AUTHORITY AND COMMUNITY SERVED	NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS					NUMBER OF PROJECTS			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
ASCENSION									
Donaldsonville	60				60	1			1
Sorrento	10	10							
BIENVILLE									
Arcadia	70		50		20	2	1		1
EAST FELICIANA - none									
IBERVILLE - none									
JACKSON									
Jonesboro	80			40	40	2		1	1
LINCOLN									
Rustin	180		80		100	2	1		1
LIVINGSTON - none									
MADISON - none									
OUACHITA									
Monroe	526				526	5			5
POINTE COUPP - none									
RAPIDES									
Alexandria	148				148	2			2
Pineville	50				50	1			1
RICHLAND - none									
ST. HELENA - none									
ST. TAMMANY - none									
TANGIPAHOA									
Ponchatoula	50		50			1	1		
WASHINGTON									
Bogalusa	440	100			340	6			6
WEST FELICIANA - none									

THESE FIGURES ARE AS OF DECEMBER, 1963

annexation

MEMO TO: Mr. Richard Haley

FROM: Judi Nusbaum

DATE: March 26, 1965

SUBJECT: Annexation

There are two (2) methods in the state of Louisiana for annexation of a territory into a town on which it boarders.

I. Petition and Election

A petition requesting annexation must be signed by one-third of the bona-fide land owners, who own one-third of the land in the territory. The petition is presented to the mayor and the city council. They may reject it on the grounds that it is an unreasonable request if (1) the territory is more agricultural than urban, consisting largly of open fields, (2) it is sparsly populated, less than 1000 people, (3) the size is exorbitantly disproportionate to the size of the existing town in acreage and population, and (4) it offers or assures few, if any, modern facilities or advantages which burdonsome taxation, resulting from annexation should provide. If, however, the city council accepts the petition, it is then put to a vote in the territory, where all voters may participate in the election, whether or not they own land. The results of the territory election is then published in the city. If the proposal is passed by the territory, it is put to a vote in the city or town. This vote is the deciding factor.

II. Petition and Ordinence

A petition requesting annexation must be signed by twenty-five percent (25%) of the bona-fide land owners, who own twenty-five percent (25%) of the land in the territory. The petition is presented to the mayor and the city council. They may reject the petition, or they may accept it and propose an

(con't)

ordinence for annexation. The proposed ordinence will be published 10 days before it is passed. During that time, any citizen can contest it, and will be granted a hearing. At the hearing the proposed ordinence will either be rejected or maintained. After the 10 day period, there is a 30 day period before the ordinence becomes effective. During this time any citizen can file suit to contest the reasonablness of the ordinence, on the grounds mentioned above.

or

In both cases, the land values of the signers of the original petition must be certified by an assessor.

POLITICAL AND GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE OF LOUISIANA

By Judith C. Nusbaum

April, 1965

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The purpose of this handbook is to provide community organizers in Louisiana with the basic facts about the political and governmental structure of the state. There is no attempt to analyse, criticise or evaluate the information. It is presented completely objectively, in hopes of portraying a clear picture of the political framework within which you must work. It is written with the opinion that a political organizer cannot achieve his maximum effectiveness without a good understanding of the basic rules of the structure within which he must operate.

Political Parties in Louisiana

Recognition

In order to be a recognized legal politisal party in Louisiana, an organization must have received at least 5% of the total vote cast at the preceeding gubernatorial or presidential general election.

An organization may file nominating papers to get its candidates on the general election ballot if the organisation has more than 1000 qualified voters. If, at the following election the party or any one of its candidates receives 5% of all votes cast in the state, the persons signing the nomination papers are recognized as a lawful political party.

Party Organization

Each political party must have three major committees: the State Central Committee, Parish Committee and Municipal Party Committee.

The State Central Committee is the chief party-governing body on the state level. It has 101 members, elected for terms of four years each, at the party primary for state and parish officers. Each parish in the state and each ward in Orleans elects the same number of members as are elected to the House of Representatives. (The Republican party has less, because it is not organized in all parishes). Committee members must be qualified voters of the parish (or ward of Orleans) from which they are elected; each must be registered as a party member continuously for two years, and each must file a declaration of intention to become a candidate for membership on the committee. The chairman of the committee

is the principal officer; he is elected by the committee. He receives primary filing fees and nttifications of nominations. The state central committee may create additional party committees and, if not in conflict with the laws, make additional rules governing the party and set additional qualifications for party candidates or voters in the party primaries. The committee also selects and determines the manner of selection of [redacted] delegates to the party's national convention and determines the selection of presidential electors to be placed under the party name in presidential elections. The committee issues calls for party primaries in which state-wide officers are to be nominated, holds hearings and makes decisions on disputed qualifications of all state-wide candidates in the primary, and fills vacancies in party nominations for state-wide offices.

There are six ex officio party committees in the state: The Supreme Court District Committee, the Court of Appeals District Committee, the District Court Committee, the Public Service Commission District Committee, the Congressional District Committee, and the State Senatorial District Committee. The state central committee members serve ex officio on each of these committees. The duties of the committees, generally, are to issue calls for primary elections to nominate officials elected from their districts, receive filing fees and notifications of intention from candidates seeking nomination to offices from these districts and fill vacancies in party nominations for district offices.

The parish executive committees, except in Orleans and Jefferson parishes, consist of a number of members equal to the number of members on the parish governing body from each ward plus five members elected for four-year terms from the parish at large. In Orleans Parish the committee consists of two members from each of Orleans' seventeen wards. In Jefferson Parish the committee is

of 7 wards, two from each of 2 wards, three from

each of 2 wards, and five elected at large. In parishes where committees have not been elected since 1940, committees may be established by a petition signed by fifteen qualified electors requesting a p ublic meeting to be called by the chairman of the state central committee for the purpose of electing committee members; if the chairman fails to call the meeting, a majority of the petitioners may do so. Qualifications for membership on the committee are the same as for membership on the state central committee except that six months' affiliation with the party is sufficient. Members of the committee elect a chairman. Generally, the duties of the parish committee are the same as those of the state central committee, except that they function on the parish level and are therefore responsible for calling parish primaries, accepting filing fees and holding hearings on disputed qualifications of parish and ward candidates in the primaries. The committee also draws commisssioners for the polling places from among the nominees of the candidates and certifies commissioners and watchers for the polls.

Municipal executive committees are composed of one committeeman from each municipal ward unless the city has fewer than three wards, in which case the membership is made up of three committeemen elected at large. The committeemen are elected at the time of the municipal primary by the qualified voters of the municipality who are members of the party. They serve for the same length of time as the municipal officials. In municipalities having no municipal committees, the chairman of the state central committee, upon petition of fifteen qualified electors of the party, must call a public meeting to elect and set up a municipal committee. Upon his failure to do so a majority of the signers of the petition may issue the call.

A six months' period of party affiliation is required for membership on the committee. The municipal committees perform practically the same functinns for the municipalities that the parish committees do for the parishes.

Qualifications for Members of Party Committees

Members of party committees must be qualified voters in the parish in which they are nominated, or of the ward in Orleans Parish. They must have been registered for five years as affiliated with the party.

Louisiana Primary Elections

Purpose

Primaries are nominating elections. They are contests among the members of the same party to decide which of the candidates the party will place on the general election ballot.

When Required

Except for city officials in municipalities with populations under 5,000, the school board in Orleans Parish, and presidential electors, all elective officers and legislators must be nominated by the primary method in Louisiana.

Closed Primary

In Louisiana, as in most of the South, the rule is "Closed" Primaries. This means that a voter is required to be a registered member of a party for six months before voting in their primary.

Changing Party Affiliation

Party affiliation may be changed by writing to the Registrar of Voters. This should be done at least six months before a primary election in order to be eligible to vote in the primary of the new party.

Classes of Primaries

The Congressional Primary is held every even numbered year on the last Tuesday in July. Each party selects nominees for a wide variety of offices including U.S. Representatives and Senators.

The State Primary is held every four years on the first Saturday in December. At this time most of the officers who are elected on a state-wide basis are nominated, along with parish officers and the members of the state legislature.

Municipal primaries are sometimes held in conjunction with the state or Congressional primary, although in the majority of cases they are separately held. All elective city officers are nominated at this time.

Preparation for Primaries

An issuance of the primary call must be made by the party committee responsible for conducting the election.

The State Central Committee is required to meet for the purpose of calling the state primary on the first Saturday in September, prior to the December primary.

The Congressional Primary is called on the second Tuesday in May in preparation for the forth coming July primary.

Because the parish and district primaries are held along with these state-wide primaries, the parish and district committees issue the call for their nominating elections for the forth coming July primary.

The official newspaper of each parish carries the announcement that the primary call has been made and that candidates for nomination to the various offices should file with the proper committee in order to get their names on the ballot.

'Notification of Intention'

Each candidate must file a 'notification of intention' to run for office. It must be filed with the proper committee chairman by 5 PM on the tenth day after the primary call. It must be accompanied by a written oath that to the best of his knowledge the candidate is a qualified voter, a member of the party on whose ticket he wants to be nominated, and possesses the qualifications for filling the office to which he aspires.

He must also pay filing fees. For officers elected on a state wide basis or from one of the larger districts such as Congressional, Public Service Commission, State Supreme Court or State Court of Appeals Districts, the fee is $100. Parish offices are $5. and ward elections are $1. This fee goes to the Secretary of State, and is not returned. The party may also charge similar fees.

Challenge of Candidate for Nomination

A candidate's qualification may be challenged by any qualified voter or candidate or member of the committee. A written statement of the challenge must be presented to the committee within five days after the close of the period for filing notification of intention. The candidate has 48 hours to file an answer. The committee holds a hearing and gives a decision. The decision may be appealed to a state court.

General Elections in Louisiana

Date of Elections

The general election for state and parish officers is held every four years on the first Tuesday after the seventh week after the date on which the second primary for nomination of the candidates is held.

In every year in which elections are to be held for electors of President and Vice President, the elections are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

All general elections for Representatives in Congress are held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, every two years. (1964, 66, 68, 72, etc.).

Polls are open from 6 AM to 8 PM.

Supervision of Elections

In each parish there is a Board of Supervisors of elections. The Board is made up of the Registrar of Voters of the parish, and two other people who are appointed by the governor. In Orleans Parish the board is made up of the registrar, the civil sheriff and one person appointed by the governor. The Board of Supervisors appoints three commissioners and one clerk to preside over the election of each polling precinct. They must be qualified voters of the ward in which the polling precinct is located, and are selected from lists furnished by each political party, of not less than six names each. The lists must be submitted to the board by the parish committee at least thirty-five days before the election. As far as possible, the commissioners are to be

appointed to represent equally all political parties authorized to make nominations. The commissioners are responsible for maintaining regularity and order during the election and count.

Each political party or nominating body which has a candidate on the ballot may have one poll watcher in each voting precinct. Poll watchers are allowed within the barrier during the election, but cannot electioneer or engage in any political discussions. They may enter the polls only after they close, and may remain to watch the votes being counted.

Election Precincts and Polling Places

Except in Orleans Parish, each police jury ward in each parish of the state is an election precinct. In Orleans, the city government of New Orleans divides the wards into election precincts.

Write-Ins

In order to be eligible as a Write-In candidate, a person must file a statement with the clerk of the district court of the parish that he is willing to be voted for that office.

Assistance

No voter can receive assistance of any kind in casting his vote, except in certain exceptions for handicapped people.

Nomination of Candidates for Presidential Electors

Qualifications: To be qualified as a presidential elector, a person must be a qualified voter in the district from which he is chosen, or if selected for the state at-large, must be a qualified voter in a parish of the state.

Nomination by Convention: The State Central Committee of the political parties call conventions at which the presidential electors are nominated. A sworn certificate of the results of the convention must be presented to the Secretary of state in order to have the candidates' names on the official ballot.

Nomination of independents: Nomination papers must be signed by 1,000 qualified voters. The political party name and device designated on the nomination papers must not resemble any other political party. The Registrar must certify to at least 50% more names of registered voters on applications for nomination papers than are required by law to make a nomination. One signer must attach an affidavit that the statements in the petition are true.

Nominations of Candidates (Other than Presidential Electors)

Nomination papers may be filed for any state, district, parochial, ward or municipal office, as well as for presidential electors. All voters signing a nomination paper must sign their complete address. Papers are submitted to the Registrar of Voters for certification. Except for nomination papers for candidates for presidential electors or candidates for the Orleans Parish School Board, none of the voters who sign the nominating petition may be registered as affiliating with any political party. The papers must be filed with the Secretary of State before the date of the second primary. One-thousand signatures are required to nominate candidates for any officers to be voted for by the state at large (including U.S. Senators). One-hundred signatures are required for district, parish or municipal officers, members of the legislature, or members of the House of Representatives of Congress. Twenty-five signatures are required for ward officers.

Contents of Nominating Papers

All nominating papers must contain the names of the candidates, the office for which he is nominated, the party or political principal which he represents (in not more than three words), his place of residence and his place of business.

Objections to Nominating Papers

Objection to the regularity of nominating papers may be made within seventy-two hours after the last day allowed for filing papers. The objections are considered by a Board of the Secretary of State, the State Auditor, the State Treasurer and two voters appointed by the Governor. Their decision is final.

fficers elected in General Elections

State General Election (four-year intervals; Tuesday after first Monday in April of leap year, following the primary held in December.)

State Officials:

1. Governor
2. Lieutenant-Governor
3. Secretary of State
4. Treasurer
5. Auditor
6. Commissioner of Agriculture & Immigration
7. Registrar of State Land Office
8. Attorney General
9. Superintendent of Education
10. State Senators
11. State Representatives
12. State Insurance Commissioners

Parish Officials:

1. Sheriff
2. Clerk of Court
3. Assessor
4. Coroner
5. Ward Officers
   a. police jurors
   b. Justice of the Peace
   c. Constable

Congressional General Election (two-year intervals - Tuesday after the first Monday in November, following the primary held on the last Tuesday in July)

1. U.S. Senators (if either of their terms has expired)
2. U.S. Representatives
3. State Board of Education (serve rotating terms, 3 elected at each election)
4. Presidential Electors (every 4 years)
5. Justices of the State Supreme Court (rotating)
6. Judges of the Courts of Appeal (rotating)
7. Judges of the District Courts (every six years)
8. Public Service Commissioners (rotating)
9. District Attorneys (every 6 years)
10. Parish School Boards (one-third every 2 years)
11. City Judges
12. Marshalls of City Courts
13. Constitutional Amendments

ELECTION DISTRICTS -- (ARRANGED BY PARISHES)

Parishes	Cong. Dist.	Judicial District	Senatorial District (State)	Public Service Commission District	Supreme Court District	Court of Appeals Circuit	Court of Appeals District
Acadia	7	15	35	2	3	3	2
Allen	7	31	14	2	3	3	2
Ascension	6	23	11	2	6	1	1
Assumption	3	23	12	2	6	1	1
Avoyelles	8	12	17	2	3	3	1
Beauregard	7	30	14	2	3	3	2
Bienville	4	2	27	3	2	2	2
Bossier	4	26	26	3	2	2	2
Caddo	4	1	25	3	2	2	3
Calcasieu	7	14	14	2	3	3	2
Caldwell	5	28	31	3	4	2	2
Cameron	7	14	14	2	3	3	2
Catahoula	5	7	33	3	4	3	1
Claiborne	4	2	27	3	2	2	2
Concordia	5	7	32	3	4	3	1
DeSoto	4	11	25	3	2	2	3
E. Baton Rouge	6	19	20	2	5	1	2
E. Carroll	5	6	32	3	4	2	1
E. Feliciana	6	20	19	2	5	1	3
Evangeline	7	13	17	2	3	3	3
Franklin	5	5	33	3	4	2	1
Grant	8	8	31	3	3	3	1
Iberia	3	16	15	2	6	3	3
Iberville	6	18	18	2	5	1	1
Jackson	5	2	30	3	4	2	2
Jefferson	2	24	10	1	1	4	* No dist.
Jeff. Davis	7	31	14	2	3	3	2
LaFayette	3	15	15	2	3	3	3
Lafourche	3	17	12	2	6	1	1
LaSalle	8	28	31	3	4	3	1
Lincoln	5	3	28	3	4	2	2
Livingston	6	21	21	2	5	1	3
Madison	5	6	32	3	4	2	1
Morehouse	5	4	29	3	4	2	1
Natchitoches	8	10	24	3	2	3	1
Orleans	see list by ward, next page			1	1	4	* No dist.
Ouachita	5	4	30	3	4	2	1
Plaquemines	1	25	9	1	1	4	* No dist.
Pointe Coupee	6	18	18	2	5	1	1
Rapides	8	9	23	3	3	3	1
Red River	4	10	24	3	2	2	3
Richland	5	5	33	3	4	2	1
Sabine	8	11	34	3	2	3	1
St. Bernard	1	25	9	1	1	4	* No dist.
St. Charles	2	29	10	1	6	4	* No dist.
St. Helena	6	21	21	2	5	1	3

(con't)

ELECTION DISTRICTS (CON'T)

Parishes	Cong. Dist.	Judicial District	Sen. Dist. (State)	Public Service Comm. District	Supreme Ct. Dist.	Court of Appeals Circuit	/ District
St. James	2	23	11	1	6	4	* no dist
St. John	2	29	10	1	6	4	* no dist
St. Landry	7	27	16	2	5	3	3
St. Martin	3	16	15	2	6	3	3
St. Mary	3	16	13	2	6	1	1
St. Tammany	6	22	22	2	5	1	3
Tangipahoa	6	21	21	2	5	1	3
Tensas	5	6	32	3	4	2	1
Terrebonne	3	17	12	2	6	1	1
Union	5	3	28	3	4	2	2
Vermilion	3	15	13	2	6	3	3
Vernon	8	30	34	3	2	3	2
Washington	6	22	22	2	5	1	3
Webster	4	26	26	3	2	2	2
W. Baton Rouge	6	18	18	2	5	1	1
W. Carroll	5	5	29	3	4	2	1
W. Feliciana	6	20	19	2	5	1	3
Winn	8	8	31	3	2	2	2

* on the 4th Court Appeal Circuit, 5 judges elected at large and 1 judge by the electors of the parishes of Jefferson, Plaquemines, St. Bernard, St. Charles, St. James and St. John

Orleans Parish	Congressional District.	Senatorial Dist. (state)
Ward 1	2	1
Ward 2	2	1
Ward 3	1	2
Ward 4	1	3
Ward 5	1	3
Ward 6	1	4
Ward 7	1	4
Ward 8	1	5
Ward 9	1	5
Ward 10	2	6
Ward 11	2	6
Ward 12	2	7
Ward 13	2	7
Ward 14	2	8
Ward 15	1	1
Ward 16	2	8
Ward 17	2	8

The Executive Branch of Louisiana State Government

The Executive Department

The Executive Department of the Louisiana State Government is made up of the following officials: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Registrar of the Land Office, Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration, Commissioner of Conservation, and also the Attorney General and the State Superintendent of Education. Louisiana does not have a state cabinet.

Office of the Governor

The Governor is elected in the general election for a term of four years. He may not become his own immediate successor. The qualifications for Governor are (1) at least 30 years of age, (2) U.S. citizen for at least 10 years, and (3) may hold no office in the U.S. at the time of election.

The Governor has several executive, administrative and judicial powers. His executive and administrative powers include the power of appointment (see chart), budgetary power, power to require written reports from the heads of state agencies, power to sign all commissions of the state, authority as commander-in-chief of the state militia (he may call the militia in order to preserve law and order, to repel invasion and suppress insurrection. He appoints a State Adjutant General, who is the functional head of the militia), the veto power (a two-thirds vote of both houses of the State Legislature is required to pass over the veto), and the givernor also serves ex-officio on such state boards and commissions as the Board of Liquidation of State Debt, State Advisory Board, State Budget Committee, Public Building Authority, Board of Registration R. Board of Voting Machines, Board of Institutions, Board of Highways, Board of Public Welfare, Board of Supervisors for Louisiana State University, etc.

His judicial powers include the right to grant reprieves and pardons. A reprieve, which is a delay in carrying out sentence, may be given for all offences agains the state. A pardon may be granted by the governor upon recog-

mmendation of any two members of the State Pardon Board, which is made up of the Lieutenant Governor, the Attorney General, and the Presiding Judge of the court where the conviction was made. In all such cases, with the exception of impeachment or treason, the governor may grant pardons, commute sentence, and return fines and forfeitures.

Succession to the Governor

The first successor to the Governor is the Lieutenant Governor, followed by the President Pro Tempore of the Senate. Third in succession is the Secretary of State, but he serves only until a President Pro Tempore is elected.

Other Executive Officials

The Lieutenant Governor must have the same qualifications as the Governor, and is elected at the same time for the same four-year term. He is president of the Senate and first successor to the Governor.

The Secretary of State is elected for four years at the state general election. He must be a citizen and qualified voter of the state. He is responsible for all state documents, and for publishing the acts and journals of the Legislature and the State Supreme Court reports.

The Treasurer is also elected for a four-year term at the state general election, and must be a citizen and qualified voter of the state. He is the custodian of state funds.

The Auditor, too, is elected at the state general election for a four-year term. He must be a qualified voter and citizen of the state. He is responsible for checking on compliance with the law in the expenditure of funds by state agencies.

The Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration has the same qualifications as the above officials, and is elected at the same time for the same term. He is responsible for administering the state's agricultural programs.

The Registrar of the State Land Office, who has the same qualifications as the above, and is elected at the same time, keeps records of stat e lands and administers their sales.

The Commissioner of Conservation is the only appointed officer in the Executive Department. He is responsible for administration of all laws regarding conservation of natural resources.

Executive Agencies

The Executive Counsel to the Governor is appointed by the governor and is the governor's chief advisor. He must be a qualifed elector and a licensed attorney of the state.

The Division of Administration is headed by a commissioner who is appointed by the Governor. It is concerned with financial management, fiscal planning, purchasing and property control, etc. This agency prepares the executive budget.

The Budget Office carries out the budget functions under the Supervisor of Public Funds, who is appointed by the Governor. They check state and local tax collection and spending agencies.

The Governor also has a Division of Administration Services and a secretary and secretarial staff.

Removal of Executive Officers

There are three constitutionally established methods of removing executive officers from their positions.

The first method is impeachment. Impeachment proceedings originated in the House of Representatives. The Senate tries impeachment cases, with two-thirds of its elected members required to convict. If the Governor is tried, a Supreme Court justice must preside over the Senate. Accepted reasons for impeachment are high crimes and misdemeanors in office, incompetency, corruption, favoritism, extortion, oppression in office, gross misconduct, or habitual drunkenness.

A second method of removal is by address to the Legislature. Upon reasonable cause, whether sufficient for impeachment or not, the holder of any office except that of Governor or acting Governor may be removed by two-thirds vote of each house. The causes for removal must be stated in the address and published in the journals of both houses.

Finally, any officer except the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or a judge of a court of record may be removed by judgment of the district court of his domicile. The

charge must be one that is qualified for impeachment. Such suits may be instituted by the Attorney-General or the District Attorney, who must institute such a suit when given a written request, specifying the charges, by twenty-five citizens and taxpayers, or the Governor (in the case of state, district, parish or municipal officers), or ten citizens in the case of ward officers.

Governing Authorities of State Administrative Agencies.

Elected Agencies

1. Governor
2. Lieutenant Governor
3. Secretary of State
4. State Treasurer
5. Attorney General
6. Auditor
7. Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration
8. Register of State Land Office
9. State Superintendent of Public Education
10. Louisiana State Board of Education
11. Louisiana Public Service Commission

Ex Officied Agencies

1. State Chemist
2. Surveyor General
3. Anatomical Board
4. Louisiana Art Commission
5. Budget Appeals Commission
6. State Budget Committee
7. State Insurance Board
8. Board of Liquidation of State Debt
9. Board of Pardons
10. Public Buildings Board
11. Board of Registration
12. Police Retirement Board
13. Seed Commission
14. State Soil Conservation Committee
15. Stream Control Commission
16. Commission on Weights and Measures
17. Louisiana Commission on Interstate Cooperation
18. Board for Voting Machines
19. Louisiana State Building Authority
20. State Archives and Records Commission

Appointed by Governor with Consent of Senate

1. Adjutant General
2. State Bank Commissioner
3. Commissioner of Conservation
4. Director of Occupational Standards
5. Director of Public Safety
6. Director of Public Works
7. Labor Mediation Board
8. Board of Commissioners of Louisiana State Library
9. Board of River Port Pilot Commissioners for Port of New Orleans
10. Louisiana State Board of Health
11. Louisiana Tax Commission
12. Commissioner of Insurance

Appointed by the Governor

1. Executive Counsel to the Governor
2. Fire Marshall
3. Commissioner of Labor
4. Collector of Revenue
5. Board of Commerce and Industry
6. State Examiner of Municipal Fire and Police Civil Service
7. State Livestock Inspector
8. State Board of Architectural Examiners
9. State Athletic Commission
10. Board of Barber Examiners
11. Board of Commissioners of Camp Moore Confererate Cemetary
12. State Board of Censors
13. Board of Certified Public Accountants of La.
14. Board of Administrators of Confederate Memorial Medical Center
15. State Advisory Council of Unemployment Compensation
16. State Board of Osteopaths
17. Board of Parole
18. Board of Pharmacy
19. Board of Commissioners and Examiners of River Port Pilots
20. Board of Examiners of Bar Pilots for Port of New Orleans.
21. Board of Public Works
22. Louisiana State Racing Commission
23. Louisiana Real Estate Board
24. Louisiana Sweet Potato Advertising and Development Comm.
25. Board of Tax Appeals
26. Board of Trustees of T.H. Harris Scholarship Fund
27. State Board of Trade Relations
28. Board of Examiners in Watchmaking

(CONT'D)

Appointed by the Governor Under Other Conditions, Cont'd

28. Civil Defense Advisory Committee
29. Bd. of Control of Cosmetic Therapy
30. La. Forestry Commission
31. Bd. of Trustees for Homes for Aged, Indigent and Infirm
32. La. Horticultural Commission
33. La. Insurance Rating Commission
34. State Board of Examiners of Journeymen Plumbers
35. Livestock Sanitary Board
36. State Market Commission
37. State Mineral Board
38. State Parks Commission
39. Pest Control Commission
40. Spanish Lake Game and Fish Commission
41. Livestock Brand Commission
42. Governor's Committee on Interstate Cooperation
43. Greater Ouachita Port Commission

Miscellaneous Methods of Selection

1. Board of Trustees of Sheriff's Pension and Relief Fund
2. State Advisory Board
3. Board of Trustees of Teacher's Retirement System of La.
4. Board of Trustees of the La. State School Lunch Employee's Retirement System
5. Bd. of Trustees of La. School Employees Retirement System
6. Court House Commission in New Orleans
7. Gulf States Marine Fisheries
8. Council of the Law Stat. Law Institute
9. Bd. of Trustees of La. State Employees Retirement System
10. State Warehouse Commission
11. State Board of Library Examiners
12. La. Security Commission
13. Bd. of Examiners of Chiropodists
14. Bd. of Trustees of the Parochial Employee's Retirement System
15. Iatt Lake Water Conservation District Commission
16. Greater Krotz Springs Port Commission

Appointed by the Governor, Cont'd

29. Anacoco State Game and Fish Commission
30. Northwest La. Game and Fish Preserve Comm.
31. St. Martin-Lafayette Game and Fish Comm.
32. La. Youth Commission
33. Bayou Bonne Idee Game and Fish Comm.
34. Catahoula Lake Game and Fish Comm.
35. Wildlife and Fisheries Commission
36. Supervisor of Public Funds
37. Bd. of Control of Alcoholic Bev.
38. State Hospital Board
39. Director of Dept. of Hospitals
40. Orleans Parish Landmarks Commission
41. Licensing Board for Contractors
42. Commission on the Aging
43. Bayou D'Arbonne Lake Watershed District Comm.
44. Comissioner of Admin.
45. Bundicks Game and Fish Comm.
46. Hickory and Beckwith Creeks Game and Fish Comm.

Appointed by Governor Under Other Conditions

(Some of these agency heads are appointed by the Governor from lists of recommendations submitted in accordance with law; others are partly appointive by the Governor under varying circumstances).

1. Director of Civil Defense
2. Service Commissioner for United Spanish War Veterans
3. La. State Board of Dentistry
4. La. State Board of Embalmers
5. La. State Board of Homeopathic Medical Examiners
6. La. State Board of Medical Examiners
7. La. State Board of Nurse Examiners
8. Old State Capitol Memorial Commission
9. La. State Board of Optometry Examiners
10. Board of Commissioners of Port of New Orleans
11. State Board of Practical Nurse Examiners
12. State Board of Registration for Professional Engineers and Land Surveyors
13. Veteran's Affairs Commission
14. State Board of Veterinary Medical Examiners
15. Civil Service Commission
16. Greater Baton Rouge Port Commission
17. State Board of Instituions (Governor also serves as ex officio member)
18. Board of Highways (Gov. ex officio)
19. State Board of Public Welfare (Gov. etc.)
20. Public Employee's Board
21. Bedding Advisory Board
22. Board of Administrators of Charity Hospital of N.O.
23. Board of Supervisors of LSU and Agricultural and Mechanical College (Gov., etc.)
24. Board of Curators of La. State Museum
25. Liquefied Petroleum Gas Commission
26. Anhydrous Ammonia Commission
27. State Bond and Tax Board

Appointed by the Governor, Cont'd

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30. Northwest La. Game and Fish Preserve Comm.
31. St. Martin-Lafayette Game and Fish Comm.
32. La. Youth Commission
33. Bayou Bonne Idee Game and Fish Comm.
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The Louisiana Legislature

The House of Representatives

The House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature has 101 members, at least one from every parish and from every ward in Orleans Parish. Orleans has 17 wards, some of which have two or more representatives. All representatives are elected for terms of four years. The qualifications for a member of the House are that he is a citizen of Louisiana for five years, and a resident of a parish in the district (or of the ward in Orleans) for two years. Regular sessions begin on the 2nd Monday of May.

The legislative Districts of the House of Representatives are as follows: Caddo (4 representatives), Rapides (3), St. Landry (3), Acadia (2), Avoyelles (2), Calcasieu (2), East Baton Rouge (2), Jefferson (2), Lafayette (2), Lafourche (2), Natchitoches (2), Ouachita (2), St. Mary (2), Tangipahoa (2), and wards 3, 7, 11 in New Orleans, (2 representatives each). All others have one (1) representative each.

The Senate

The Senate of the Louisiana Legislature consists of 39 members from 35 districts who serve for four years. In order to qualify for the State Senate, a candidate must be at least 25 years old, be a citizen of Louisiana for five years, and a resident of the senatorial district for two years. The regular session of the senate, like the House, begins on the 2nd Monday of May.

The following is a list of the legislative districts of the Senate:

District 1: Wards 1, 2, and 15 of Orleans (1 senator)
District 2: Wards 3 of Orleans (1)
District 3: Wards 4 and 5 of Orleans (1)
District 4: Wards 6 and 7 or Orleans (1)
District 5: Wards 8 and 9 of Orleans (1)
District 6: Wards 10 and 11 of Orleans (1)
District 7: Wards 12 and 13 of Orleans (1)
District 8: Wards 14, 16 and 17 of Orleans (1)
District 9: St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes (1)
District 10: Jefferson, St. Charles and St. John Parishes (1)
District 11: St. James and Ascension Parishes (1)
District 12: Terrebonne, Lafourche and Assumption Parishes (1)
District 13: St. Mary and Vermilion Parishes (1)

District 14: Calcasieu, Allen, Jefferson Davis, Cameron and Beauregard Parishes (1)
District 15: St. Martin, Iberia and LaFayette Parishes (2)
District 16: St. Landry Parish (1)
District 17: Avoyelles, Evangeline Parishes (1)
District 18: Pointe Coupee, Iberville and West Baton Rouge Parishes (1)
District 19: East Feliciana and West Feliciana (1)
District 20: East Baton Rouge (1)
District 21: St. Helena, Livingston and Tangipahoa Parihses (1)
District 22: Washington, and St. Tammany Parishes (1)
District 23: Rapides Parish (1)
District 24: Natchitoches and Red River Parishes (1)
District 25: Caddo and DeSoto Parishes (2)
District 26: Webster and Bossier Parishes (1)
District 27: Bienville and Claiborne (1)
District 28: Union and Lincoln Parishes (1)
District 29: Morehouse and West Carroll Parishes (1)
District 30: Ouachita and Jackson Parishes (1)
District 31: Winn, Caldwell, LaSalle and Grant Parishes (1)
District 32: East Carroll, Madison, Tensas and Concordia Parishes (2)
(1 from E. Carroll or Madison, other from Tensas or Concordia, but both elected at large over 4 parishes)
District 33: Richland, Franklin and Catahoula Parishes (1)
District 34: Sabine and Vernon Parishes (1)
District 35: Acadia Parish (1)

The Louisiana Judiciary

Organization and Jurisdiction of the Louisiana Judiciary

Justice of the Peace Courts - Parishes, except Orleans, are divided into Justice of the Peace Wards. The voters of these wards select the Justice of the Peace for a four year term at the state general election. A justice of the peace must be of good moral character, a property owner, a qualified elector, and able to read and write the English language. These courts have limited jurisdiction. In civil cases they are limited to disputes involving less than $100. They cannot handle cases in which the state, parish, municipality or any other political corporation is the defendent. This court is mainly concerned with such things as collections of accounts and dispossession of tenants. In criminal cases, it may order a person to be held in custody, or may set bail or bond.

Mayor's Courts - Cities, towns and villages of less than 5,000 population have Mayor's Courts. The mayors of such towns sit in judgment on charges of violation of municipal ordinances.

City Courts - In cities over 5,000 and in parish seats, the legislature can establist City Courts instead of Justice of the Peace Courts. The judges are elected at the congressional general election for six years. New Orleans has three city courts - the First City Court of the City of New Orleans, the Second City Court in the City of New Orleans, and the Municipal Court of New Orleans. They contain ~~six~~ 3, 1 and 4 judges, respectively, who are elected from their areas of jurisdiction in the first two courts and by the parish ~~at large~~ for the third. The Municipal Court is limited to the trial of offenses against the city ordinances of New Orleans. The jurisdiction of the City Courts is similiar to the Justice of the Peace Court, but in cities of more than 10,000 it may handle disputes involving more money. In criminal cases it can handle cases not punishable by hard labor and may hold preliminary examinations for cases not punishable by capitol punishment. It also covers violations of municipal or parish ordinences, and may issue peace bonds.

The New Orleans City Courts are given additional jurisdiction in suits involving up to $1,000. except in certain cases of divorce, real estate, etc.

Juvenile Courts - Except for the Parishes of Caddo, Orleans and Baton Rouge, the juvenile courts in the parishes of Louisiana are presided over by the judges of the District Courts, who serve as ex officio juvenile court judges. In Orleans and Caddo there are separate juvenile courts, while East Baton Rouge has a Family Court. This is the court of the first instance for persons under 17 years old, except for capitol crimes and rape by children over 15. It also covers adults contributing to the delinquincy of a child under 17, and dessertion or non-support. In Baton Rouge, Family Court has additional jurisdiction concerning divorce.

District Courts - The state is divided into 31 judicial districts, each of which makes-up the area of jurisdiction of a District Court. In addition, Orleans Parish has a special judicial arrangement, which is discussed below. One or more judges is elected from each of these thirty-one districts at the Congressional General Election. The term is six years. A district judge must have practiced law for five years in Louisiana, and have been a resident of his district for two years. The legislature is permitted to rearrange the judicial districts an, by a two-thirds vote of each house, it can increase or decrease the number of judges in each district. The courts sit for ten months each year in all the parishes except Orleans, where they sit for 9½ months. Where there is more than one parish in a district, the judge sits alternately in each one, according to the pressure of business. In New Orleans, there are two district courts, the Civil District Court for the Parish of Orleans, and the Criminal District Court for the Parish of Orleans. These courts are each composed of eight judges who sit in single judge divisions. The judges must meet the qualifications for other district judges, and are elected for 12 years. The District Court is the general trial court in Louisiana. These courts have concurrent jurisdiction in civil matters with Justice of the Peace Courts in matters concerning $100. or less; but has original jurisdiction in cases involving larger amounts. It has original jurisdiction in cases involving title to real estate, right to office, probate and succession cases, cases in which civil or political rights are involved, and most cases in which a governmental unit is the defendent. It has unlimited and exclusive original jurisdiction in all criminal

cases. Practically all criminal cases are heard at this level and go no further. Persons fined or sentanced to jail by mayors or city courts are entitled to appeal to the District Court of the parish in which the sentence was passed if they give security for the fine and court costs. The Civil and Criminal District Courts of Orleans, have, in general, the same civil and criminal jurisdiction respectively as the other District Courts have in combination.

Court of Appeal - There are three Courts of Appeal in the state, each of which contains three judges. They are chosen at the Congressional general election for 12-year rotating terms. The state is divided into three circuits for coverage by these courts, and each of the first two circuits is divided into three districts from each of which a single judge is elected. The third Court of Appeal is designated as the Court of Appeal of Orleans Parish, although it also covers St. James, St. John, St. Charles, Jefferson, Plaquemines and St. Bernard Parishes. The judges are elected at large by these parishes. Qualifications for a judge in the court of appeals are U.S. citizen, qualified voter in Louisiana, lawyer with six years experience in practice in Louisiana, and a two-year resident of the district from which elected. These courts are located in Baton Rouge, Shreveport and New Orleans respectively, although in the first two cases the courts are required to sit in certain other cities within their circuits at least twice a year. The courts sit from October until June each year. A concorrence of two judges is required to make a judgement. These courts have appellate jurisdiction, and handle no original cases. They hear all allowable appeals from the District Court that do not go to the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court - The Louisiana Supreme Court is composed of a chief justice and six associate justices. They are chosen at the congressional general election and serve for 14 years. The state is divided into six Supreme Court districts for election purposes, and the justices are elected for rotating terms, one Supreme Court Judge's term expiring every two years. A Candidate for the Supreme Court must be a citizen of the United States, a qualified voter in Louisiana, at least 35 years old,

have ten years of law practice in Louisiana, and have been a resident of the district from which he is elected for two years. The Supreme Court sits in session in New Orleans from October to June of each year. The justice who has been in the court the longest, automatically becomes the chief justice. The Supreme Court has general supervision over the entire court system of the state. It can require the lower courts to make reports on their work, it can investigate their activities, and it can assign judges from one court to another. The Supreme Court is the final court of appeals for cases that do not involve a federal question. They have original jurisdiction on cases involving misconduct of members of the bar and removal of judges of courts or record.

Removal of Judges

A judge or Justice may be impeached for the same reasons listed for impeachment in the section on the Executive branch of Louisiana government.

A Supreme Court Justice may be impeached by trial by full court composed of seven judges of the Supreme Court, plus judges from the Court of Appeals, from which an agreement of four judges is necessary to convict. The suit is filed by the Attorney General on written request, accompanied by specific charges, of 100 citizens and taxpayers, 25 lawyers, or two Supreme Court Justices.

The impeachment procedure for judges of any lower court in the state is the same, except the request must come from 25 citizens and taxpayers or one-half of the practicing attorneys in the district.

Justice Department

The Louisiana Department of Justice is composed of the Attorney General, first and second assistantx attorneys general, and other necessary assistants and office staff.

Attorney General - the Attorney General is the chief legal officer of the state. He and his assistants have charge of all legal matters in which the state has an interest or in which the state is a party. He may prosecute for the state, or he may

intervene in cases which involve the rights or interests of the State. He also has supervisory authority over the District Attorneys for the State before the District Courts. The Attorney General issues a number of written legal opinions which appear in a volume entitled Opinions of the Attorney General. These opinions clarify points of law and are generally regarded as binding until the court has specifically dealt with the matter in question.

The Attorney General is elected for a four year term at the State General Election. He appoints his assistants. Both he and his assistants must have resided and practiced law in the State for at least five years.

District Attorney - Each judicial district of the State has a District Attorney who handles the prosecution of offences on behalf of the State in his district. The District Attorney is elected for a six year term at the congressional general election, and must be a resident and qualified voter in the district, and must have had three years law practice in the state. In some parishes he may appoint assistants. The District Attorney and his assistants are subject to removal fromoffice if they defend or assist in the defense of any criminal prosecution or charge involving the violation of an ordinance or law in the State.

Clerk of the District Court - Every parish except Orleans has its own Clerk of the District Court, who is elected for a four year term at the state general election, and who appoints his own staff. They record i portant records and handle many clerical tasks of the court.

In New Orleans the Criminal District Court and Civil District Court each has its own elected clerk and appointed clerical staff, as well as a register of conveyances and a recorder of mortgages, who are elected for four year terms.

The Courts of Appeals and the Supreme Court elect their own clerks.

Other officials, involved mostly in executing the order of the court in such matters as delivering court orders, arresting and committing individuals, etc. are the sheriff (for District Courts); constables (Justice of the Peace Courts); town or city marshalls (Mayor and City courts) - with exceptions of New Orleans and Baton Rouge City Courts, which have constables.

Jury System

Juries may be divided into two fundamental types -- the grand, or indictment jury and the petit or trial jury. The two are selected by essentially the same process. In all parishes except Orleans (where the Governor appoints a three-man jury commission) the district judge appoints five men who, together with the clerk of the court serving ex officio, become the parish jury commission. This commission is responsible for preparing a list of eligible jurors. In Louisiana, women are not compelled to jury service, and must file a written request with the clerk in order to get on the list. From the list of eligibles, a new grand jury is drawn twice a year in each parish except Cameron, where it is constituted for a full year. In the case of a petit jury, new members are selected each week of the session because service on this type of jury is a full time affair.

Grand Jury - composed of twelve members, nine of which constitute a quorum. This jury does not decide the guilt or innocence of persons charged with crimes; its purpose is to hold preliminary hearings on cases and to decide whether or not there are sufficient grounds to warrant a trial. In Louisiana, indictment of presentment by grand jury is guaranteed an accused person only if the crime is one in which capital punishment is a possible penalty. For all crimes not capital, indictment may be made on a bill of information drawn up by the District Attorney, or in some minor cases, by affidavit. A grand jury is also an investigative body, particularly in alleged cases of political corruption.

Petit Jury - this is the trial jury. In criminal cases they render decisions of guilt or innocence. Trial by jury is guaranteed in any case in which a felony rather than a misdemeanor charge is levied. If the crime is one in which the death penalty may be imposed, the jury is made up of twelve members, all who must agree to render a verdict. In cases punishable by hard labor, only nine out of the twelve must agree. In minor cases a jury of five is used, and all must agree. However, the defendent can waive his right to a jury in this case, and leave the decision to the judge alone. In the rare instance of the use of a jury in civil cases, the membership is twelve, nine of whom must agree in the decision.

Administration

Louisiana Civil Service Commission

This Commission is composed of five members who are citizens and qualified voters of the State. They are appointed by the Governor for six years rotating terms in the following manner: The Presidents of Louisiana State University, Loyola University, Tulane University, Centenary College and Louisiana College each nominate three persons, and the Governor appoints a single member of the Commission from each of these five nomination lists. In the event of a vacancy, the college or university president who nominated the member whose place is being filled is responsible for submitting new nominations within thirty days, otherwise the position will be filled by majority vote of the Commission. The Commission appoints a Director of Personnal who is the administrative head of the Department of State Civil Service. The Director may be appointed with or without an examination, but once appointed he is a classified civil servant, removable only on cause and after being given an opportunity to have a hearing.

The Louisiana Public Service Commission

This Commission regulates transportation and utility companies. It is made up of three members, popularly elected from three Public Service Commission Districts for six years rotating terms, at the congressional general election. They must be qualified voters and are forbidden employment or interest in any common carrier or public utility company under the Commission's control. The commission makes rules governing the utilities and holds hearings. Their powers extend to the supervision and control of rail carriers, water transportation, telephone, telegraph, gas, electric lights, heat and power, water works, etc.

Public Education - On the state level, the governing body of the educational system is the State Board of Education. It is composed of eleven elective members, who serve rotating terms. Eight of these members are elected for eight year terms at the congressional general election from districts corresponding to the U.S. congressional districts, and the other three are elected for six year terms from

districts corresponding to the Public Service Commission Districts. The Board meets on or before the first Monday in December of each year and at other times on the call of the president. The Board is a policy-making body insofar as the educational system is concerned. It prescribes standard courses of instruction for the public schools. It formulates rules governing the school system, submits the budget for education to the legislature, prescribes the courses to be given in teacher training programs, certifies teachers, approves textbooks, and generally oversees the administration of the free text-book law. The only public educational institution not governed by the State Board is Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, which has its own separate Board of Supervisors.

The State Superintendent of Education is the day to day administrator of the state educational program. He is elected for a four year term at the state general election.

Public Welfare:

The administration of the various phases of public welfare in Louisiana is in the hands of the State Board of Welfare. It is composed of nine members, including the Governor who serves ex officio. The other eight members are appointed by the Governor on the basis of one member from each of the eight congressional districts, for six year overlapping terms. The appointments are made from nominations which are made in an unusual manner: names may be submitted, along with a ~~brief~~ biographical sketch of 200 words or less, by all non-profit groups and organizations which are domiciled in Louisiana and have a constitution, by-laws or a charter recorded by the Secretary of State. Interested citizens may also submit names, but no more than five names may be placed on the panal of nominees by any organization or person. Within thirty days after a vacancy occurs, the Board nominates and certifies to the Governor seven members of the panel, who must be from the same congressional district as the person being replaced. From this list of seven the Governor appoints the new member. Any member of the Board who has served for four years is ineligible for reappointment and Board members (except Governor) cannot

hold other office. The Board meets once a month.

The Board appoints the Commissioner of Public Welfare who is head of the department. Many of the actual functions of the program are carried out by the parish welfare departments, each of which has its own parish board and local director; but these units are under the supervision and subject to policy control of the state organization, so that the welfare fundtion is centralized.

Public assistance is rendered in five classes of cases in Louisiana: (1) old age assistance, (2) aid to dependent children, (3) disability assistance (4) general assistance and (5) aid to the needy blind.

Louisiana Parish (County) Government

Police Juries

The Police Jury is the main governing body of all of the parishes of Louisiana except Orleans, East Baton Rouge, Jefferson and Plaquemines. Each parish is divided into five to twelve jury wards, each of which elects a police juror at tha state general election for a four year term. In parishes with more than 50,000 inhabitants, each ward elects an additional police juror for each 10,000 inhabitants or part thereof over 7,500. In parishes with fewer than 50, 00 inhabitants, ank additional police juror is elected in a ward for each 5,000 inhabitants or part thereof over 2,500.

In order to qualify as a police juror, a candidate (or his wife) must own property of an assessed valuation of $250. at the time of his election, but need not maintain it after taking office. He must be a citizen of the state for five years, and a resident for two years. He must live in the ward from which he is elected, and if he moves out of the ward, he vacates the office. He must be literate and have no convictions for felony.

The Police Jury is responsible for the appointment (and removal) of several parish officials, including the Registrar o Voters. It does not, however, govern the sheriff. The police jury can redistrictxthe police jury wards. It makes

regulations for building and repairing of roads, bridges, levees, etc. It is also required to provide for the support of the sick and disabled paupers including drug addicts within the parish.

Other Forms of Parish Government

New Orleans has consolidated its city and parish government. The governing body of Orleans parish and the city of New Orleans, which are synonymous, is composed of a mayor and commission council (see municipal government). There is no police jury.

The governing body of East Baton Rouge parish is a nine-man council, seven of whom are elected from the urban area of Baton Rouge and the other two from two single-member districts into which the portion of the parish outside of Baton Rouge is divided. The seven members who are elected at large by the city act as a city council for the consideration of only city business, and all nine act as a city-parish council on matters affecting the whole parish. Two other incorporated areas - Zachary and Baker - still function in the parish. A separtely elected Mayor-President is the executive officer of the city-parish, with responsibility for appointing department heads and for general supervision of the city's administration. The police jury has been abolished.

Other Parish Officers

The Sheriff is elected in the state general election for a four year term. He serves as the chief law enforcement officer and as ex officio tax collector of the parish. It is the duty of the sheriff to enforce the laws, maintain peace and order, keep the jail, and act as an officer of the district court in preserving order and executing the court's writs. He collects state, parish, and if a city desires it, municipal property taxes. He appoints his own deputies.

The Clerk of the District Court is the recorder of court proceedings and the custodian of the records of the court and other important parish records. He is elected for a four-year term at the state general election.

The Assessor is also elected at the state general election for four years. He assesses the value of property for the purpose of taxation.

The Coroner is elected for a four year term at the state general election. He should be a qualified physician. He is responsible for investigating cases of death where the causes are unknown. He acts as sheriff when there is a vacancy in that office, or when the sheriff is an interested party in a case. He may also be appointed parish health officer by the police jury.

Other Functions of the Parish Government

Education - The Parish School Board is in charge of administration of the schools on a parish level, and is independent of the other local governmental operations. Each School Board (except Orleans and East Baton Rouge) is composed of as many embers as there are police jury wards at the congressional general election. Orleans parish elects five Board members at large, and East Baton Rouge elects seven at large. The Board prepares the budget, levies school taxes on property xxxxxx within the legal limits provided for this purpose, selects teachers, determines the number of schools and their locations, and appoints a Parish Superintendant of Education, who is the chief administrator of the policies of the board and serves for a four year term.

Welfare - Public Welfare policy is determined to the most part at the state level. Welfare employees are all appointed by the state agency (under civil service) and financial and program aspects are handled by the state. However, the police jury appoints, from a list certified by the State Department of Welfare, a five-member parish welfare board to act in an advisory capacity to the state-selected parish welfare director.

Public Health - The state public health program is financed by federal, state and local funds. Parish health units may be established xxxxxxxxxx by contract with the State Health Department and two or more parishes may join together to form a single health district. The director of a parish health unit, who is a qualified physician, is appointed by the State Department with the approval of the police jury, and the parish district board is selected by the police jury or other governing authority concerned.

The health units are responsible for enforcing the regulations of the state and parish boards, for making certain types of inspection, giving some physical examinations, innoculating against contagious diseases, and assisting with the school health program.

Libraries - Many of the parishes have established their own local libraries in cooperation with the State Library. The State promotes this program by underwriting most of the costs for the first year of operation and by continuing to supply books on loan from the circulating collection of the central library. The long term cost of a parish library must be borne by the local taxpayers, who vote a special assessment on themselves for this purpose. The police jury appoints a five member board of control to overssee the general administration of the library. The board in turn appoints a head librarian from a list of nominees certified by the state library examiner.

Agriculture - Another program which is a cooperative intergovernmental program involving state, federal, and local governments is the agricultural programs. This form of assistance is handled centrally through the Agricultural Extension Service of federal land grant Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges. In Louisiana, the responsible institution is Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College. A County Agency (who is a member of the University faculty) is appointed for each parish, along with such assistants as may be needed, including home demonstration agents. The expenses of the program are met out of the revenues of the three participating governments. The program is primarily educational.

to be added: Municipal Government

incorporation

CORE Southern Office
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

May 20, 1965

Miss Oretha Castle
103 North 10th Street
Monroe, Louisiana

Dear Oretha:

Here is the information I've been able to find on incorporation of municipalities in Louisiana, as per our conversation yesterday.

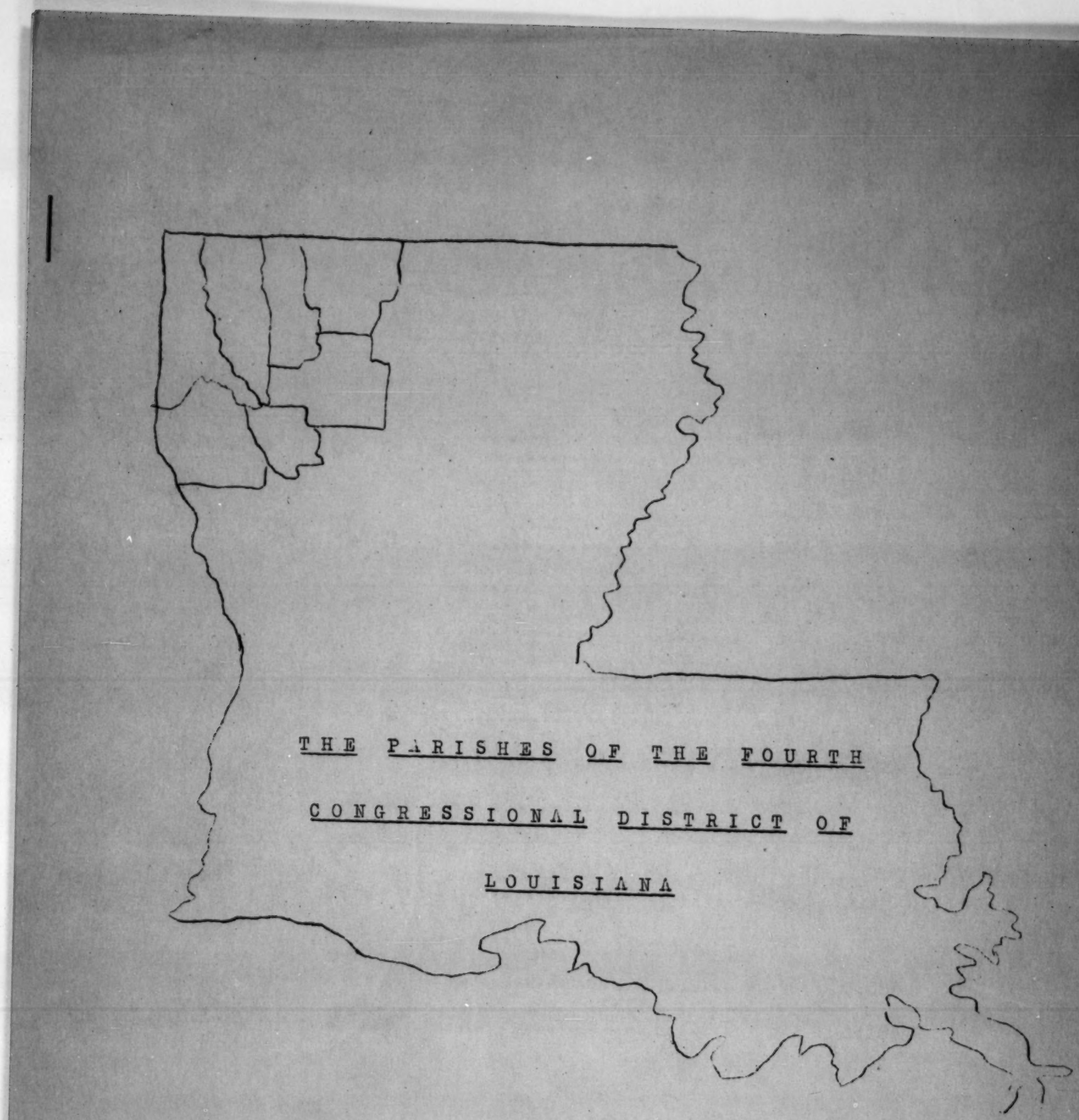
A minimum population of 150 is necessary. The initial step is a petition signed by two-thirds of the potential city's qualified electors, containing the boundary, population and suggested name of the municipality. The petition must have been published in full in a newspaper in the area or posted in three conspicuous places for three weeks prior to submission to the Governor. If the legal requirements are met, the Governor then issues a proclamation incorporating the area, and appoints temporary officers to xxxxx serve until the first municipal election.

Municipalities have been divided by state law into three classes on the basis of population: villages, where the population of the incorporated areas are less than 1000; towns, where the populations are more than 1000 but less than 5000, and cities where the population is over 5000. However, the classification does not automatically change with change in population.

Is this what you wanted?

Freedom,

Judi Nusbaum
Research/Federal Programs



THE PARISHES OF THE FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF LOUISIANA

CORE Southern Office/Research
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

May, 1965

BIENVILLE PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	8,470	8,255	1
POPULATION BY WARDS ...			
WARD 1	1,866	1,902	-
WARD 2	1,257	1,830	-
WARD 3	521	471	-
WARD 4	2,412	2,208	1
WARD 5	1,235	427	-
WARD 6	535	1,029	-
WARD 7	644	388	-
POPULATION FOR TOWNS OVER 1,00			
ARCADIA	1,380	1,380	-
GIBSLAND	591	599	-
RURAL POPULATION	7,090	7,088	1
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	699	1,186	-

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 49.4 %

BOSSIER PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	43,276	14,241	105
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	5,247	1,711	10
WARD 2	31,803	5,711	82
WARD 3	1,969	2,860	2
WARD 4	781	418	-
WARD 5	521	799	1
WARD 6	2,955	2,739	10
POPULATION OF TOWNS OVER 1,000			
BENTON	1,058	278	-
BOSSIER CITY	29,116	3,601	59
PLAIN DEALING	954	401	2
RURAL POPULATION	9,346	10,252	19
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	849	1,469	4

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITES ..... 24.9 %

E	NEGRO	OTHER
76	14,241	105
7	1,711	10
3	5,711	82
9	2,860	2
1	418	-
1	799	1
5	2,739	10
8	278	-
6	3,601	59
	401	2
	10,252	19
9	1,469	4
...	24.9 %	

CADDO PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGROES	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	142,203	81,486	170
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	903	2,886	30
WARD 2	6,900	1,106	3
WARD 3	7,115	6,589	2
WARD 4	116,619	61,984	123
WARD 5	4,109	4,109	8
WARD 6	745	745	-
WARD 7	8,520	8,520	4
WARD 8	1,280	1,280	-
WARD 9	2,024	2,024	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
OIL CITY	1,142	287	1
SHREVEPORT	185,479	95,727	275
VIVIAN	2,462	551	-
RURAL POPULATION	26,920	15,994	42
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,182	3,214	57

PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE 36.5%

CLAIBORNE PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	9,646	9,755	6
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	512	631	-
WARD 2	538	543	-
WARD 3	3,269	1,844	2
WARD 4	386	610	1
WARD 5	658	761	-
WARD 6	611	415	1
WARD 7	3,039	3,801	1
WARD 8	477	875	-
WARD 9	156	275	1
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
HOMER	2,461	2,203	1
HAYNESVILLE	2,176	855	-
RURAL POPULATION	5,009	6,697	5
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,151	1,833	-
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE	50.3 %		

DESOTO PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
	9,646	9,755	6
	512	631	-
	538	543	-
	3,269	1,844	2
	386	610	1
	658	761	-
	611	415	1
	3,039	3,801	1
	477	875	-
	156	275	1
	2,461	2,203	1
	2,176	855	-
	5,009	6,697	5
	1,151	1,833	-
		50.3 %	

POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	10,294	13,949	5
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	599	952	-
WARD 2	730	2,059	-
WARD 3	916	1,004	-
WARD 4	4,447	5,102	2
WARD 5	579	1,138	-
WARD 6	424	1,519	2
WARD 7	666	1,107	-
WARD 8	1,933	1,032	1
POPULATION OF TOWNS OVER 1,000			
LOGANS PORT	928	442	1
MANSFIELD	3,199	2,639	1
RURAL POPULATION	7,095	11,310	4
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,404	2,276	8

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 57.5 %

RED RIVER PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	5,232	4,746	-
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	2,798	1,575	-
Ward 2	531	110	-
Ward 3	986	397	-
Ward 4	105	858	-
Ward 5	149	580	-
Ward 6	264	811	-
Ward 7	300	213	-
Ward 8	99	2-2	-
POPULATION OF TOWNS OVER 1,000			
COUSHATTA	1,181	482	-
RURAL POPULATION	5,232	4,746	-
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	938	690	-

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE 47.6%

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RES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
. .	5,232	4,746	-
. . .	2,798	1,575	-
. . .	531	110	-
. . .	986	397	-
. . .	105	858	-
. . .	149	580	-
. . .	264	811	-
. . .	300	213	-
. .	99	2-2	-
.	1,181	482	-
.	5,232	4,746	-
.	938	690	-

. . . . . 47.6%

WEBSTER PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	26,006	13,677	18
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	1,448	851	-
Ward 2	11,462	3,218	-
Ward 3	2,595	1,557	9
Ward 4	9,477	6,946	8
Ward 5	1,024	1,105	1
POPULATION OF TOWNS OVER 1,000			
COTTON VALEY	865	280	-
CULLEN	1,044	1,150	-
COYLINE	828	233	-
MINDEN	7,172	5,605	8
SPRINGHILL	5,427	1,010	-
RURAL POPULATION	13,407	7,062	10
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,563	659	-

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE . . . . . 34.5 %

VOTING POTENTIAL

(21 YEARS AND OVER)

	WHITE	NEGRO
BIENVILLE	5,617	4,077
BOSSIER	23,696	6,847
CADDO	87,774	41,749
CLAIBORNE	6,415	5,032
DESOTO	5,543	6,753
RED RIVER	3,294	2,181
WEBSTER	15,713	7,045

VOTER REGISTRATION
(February, 1965)

	WHITE	NEGRO
BIENVILLE	4,985	590
BOSSIER	14,988	588
CADDO	62,429	4,969
CLAIBORNE	5,526	566
DESOTO	5,841	853
RED RIVER	3,518	99
WEBSTER	12,034	850

Parish

BIENVILLE
BOSSIER
CADDO
CLAIBORNE
DESOTO
RED RIVER
WEBSTER

EMP

Parish

BIENVILLE
BOSSIER
CADDO
CLAIBORNE
DESOTO
RED RIVER
WEBSTER

WHITE	NEGRO
5,617	4,077
23,696	6,847
87,774	41,749
6,415	5,032
5,543	6,753
3,294	2,181
15,713	7,045

WHITE	NEGRO
4,985	590
4,988	588
2,429	4,969
5,526	566
5,841	853
3,518	99
2,034	850

EDUCATION, NON-WHITE POPULATION

Parish	Completed Elementary School	COmpleted High School	Completed College	Median School Years Completed
BIENVILLE	212	119	88	5.6
BOSSIER	442	343	111	5.1
CADDO	3,565	2,715	986	6.5
CIAIBORNE	372	182	122	5.7
DESOTO	394	169	148	4.8
RED RIVER	127	60	28	4.2
WEBSTER	567	244	211	5.7

EMP EMPLOYMENT STATUS, NON-WHITE POPULATION

Parish	Male Labor Force Total	Male Labor Force Unemployed	Female Labor Force Total	Female Labor Force Unemployed
BIENVILLE	1,395	81	641	27
BOSSIER	2,649	192	1,645	150
CADDO	15,260	1,260	13,320	862
CLAIBORNE	1,751	130	1,025	41
DESOTO	2,401	180	1,168	88
RED RIVER	827	73	394	17
WEBSTER	2,612	215	1,785	207

FAMILY INCOME NON-WHITE POPULATION

	BIENVILLE	BOSSIER	CADDO	CLAIBORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
Total Number of Families	1,707	2,869	17,435	2,166	2,852	971	3,110
Under $1,000	477	627	2,681	594	747	314	656
$1,000 to 1,999	512	1,012	4,585	748	1,011	390	874
2,000 to 2,999	336	584	4,070	406	471	159	750
3,000 to 3,999	148	260	2,632	109	330	52	350
4,000 to 4,999	100	175	1,579	106	132	22	203
5,000 to 5,999	36	84	827	68	81	19	112
6,000 to 6,999	20	44	356	26	20	4	44
7,000 to 7,999	13	23	239	15	24	-	56
8,000 to 8,999	26	24	160	16	8	7	8
9,000 to 9,999	8	14	141	12	16	-	29
10,000 and over	31	22	165	16	12	4	28
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	$1,735	$1,798	$2,357	$1,620	$1,672	$1,440	$2,033

P O P U L A T I O N

IBORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
	. . . . .		
,166	2,852	971	3,110
	. . . . .		
594	747	314	656
748	1,011	390	874
406	471	159	750
109	330	52	350
106	132	22	203
68	81	19	112
26	20	4	44
15	24	-	56
16	8	7	8
12	16	-	29
16	12	4	28
,620	$1,672	$1,440	$2,033
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		
	. . . . .		

H O U S I N G

	BIENVILLE	BOSSIER	CADDO	CLAIBORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
Number of Housing Units	3,951	5,364	11,919	2,916	4,509	2,786	6,055
Owner-occupied, white	1,550	1,697	5,916	975	1,308	966	2,454
Owner-occupied, Negro	753	1,135	1,391	446	1,101	315	717
Renter-occupied, white	514	694	1,502	328	481	441	1,061
Renter-occupied, Negro	668	1,026	1,663	747	1,059	671	876
Vacant	466	812	1,447	420	560	393	947
Condition:							
Sound	2,148	2,899	7,641	1,352	2,153	1,462	3,594
Deteriorating	1,145	1,292	2,227	902	1,433	917	1,646
Dilapidated	658	1,173	2,051	662	933	407	815

F A R M I N F O R M A T I O N

Number of Farms by Tenure of Farm Operators		BIENVILLE	BOSSIER	CADDO	CLAIBORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
Total Farm Operators								
	White	654	676	809	697	875	484	872
	Negro	322	610	723	501	795	236	338
Full Owners								
	White	511	467	475	503	642	359	701
	Negro	229	432	226	230	459	75	190
Part Owners								
	White	94	117	183	112	168	85	108
	Negro	29	57	33	44	88	18	36
Managers								
	White	-	8	18	8	10	2	11
	Negro	1	-	-	-	-	1	4
All Tenants (includes sharecroppers)								
	White	89	84	133	74	55	38	52
	Negro	63	121	464	227	248	143	108

Acres in land by Tenure of Operator		BIENVILLE	BOSSIER	CADDO	CLAIBORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
Total Farm Operators								
	White	104,864	209,199	244,284	151,818	254,182	139,872	126,354
	Negro	19,331	23,304	24,686	37,544	42,652	10,483	20,432
Full Owners								
	White	74,085	84,417	81,482	91,219	136,664	66,009	82,654
	Negro	14,120	16,153	9,022	17,793	23,638	4,343	10,580
Part Owners								
	White	24,255	103,352	98,856	42,632	95,081	53,378	32,113
	Negro	1,990	2,575	- 3,207	3,350	8,765	1,280	2,193
Managers								
	White	-	9,496	31,181	5,420	11,735	6,153	7,380
	Negro	100	-	-	-	-	926	2,681
All Tenants								
	White	6,554	11,854	32,765	12,547	10,702	14,332	4,187
	Negro	3,121	4,576	12,457	16,401	10,249	3,534	4,978

M A N U F A

BIENVILLE PARI

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Ellis S.

HUNT LUMB
A.T. Hunt

WOODARD-W
C.O. Walk

BOSSIER PARISH

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Paul M. B

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Robert F.

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T I O N

BORNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
97	875	484	872
01	795	236	338
03	642	359	701
30	459	75	190
12	168	85	108
4	88	18	36
8	10	2	11
-	-	1	4
4	55	38	52
7	248	143	108

RNE	DESOTO	RED RIVER	WEBSTER
818	254,182	139,872	126,354
544	42,652	10,483	20,432
19	136,664	66,009	82,654
793	23,638	4,343	10,580
32	95,081	53,378	32,113
50	8,765	1,280	2,193
20	11,735	6,153	7,380
	-	926	2,681
47	10,702	14,332	4,187
01	10,249	3,534	4,978

MANUFACTURERS WITH OVER 100 EMPLOYEES

BIENVILLE PARISH

MARTIN TIMBER CO., INC., P.O. Box 98, Castor (International Distribution)
Ellis S. Martin, President

HUNT LUMBER CO., INC., Danville (National Distribution).
A.T. Hunt, President

WOODARD-WALKER LUMBER CO., INC., Taylor (National Distribution)
C.O. Walker, President

BOSSIER PARISH

CADDO DOOR & VENEER CO., Bossier City (Mailing address: P.O. Box 1442, Shreveport)
Stanton Dossett, President (National Distribution)

UNIVERSAL MFG.CO., INC., P. O. Box 5128, Bossier City.(International Distribution)
I. Horowitz, President

CADDO PARISH

BAYOU STATE OIL CORP, Hosston (National Distribution)
Paul M. Brown, President

ALLEN MILLWORK MFG. CORP., P.O. Box 1101, Shreveport (zone 81) Regional Distribution)
W. A. Compton, President

AMERICANMACHINE AND FOUNDRY CO., The J. B. Beaird Co., Inc. Div., P. O. Box 1115, Shreveport; John L. Tullis, President and General Mgr. (InternationalDistribution)

ATLAS PROCESSING CO., P. O. Box 1786, Shreveport (National Distribution)
V. B. Chance, Pres. and Mgr.

BEAIRD-POULAN, INC., P. O. Box 9066, Shreveport (NationalDistribution)
Chas. T. Beaird, President

BIRD & SON, INC., P. O. Box 72, zone 81, Shreveport (Regional Distribution)
Robert F. Jenkins, Gen. Mgr.

THE BREWSTER CO., Inc., P. O. Drawer 1095, zone 80, Shreveport (Intl. Distribution)
Robert E. Sullivan, V.P. & Asst. Gen. Mgr.

CITY PRODUCTS CORP., Midwest Dairy Products Div., 1796 Claiborne Ave., Shreveport (RegionalDistribution)
V. C. Reichert, Div. Mgr.

COCA-COLA BOTTLING CO. OF SHREVEPORT, INC., P. O. Box 85, Shreveport (Several Parish Distribution)
R. Z. Biedenharn, Pres. & Gen. Mgr.

CONTINENTAL BAKING CO., 45 Douglas St., Shreveport (Several Parish Distribution)
C. W. CLark, Plant Mgr.

CADDO PARISH (CON'T)

COTTON BAKING CO., INC., P. O. Box 1692, Shreveport (Regional Distribution)
Carl A. Bornman, V. P. and Gen Mgr.

FORTMOST DAIRIES, INC., 3415 Carrie St., (Several Parish Distribution)
Geo. H. Kinmon, Mgr.

THE JOURNAL PUBLISHING CO., INC. 427 Travis St., Shreveport (Regional Distribution)
D. F. Attaway, Pres. & Pub.

KALMBACH-BURCKETT CO., INC. 1200 Dalzell St., Shreveport (State-wide Distribution)
W. C. Kalmbach, President

KROEHLER MFG. CO. OF LA., INC., P. O. Box 6366, Cedar Grove Station, Shreveport
(National Distribution) F. D. Goodwin, Gen. Mgr.

LIBBEY-OWENS-FORD GLASS CO., Jewella Rd., Shreveport (National Distribution)
D. T. Hardy, Plt. Mgr.

MID*CONTINENT STEEL CASTING CORP., P. O. Box 6398, Shreveport (National Distribution)
Karl G. Jasson, V. P. & Dir. of Sales

NEWSPAPER PRODUCTION CO., 408 Marshall St., Shreveport (Regional Distribution)
W. H. Bronson, President

OLIN MATHIESON CHEMICAL CORP., Packaging Div. Forest Products Operations,
Line Ave., Shreveport (International Distribution)
R. E. Martinez, Plt. Mgr.

ROTHSCHILD BOILER & TANK WORKS, INC., P. O. Box 1663, Shreveport (National
Distribution)
B. A. Rothschild, Sr., Pres.

SHREVEPORT GARMENT MFRS., P. O. Box 1646, Shreveport (National Distribution)
D. H. Goldman, Managing Part.

SHREVEPORT GARMENTMFRS., 410-20 Commerce St., Shreveport (National Distribution)
R. S. Morris, Part. & Gen. Mgr.

THE TIMES PUBLISHING CO. LTD., P. O. Box 1627, Shreveport (Regional Distribution)
W. H. Bronson, Pres. & Publ

UNIVERSAL OIL PRODCTS CO., Universal Polychem Div., P. O. Box 1566, Shreveport
C. D. Sims., Mgr. (International Distribution)

WOLF'S, INC., P. O. Box 6277, Shreveport (Several parish Distribution)
Chas. C. Rhodes, Mgr.

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MANUFACTURERS (CON'T.)

DESOTO PARISH

JAMES A. PACE LUMBER CO., P. O. Box 185, Logansport (Regional Distribution)
James A. Pace, Owner

RITE-CARE POULTRY CO., INC., P. O. Box 277, Logansport (Regional Distribution)
Floyd A. Ellis, Pres.

HENDRIX MFG. CO., INC., P. O. Box 31, Mansfield (International Distribution)
Jo W. Hendriz, Pres.

Nabors Trailers, Inc., Mansfield (NationalDistribution)
C. H. Roberts, Pres.

CLAIBORNE PARISH

None

RED RIVER PARISH

None

WEBSTER PARISH

COTTON VALLEY OPERATORS COMMITTEE, P. O. Box 7, Cotton Valley
W. J. Hagner, Jr., Gen. Mgr. (Regional Distribution)

WOOKWARD-WALKER SAWMILL CO., Heflin (National Distribution)
A. N. Walker, V. P.

INTERNATIONAL PEPER CO., So. Draft Div. Springhill (International Distribution)
F. S. McMillan, Mill Mgr.

INTERNATIONAL PAPER CO., Container Div., P. O. Box 834, Springhill
J. R. Grayson, Mgr. (NationalDistribution)

SPRINGHILL LUMBER CO., P. O. Box 937, Springhill (NationalDistributioj)
Clary Anthony, Co-Manager

B I E N V I L L E P A R I S H O F F I C I A L S

SENATOR (27th District)	Danny Roy Moore, Homer
REPRESENTATIVE	J. L. Lacy, Castor
DISTRICT JUDGES (2nd District)	
Division A	Frank M. Dougherty, Homer
Division B	Percy Edgerton Brown, Arcadia
DISTRICT ATTORNEY(2nd District)	Fred.L. Jackson, Homer
Assistant	W. Jackson Emmons, Jonesboro
SHERRIFF and EX-OFFICIO TAX COLLECTOR . .	H. N. Davis, Arcadia
ATTORNEY TO ASSIST THE INHERITANCE TAX COLLECTOR	Hal R. Henderson, 709 H. Hazel, Arcadia
CLERK OF COURT	H. Rupert Sledge, Arcadia
ASSESSOR	J. M. Lampkin, Jr., Arcadia
CORONER	H. H. Middleton, Jr., M.D. 1000 Maple Street, Arcadia
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS	Mrs. Pauline A. Culpepper, Arcadia
CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR	William I. Bobo, Jr., Box 512, Ringgold
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF ELECTIONS	
President	J. S. Williams, Arcadia
Member	Neil McElroy, Ringgold
Member Ex-Officio	Registrar of Voters
POLICE JURY (P. O. Box 479, Arcadia)	
President	Tom C. Rogers
Secretary-Treasurer	Bernard A. Alfred
Members:	
Ward 1	R. H. Madden, 1200 College, Arc.
Ward 2	Winlock Van Cleave, Gibsland
Ward 3	Joe B. Williams, Box 88, Bienvlle
Ward 4	Brady McCoy, Rt. 2, Box 98, Rnggold
Ward 5	Carl B. Foster, Rt.3, Box 7, Castor
Ward 6	A.F.Barron, RFD, Bienville
Ward 7	Tom C. Rogers, Box 57, Saline
SCHOOL BOARD (Arcadia)	
President	J. H. Fair
Superintendent	J. A. Shelby
Members:	
Ward 1	Raymond H. Madden, Jr., College Street, Arcadia
Ward 2	D. H. Walker, Taylor
Ward 3	Lamar P. White, RFD, Jamestown
Ward 4	Loice Scott, Military St., Rnggold
Ward 5	Mrs. Sallie W. Lacy, Castor
Ward 6	Jesse Harvey, Rt. 2, Bienville
Ward 7	J. H. Fair, Castor
JUSTICES OF THE PEACE	
Wards 1 & 2 (District 1)	J. S. Williams, P.O.Box 273, Arc.
Wards 4 & 5 (District 2)	James Drew Hall, P.O.Bx 114, Rnggd
Wards 3, 6 & 7 (District 3)	T.B.Hood, P.O.Box 25, Saline

F F I C I A L S

Roy Moore, Homer
Lacy, Castor

M. Dougherty, Homer
Edgerton Brown, Arcadia
. Jackson, Homer
kson Emmons, Jonesboro
Davis, Arcadia

Henderson, 709 H. Hazel,
Arcadia
ert Sledge, Arcadia
Lampkin, Jr., Arcadia
Middleton, Jr., M.D.
Maple Street, Arcadia
uline A. Culpepper, Arcadia
I. Bobo, Jr., Box 512,
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A. Alfred

dden, 1200 College, Arc.
Van Cleave, Gibsland
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Coy, Rt. 2, Box 98, Rnggold
Foster, Rt.3, Box 7, Castor
n, RFD, Bienville
gers, Box 57, Saline

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. Madden, Jr., College
Arcadia
ker, Taylor
White, RFD, Jamestown
t, Military St., Rnggold
W. Lacy, Castor
ey, Rt. 2, Bienville
, Castor

iams, P.O.Box 273, Arc.
Hall, P.O.Bx 114, Rnggd
P.O.Box 25, Saline

(Bienville Parish Officials, cont.)

CONSTABLES

District 1 (Wards 1 & 2)	C. T. Driskill, P.O.Box 74, Arcadia
District 2 (Wards 4 & 5)	Genie Nix, Rt. 2., Jamestown
District 3 (Wards 3, 6 & 7)	Dewey Williams, P.O.Bo 45, Saline

BIENVILLE PARISH MUNICIPAL OFFICIALS

ARCADIA, TOWN

Mayor	J. Roy Caskey
Marshall	Joe W. Storey
Aldermen	B. Harold Durrett, James E. Pearce, Thomas A. Ray, George W. Swygart, A. L. Waites

BIENVILLE, VILLAGE

Mayor	F. D. Jones
Aldermen	O. F. Allison, L. R. Poland, J.W.Wise

BRYCELAND, VILLAGE

Mayor	J. T. Wright
Aldermen	O. L. Boddie, D. R. Cummings, George E. Woods

CASTOR, VILLAGE

Mayor	Merce L. Snead
Marshal	David Riddon
Aldermen	Charlie W. Campbell, Tom Downs, Hugh Wimberly

GIBSLAND, TOWN

Mayor	E. L. Reed
Marshal	Eland E. Howell
Aldermen	Harry Armstrong, Herbert Davis, Jimmy Ray Johnson, Ray Miller, Nomie Namie

MOUNT LEBANON, TOWN

Mayor	Henry F. Noite, Jr.
Aldermen	L. H. Aubrey, M. F. Courtney, Chas. S. Cox, Dee D. Jowers, Clarence Lyles

RINGGOLD, TOWN

Mayor	J. K. Hill
Marshal	Ernest D. Higginbotham
Aldermen	Fred Lee, Loice Scott, J. Ira Thomas, John David Thomas, Don C. Woodard

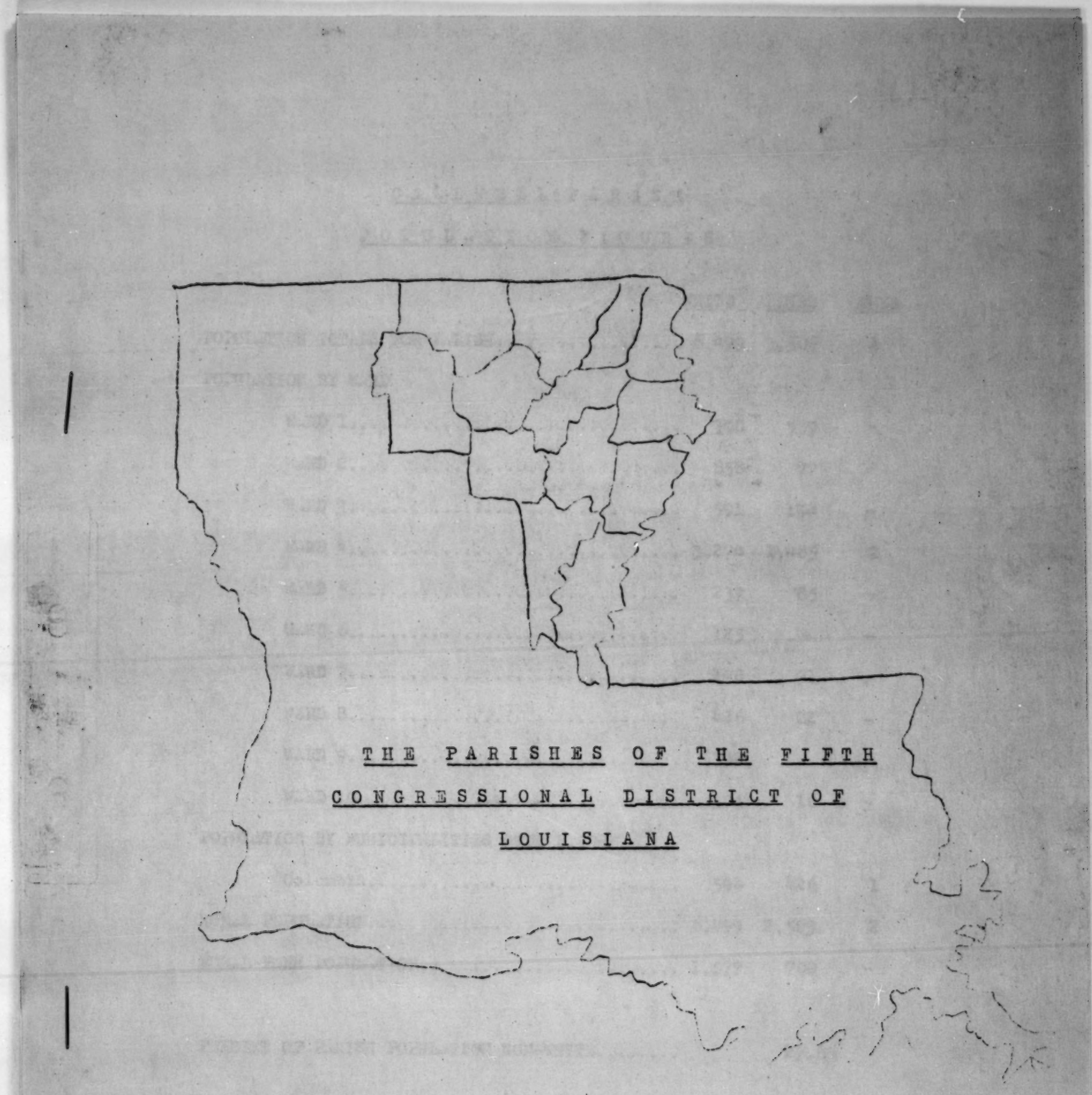
(Bienville Parish Municipal Officials, cont.)

SALINE, VILLAGE

Mayor	J. O. Evans
Marshal	D. F. Williams
Aldermen	C. D. Babers, Van H. Burns, W. B. Driggers, J. D. Price, Manie Williams

B O S S I E R P A R I S H O F F I C I A L S

SENATOR (26th District)	Harold Montgomery, Doyline
REPRESENTATIVE	Ford E. Stinson, Benton
DISTRICT JUDGES (26th District)	
Division A.	O. E. Price, Benton
Division B	Enos C. McClendon, Jr., Minden
DISTRICT ATTORNEY (26th District)	Louis H. Padgett, Jr., Benton
1st Assistant	John B. Benton, Jr., Minden
2nd Assistant	Monty M. Wyche, Benton
SHERRIFF AND EX-OFFICIO TAX COLLECTOR	W. E. Waggonner, Benton
ATTORNEY TO ASSIST THE INHERITANCE TAX COLLECTOR	Walter O. Bigby, P.O. Box 97, Benton
CLERK OF COURT	Mrs. Alma G. Broussard, Benton
ASSESSOR	George G. Nelson, Benton
CORONER	C. H. McCuller, M.D., 315 Monroe Street, Bossier City
REGISTRAR OF VOTERS	Mrs. Mary K. Bryce, Benton
CIVIL DEFENSE DIRECTOR	W. A. Tison, P.O.Bx 192, Srvport
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS OF ELECTIONS	
President	F. D. McKiller, Plain Dealing
Member	Neil J. Huckabay, 103 Yjean St., Bossier City
Ex Officio Member	Registrar of Voters
CITY COURT	
Ward 2 - Judge of City Court	Louis Lyons, Bossier City
Marshal of City Court	O. L. Watkins, Bossier City
POLICE JURY (P.O. Box 7, Benton)	
President	Wayne Keith
Secretary-Treasurer	Mrs. Cecile K. Boggs
Members	
Ward 1	W. H. Mercer, Rt. L, Box 441D, Bossier City
Ward 2	James E. Graham, 2801 Old Minden Rd., B.C.; A.C. Montgomery, 1801 Benton Rd., B.C.; Boyd Montgomery, P. O. Box 6, Benton; A. R. Teague, 2631 Old Minden Rd., B.C.



THE PARISHES OF THE FIFTH
CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT OF
LOUISIANA

CORE Southern Office/Research
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

May, 1965

CALDWELL PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	6,499	3,503	2
POPULATION BY WARD			
WARD 1	300	539	-
WARD 2	858	77	-
WARD 3	591	194	-
WARD 4	3,274	1,485	2
WARD 5	237	85	-
WARD 6	125	-	-
WARD 7	190	91	-
WARD 8	426	22	-
WARD 9	192	-	-
WARD 10	306	10	-
POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES OVER 1,000			
Columbia	594	426	1
RURAL POPULATION	6,499	2,503	2
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,577	700	-
PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE		27.8%	

CATAHOULA PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	7,405	4,015	1
POPULATION BY WARD			
Ward 1	372	304	-
Ward 2	990	1,393	-
Ward 3	426	-	-
Ward 4	577	35	-
Ward 5	1,321	217	-
Ward 6	3,011	1,675	1
Ward 7	708	391	-
POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES OVER 1,000			
None			
RURAL POPULATION	6,320	2,754	-
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	2,411	1,154	-
PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE		35.2%	

S H

E S

WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
.. 7,405	4,015	1
..	..	
.. 372	304	-
.. 990	1,393	-
. 426	-	-
. 577	35	-
. 1,321	217	-
. 3,011	1,675	1
. 708	391	-
.....		
.....		
6,320	2,754	-
2,411	1,154	..
.....		
.....	35.2%	

CONCORDIA PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	10,993	9,462	12
PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE ...		46.3%	
POPULATION BY WARD			
Ward 1	107	175	-
Ward 2	44	39	-
Ward 3	43	34	-
Ward 4	43	313	-
Ward 5	5,051	2,118	1
Ward 6	123	330	-
Ward 7	2,663	4,008	11
Ward 8	550	581	-
Ward 9	564	638	-
Ward 10	767	105	-
Ward 11	717	1,121	-
Ward 12	321	-	-
POPULATION BY MUNICIPALITIES OVER 1,000			
NONE			
RURAL POPULATION	6,377	5,214	-
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,685	1,678	-
PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE ..		46.3 %	

EAST CARROLL PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	,602	8,800	31
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	413	986	-
Ward 2	1,099	951	-
Ward 3	2,846	984	21
Ward 4	165	221	9
Ward 5	267	715	1
Ward 6	255	465	-
Ward 7	557	478	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
Lake Providence	2,096	3,664	21
RURAL POPULATION	3,506	5,136	10
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	2,374	2,938	-

PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE ..... 61.2 %

P

POPULATION TO

POPULATION BY

Ward 1

Ward 2

Ward 3

Ward 4

Ward 5

Ward 6

Ward 7

Ward 8

Ward 9

POPUL TION

WINNSBOR

WISNER

RURAL POPUL

RURAL-FARM

PERCENT OF

PARISH

IGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
.....	,602	8,800	31
.....	413	986	-
.....	1,099	951	-
.....	2,846	984	21
.....	165	221	9
.....	267	715	1
.....	255	465	-
.....	557	478	-
....	2,096	3,664	21
....	3,506	5,136	10
....	2,374	2,938	-
.....		61.2 %	

FRANKLIN PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	15 497	10,589	2
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	1,560	1,709	-
Ward 2	1,626	1,016	-
Ward 3	1,549	999	-
Ward 4	1,449	705	-
Ward 5	564	1,008	-
Ward 6	1,591	383	-
Ward 7	5,308	3,394	-
Ward 8	762	427	-
Ward 9	1,088	948	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
WINNSBORO	2,683	1,754	-
WISNER	652	602	-
RURAL POPULATION	12,814	8,835	2
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	[illegible]	4,883	11
PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE	40.6		

JACKSON PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH ..	[illegible]	5,127	5
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	722	243	-
Ward 2	6,591	3,029	5
Ward 3	1,065	380	-
Ward 4	229	465	-
Ward 5	232	190	-
Ward 6	1,118	162	-
Ward 7	739	658	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
Jonesboro	2,735	1,113	-
RURAL POPULATION	7,961	4,014	5
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	529	207	-

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE 32.4

P O

POPULATION TO

POPULATION BY

Ward 1

Ward 2

Ward 3

Ward 4

Ward 5

Ward 6

Ward 7

Ward 8

POPULATION I

Dubach

Gramblin

Ruston

RURAL POPUL

RURAL-FARM

PERCENT OF

ARISH

FIGURES

WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
[illegible]	5,127	5
722	243	-
6,591	3,029	5
1,065	380	-
229	465	-
232	190	-
1,118	162	-
739	658	-
2,735	1,113	..
7,961	4,014	5
529	207	..

HITE 32.4

LINCOLN PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH ...	16,594	11,928	13
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1	11, 208	8,195	10
Ward 2	490	569	2
Ward 3	716	1,195	-
Ward 4	1,153	579	1
Ward 5	774	260	-
Ward 6	1,261	674	-
Ward 7	408	109	-
Ward 8	584	347	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
Dubach	806	207	-
Grambling	4	3,138	2
Ruston	10,023	3,960	8
RURAL POPULATION	6,567	4,830	3
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,151	301	-

PERCENT OF PARISH POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 41,8 %

MADISON PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	5,767	10,650	7
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	91	257	--
WARD 2	235	720	--
WARD 3	101	306	--
WARD 4	3,974	7,753	27
WARD 5	205	380	--
WARD 6	466	688	--
WARD 7	196	469	--
WARD 8	499	77	--
POPULATION OF TOWNS OVER 1,000			
TALLULAH	2,874	6,5[illegible]	26
RURAL POPULATION	2,893	4,137	1
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,656	2,548	--
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE		64.9%	

ARISH

FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
.....	5,767	10,650	?
.....	91	257	..
.....	235	720	..
.....	101	306	..
.....	3,974	7,753	27
.....	205	380	..
.....	466	688	..
.....	196	469	-
.....	499	77	..
.....	2,874	6,5[illegible]	26
.....	2,893	4,137	1
.....	1,656	2,548	..
.....			
.....		64.9%	
.....			

MOREHOUSE PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	17,911	15,778	20
POPULATION BY WARDS ..			
WARD 1	543	168	-
WARD 2	649	212	-
WARD 3	1,184	196	2
WARD 4	11,430	6,505	5
WARD 5	427	1,930	-
WARD 6	1,507	2,941	2
WARD 7	343	445	-
WARD 8	622	1,377	-
WARD 9	164	60	-
WARD 10	1,042	1,044	11
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
BASTROP	9,165	6,023	5
WARDVILLE	867	219	-
RURAL POPULATION	8,746	9,755	15
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,808	5,098	4
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE.....		46.9%	

OUACHITA PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	33,904	33,727	32
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1.....	2,592	744	1
WARD 2.....	2,[illegible]	6,519	3
WARD 3.....	16,441	11,094	16
WARD 4.....	741	485	-
WARD 5.....	24,362	3,955	9
WARD 6.....	1,597	324	-
WARD 7.....	596	615	-
WARD 8.....	1,353	89	-
WARD 9.....	545	50	-
WARD 10.....	17,813	8,252	3
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
MONROE	29,370	22,834	15
W. MONROE.....	12,563	2,650	2
RURAL POPULATION	16,837	4,268	12
RURAL-FARM POPULATION.....	1,453	844	..
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE,.....		32.2%	

I S H

R E S

WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
3,904	33,727	32
,592	744	1
[illegible]	6,519	3
441	11,094	16
741	485	-
862	3,955	9
397	324	-
96	615	-
63	89	-
5	50	-
[illegible]	8,952	3
22,834		15
2,650		2
4,268		12
844		..
32.2%		

RICHLAND PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	13,255	10,561	8
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	3,409	2,284	1
WARD 2	5,723	4,195	5
WARD 3	1,148	811	1
WARD 4	1,384	1,223	1
WARD 5	1,110	1,057	-
WARD 6	171	679	-
WARD 7	310	312	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
DELHI	1,787	727	-
RAYVILLE	2,115	1,937	-
RURAL POPULATION	9,353	7,897	8
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	5,227	4,141	-
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE		44.4%	

TENSAS PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH.....	4,128	7,665	3
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1.....	393	635	-
WARD 2.....	1,360	1,705	1
WARD 3.....	1,031	2,063	1
WARD 4.....	149	532	-
WARD 5.....	116	110	-
WARD 6.....	772	1,838	-
WARD 7.....	307	782	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
NEWELLTON.....	588	864	1
ST. JOSEPH.....	584	1,069	-
WATERPROOF.....	455	956	1
RURAL POPULATION	4,128	7,665	3
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,403	3,212	-
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE		65.0%	

PARISH

FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
.....	4,128	7,665	3
.....	393	635	-
.....	1,360	1,705	1
.....	1,031	2,063	1
.....	149	532	-
.....	116	110	-
.....	772	1,838	-
.....	307	782	-
...	588	864	1
...	584	1,069	-
..	455	956	1
..	4,128	7,665	3
..	1,403	3,212	-
.		65.0%	

WEST CARROLL PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH.....	10,998	3,178	1
POPULATION BY WARDS			
Ward 1.....	1,347	653	-
Ward 2.....	1,636	740	1
Ward 3.....	2,836	216	-
Ward 4.....	3,546	1,060	-
Ward 5.....	1,633	509	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
OAK GROVE.....	1,243	554	-
RURAL POPULATION.....	10,998	3,178	1
RURAL-FARM POPULATION.....	5,772	1,293	-
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE.....		22.4%	

UNION PARISH

POPULATION FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR PARISH	11,139	6,482	3
POPULATION BY WARDS			
WARD 1	2,346	1,621	-
WARD 2	1,515	1,026	1
WARD 3	1,266	844	1
WARD 4	1,789	1,100	-
WARD 5	1,145	307	1
WARD 6	448	452	-
WARD 7	943	3	-
WARD 8	812	338	-
WARD 9	371	272	-
WARD 10	504	479	-
POPULATION BY TOWNS OVER 1,000			
BERNICE	789	852	-
FARMERVILLE	1,396	1,331	-
RURAL POPULATION	9,743	5,151	3
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,872	385	4
PERCENT OF PARISH NON-WHITE		36.8%	

CALDWELL
CATAHOULA
CONCORDIA
EAST CARROLL
FRANKLIN
JACKSON
LINCOLN
MADISON
MOREHOUSE
OUACHITA
RICHLAND
TENSAS
UNION
WEST CARROLL

CALDWELL
CATAHOULA
CONCORDIA
EAST CARROLL
FRANKLIN
JACKSON
LINCOLN
MADISON
MOREHOUSE
OUACHITA
RICHLAND
TENSAS
UNION
WEST CARROLL

RISH

FIGURES

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
.....	11,139	6,482	3
.....	2,346	1,621	-
.....	1,515	1,026	1
.....	1,266	844	1
.....	1,789	1,100	-
.....	1,145	307	1
.....	448	452	-
.....	943	3	-
.....	812	338	-
.....	371	272	-
.....	504	479	-
....	789	852	-
....	1,396	1,331	-
....	9,743	5,151	3
....	1,872	385	4
...		36.8%	

VOTING POTENTIAL

(21 YEARS AND OVER)

	WHITE	NEGRO
CALDWELL	3,843	1,161
CATAHOULA	4,110	1,919
CONCORDIA	5,963	4,582
EAST CARROLL	2,990	4,183
FRANKLIN	8,954	4,433
JACKSON	6,607	2,535
LINCOLN	9,611	5,723
MADISON	3,334	5,181
MOREHOUSE	10,311	7,208
OUACHITA	40,185	16,377
RICHLAND	7,601	4,608
TENSAS	2,287	3,533
UNION	7,021	3,006
WEST CARROLL	6,171	1,389

VOTER REGISTRATION

(February, 1965)

	WHITE	NEGRO
CALDWELL	3,786	361
CATAHOULA	4,080	236
CONCORDIA	5,505	563
EAST CARROLL	1,939	136
FRANKLIN	7,540	284
JACKSON	6,078	1,244
LINCOLN	6,937	1,314
MADISON	2,467	294
MOREHOUSE	7,690	491
OUACHITA	29,587	1,744
RICHLAND	5,688	381
TENSAS	2,154	60
UNION	6,534	864
WEST CARROLL	4,078	76

EDUCATION, NON-WHITE POPULATION

Parish	Completed Elementary School	Completed High School	Completed College	Median School Years Completed
Caldwell	103	85	39	6.2
Catahoula	74	61	70	4.0
Concordia	286	130	56	4.4
East Carroll	249	92	82	4.7
Franklin	284	85	120	4.3
Jackson	240	116	76	6.4
Lincoln	371	286	415	7.1
Madison	353	139	79	4.5
Morehouse	522	186	134	5.0
Ouachita	1,287	867	386	6.3
Richland	238	170	100	4.4
Tensas	116	63	39	4.2
Union	220	146	79	5.7
West Carroll	80	46	32	5.2

EMPLOYMENT STATUS, NON-WHITE POPULATION

Parish	Male Labor Force Total	Male Labor Force Unemployed	Female Labor Force Total	Female Labor Force Unemployed
Caldwell	381	16	169	0
Catahoula	670	38	269	22
Concordia	1,535	217	1,010	176
East Carroll	1,324	126	740	46
Franklin	1,629	102	862	106
Jackson	906	45	605	45
Lincoln	2,016	96	1,778	81
Madison	1,781	233	860	165
Morehouse	2,384	115	1,233	108
Ouachita	5,774	511	4,774	354
Richland	1,552	38	683	11
Tensas	1,161	57	516	48
Union	1,172	42	568	56
West Carroll	532	34	198	16

FAMILY INC

CALDW

Total Number of Families	4
Under $1,000	
1,000 to 1,999	1
2,000 to 2,999	
3,000 to 3,999	
4,000 to 4,999	
5,000 to 5,999	
6,000 to 6,999	
7,000 to 7,999	
8,000 to 8,999	
9,000 to 9,999	
10,000 and over	
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	1,

Total Number of Families	
Under 1,000	
1,000 to 1,999	
2,000 to 2,999	
3,000 to 3,999	
4,000 to 4,999	
5,000 to 5,999	
6,000 to 6,999	
7,000 to 7,999	
8,000 to 8,999	
9,000 to 9,999	
10,000 and over	
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	

E POPULATION

pleted ol	Completed College	Median School Years Completed
5	39	6.2
1	70	4.0
0	56	4.4
2	82	4.7
3	120	4.3
	76	6.4
5	415	7.1
	79	4.5
	134	5.0
	386	6.3
	100	4.4
	39	4.2
	79	5.7
	32	5.2

ITE POPULATION

Female Labor Force Total	Unemployed
169	0
269	22
1,010	176
740	46
862	106
605	45
1,778	81
860	165
1,233	108
4,774	354
683	11
516	48
568	56
198	16

FAMILY INCOME NON-WHITE POPULATION

	CALDWELL	CATAHOULA	CONCORDIA	E. CARROLL	FRANKLIN	JACKSON	UNION
Total Number of Families	441	838	1,946	1,606	1,924	1,136	1,339
Under $1,000	99	273	516	418	820	193	166
1,000 to 1,999	164	359	721	677	619	399	539
2,000 to 2,999	91	81	362	294	273	212	322
3,000 to 3,999	45	60	156	88	61	121	163
4,000 to 4,999	4	28	76	41	52	99	68
5,000 to 5,999	29	16	73	27	22	46	32
6,000 to 6,999	9	9	9	14	19	9	12
7,000 to 7,999	-	4	12	21	23	8	-
8,000 to 8,999	-	-	13	5	-	12	10
9,000 to 9,999	-	-	-	14	20	16	4
10,000 and over	-	8	8	7	15	21	23
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	1,741	1,407	1,634	1,569	1,229	1,940	1,934

(Continued)

Total Number of Families	LINCOLN 2,149	MADISON 2,181	MOREHOUSE 3,068	QUACHITA 6,917	RICHLAND 2,062	TENSAS 1,555	W. CARROLL 608
Under 1,000	335	596	878	1,133	787	674	217
1,000 to 1,999	659	846	990	2,006	721	583	227
2,000 to 2,999	515	405	546	1,586	289	170	81
3,000 to 3,999	234	145	338	959	87	62	32
4,000 to 4,999	133	68	150	604	48	29	27
5,000 to 5,999	77	51	87	244	64	4	12
6,000 to 6.999	58	20	16	125	8	16	4
7,000 to 7,999	40	16	12	93	20	12	-
8,000 to 8,999	34	13	24	63	7	-	-
9,000 to 9,999	23	8	7	33	14	-	8
10,000 and over	41	13	20	71	17	5	-
MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME	2,156	1,585	1,663	2,201	1,338	1,178	1,383

H O U S I N G

	CALDWELL	CATAHOULA	CONCORDIA	E.CARLL	FRKLIN	JCKSCN	V. CARLL
Number of Housing Units	2,812	3,372	6,256	4,122	7,302	4,966	4 205
Owner-occupied, White	1,417	1,524	2,160	925	2,735	2,463	2,049
Owner-occupied, Negro	382	442	1,097	875	718	726	309
Renter-Occupied, White	491	540	815	561	1,632	848	1,044
Renter-occupied, Negro	206	550	1,365	1,351	1,559	584	433
Vacant	316	316	819	410	658	345	370
Condition:							
Sound	1,487	1,301	3,639	1,592	3,118	2,596	1,867
Deteriorating	864	1,177	1,824	1,197	2,296	1,500	1 133
Dilapidated	461	894	793	1,333	1,888	870	1 205

(Continued)

	LINCLN	MADISON	MORHSE	OUACHTA	RCHLAND	TNSAS	UNION
[illegible]	7,605	5,055	9,348	-	6,703	3,010	5,421
Owner-occupied, White	3,253	1,028	3,940	-	2,460	685	2,800
Owner-occupied, Negro	1,334	1,023	1,679	-	786	692	825
Renter occupied, White	1,404	645	1,278	-	1,308	459	639
Renter occupied, Negro	1,112	1,783	2,031	-	1,592	1,264	650
Vacant	502	576	920	-	557	516	457
Condition:							
Sound	5,264	2,017	5,181	-	3,601	1,266	3,085
Deteriorating	1,392	1,359	2,781	-	2,222	948	1,571
Dilapidated	949	1,679	1,886	-	880	1,402	765

PETITION PROPOSING ORDINENCE

n.d.

A petition proposing an ordinence may be submitted to the commission ~~by~~ if signed by 10% of the total number of registered voters in the municipality~~s~~. The petition papers must be uniform in character and contain proposed ordinence in full and have printed or written thereon the names and addresses of at least 5 electors who shall be officially regarded as filing the peition and shall constitute a committee of the petitioners. The petition must contain names and addresses of all signers. Each paper (page) must have an affidavit by the circulator thereof, that each signature is genuine and was made in the presense of the affiant. The commission must take ~~a~~ action within 30 days of submission. If it is rejected or changed, the petitioners may request vote of people.

PETITION TO STOP AN ORDINENCE

A petition to stop an ordinence from going into effect must be signed by 25% of the registered voters in the municipality. The ordinence must then be repealed or voted on by the people.

STREET PAVING n.d.

The Mayor and Board of Aldermen shall order the paving, gravelling and other improvement of any street, alley, or part thereof, upon written petition of a majority of the abutting (adjacent; touching) real estate owners in number and value of property on the street or ally to be paved or improved. Petition shall be varified and certified to be correct by the assors of the municipality or parish, before presentation to mayor & Bd. of Aldermen.

INITIATING AND ORDINANCE n.d.

~~Propis~~ Proposed ordinences may be submitted to the council by a petition signed by ~~electors~~ Voters equal in number to 33% of the votes cast for all candidates for mayor in the last preceding general election. The petition may request that the question be put to a vote of the people if not passed by the city council.

OBJECTION TO PASSAGE OF ORDINENCE

An ordinence must bepublished 10 days before it goes into effect. A petition signed by 25% of ~~xxxx~~ the number of votes cast for all candidates for mayor in the last preceding primary election, may be filed with the municipal secretary, objecting to the ordinence. This will suspend it from going into operation & subject it to reconsideration It must then either be repealed, or submitted to the public for a vote of the electors in the municipality.

page 1

parishes	pupils pages 190 + 196 white	pupils pages 190 + 196 Negro	instructional personnel (teachers and principals) p. 324 + 340 white	instructional personnel (teachers and principals) p. 324 + 340 Negro	pupil-teacher ratio white	pupil-teacher ratio Negro	money spent on educational instruction p. 84 + 90 white	money spent on educational instruction p. 84 + 90 Negro	amount per student (for educational instruction) white	amount per student (for educational instruction) Negro	cost of school property (building, sites, equipment) p. 366 + 368 white	cost of school property (building, sites, equipment) p. 366 + 368 Negro	cost per student (of school property) white	cost per student (of school property) Negro
Ascension	4403	2732	173	98	25.5	27.9	$945,477	$518,610	$214.70	$180.80	$2,882,872	$1,570,504	$655	$575
Bienville	1852	2646	106	116	17.5	22.8	627,164	620,529	338.6	234.5	2,504,578	1,413,103	1352	534
Bossier	11,131	4360	432	178	25,7	24.5	2,363,258	969,079	212.3	222.3	9,291,442	2,261,290	835	519
Caddo	30,889	23,551	1260	834	24.5	28.2	~~7,593,823~~ ~~797,536~~	~~4,805,616~~ ~~830,773~~	245,8	204.1	28,789,770	17,401,692	932	739
Iberville	3147	4663	140	168	22.5	27.8	~~797,536~~ ~~767,212~~	830,773	253.4	178.2	2,943,580	2,371,669	935	509
Jackson	2643	1614	129	74	20.5	21.8	767,212	410,333	290.3	254.2	2,467,240	1,054,781	934	654
Livingston	6678	1334	270	46	24.7	20	1,448,174	215,372	216.4	161.5	3,385,246	344,534	507	258
Madison	1591	3383	69	117	23.1	28	381,141	569,630	230.6	168.4	1,575,193	1,536,196	900	454
Morehouse	4873	5150	197	160	24.7	32.2	1,146,317	815,595	235.2	158.4	3,861,583	1,291,331	702	251
Ouachita	11,849	4486	483	149	24.5	30.1	2,696,198	814,711	227.5	181.6	11,449,395	2,869,209	966	640
Pt. Coupee	2183	3681	105	122	20.8	30.2	626,022	598,746	286.8	162.7	1,110,997	1,399,950	509	380
Rapides	16,174	8672	684	344	23.6	25.2	3,786,433	1,760,928	234.1	203.1	19,831,661	6,879,559	1226	703
St. Tammany	7666	3088	296	127	25.9	24.3	1,594,311	592,652	208.0	191.9	6,743,424	2,199,096	880	712
~~Tangipahoa~~ W. Baton Rouge	9051	6684	387	208	23.9	32.1	2,328,923	1,034,582	257.3	154.8	3,560,151	1,682,777	303	252
~~City~~ W. Baton Rouge	1795	2376	79	95	22.7	25	402,834	487,388	224.4	205.1	1,757,920	1,471,591	979	619
City Monroe	5161	5380	226	182	22.8	29.6	1,291,217	921,749	250.2	171.3	4,781,369	2,379,085	926	442
the state of Louisiana	460,589	301,433	19,193	10,585	24	28.5	$108,195,672	$56,131,495	$235	$186	$450,557,291	$181,498,941	$978	$602

page 2

parishes	p. 378 & 380 (columns 7 & 14) value of library contents (books, furniture, fixtures, etc) white	Negro	value per student (of) library contents) white	Negro	p. 378 & 380 (columns 8 & 16) expenditures for library '62-'63 school year (books, salaries, supplies, etc) white	Negro	p. 374 number of busing vehicles white	Negro	p. 376 number of pupils transported white	Negro	this may not be right. perhaps we should use "total" columns rather than "public" columns. p. 376 transported pupils per bus white	Negro
Ascension	$ 76,193	$32,762	$ 17.30	$ 11.10	$29,873	$9,483	34	17	3489	2027	103	110
Bienville	83,724	44,868	45.2	16.1	26,932	18,035	33	26	1188	2186	36	84
Bossier	178,~~$~~132	49,692	16.1	11.4	51,809	18,596	100	42	8251	3202	83	76
Caddo	469,194	242,943	15.2	10.3	119,588	73,502	125	96	8795	7020	70	73
Iberville	57,411	46,494	18.2	9.1	20,167	15,496	41	29	2548	3478	62	111
Jackson	54,554	18,001	20.6	11.2	17,563	368	34	16	2117	852	62	53
Livingston	89,870	8,598	13.5	6.4	29,794	2,811	65	9	5238	841	81	93
Madison	33,750	44,300	21.2	13.1	9,046	11,957	~~39~~ 16	~~31~~ 16	861	1528	54	81
Morehouse	123,243	26,270	25.3	5.1	25,548	10,828	~~42~~ 39	~~26~~ 31	2546	3273	65	56
Ouachita	298,114	76,869	25.2	17.1	103,931	40,748	112	26	8625	1866	77	72
Pt. Coupee	45,935	27,758	21.0	7.5	850	11,250	28	30	1806	2565	57	86
Rapides	377,767	144,716	23.3	16.7	158,705	38,493	114	29	10,729	3449	94	119
St. Tammany	149,876	28,890	10.6	9.4	38,740	12,606	53	18	4807	1892	91	105
Tangipahoa	199,289	44,129	22.0	6.6	104,100	29,700	92	36	6746	4828	73	134
W. Baton Rouge	43,835	25,571	24.4	10.8	11,880	5674	19	14	1269	1599	67	114
City Monroe	115,000	67,000	22.9	12.5	29,550	19,150	23	11	1693	1831	74	167
Louisiana	$8,446,329	$3,315,806	$ 18.30	$ 11	$2,875,481	$1,110,348	3561	~~1460~~	260,478	133,162	73	91

[1960]

The General Condition of the Mississippi Negro

This paper is a report published by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. It is general and extensive in scope rather than specific and detailed. The report's purpose is three-fold:

1. to give SNCC's Mississippi field workers a handy reference source detailing statistically some of the general facts relating to the status of the Negro in Mississippi,

2. to indicate the dire necessity for COFO's proposed community centers and county workers, and

3. to serve as a guideline for more detailed studies to be made in the near future.

In this study, the term "nonwhite people" is used instead of the term "Negro" in many instances. Because of the high proportion of Negroes in the nonwhite category, it is not a distortion to use data that refers to "nonwhites" as data that refers particularly to Negroes. In 1960, in Mississippi, 99.6 per cent of the total nonwhite population was Negro, and 99.7 per cent of the nonwhite farm operators were Negro.

Report for Miss. Field Staff

PERTINENT BACKGROUND DATA

Growth in the Population, 1940-1960

Number and Proportion - 915,722 Negroes constituted, in 1960, roughly 42% of the total 2,178,000 population in Mississippi. Between 1940 and 1960, the total population remained nearly the same (per cent change: -0.2), with a more than 7% decrease in the Negro population compared with an increase of more than 6% among the non-Negro population. (See Chart I and Table I.)

Although birth rates among Negroes have been consistently higher than those among whites, mortality rates are higher, average life expectancy is lower and migration out of the state is considerably higher among Negroes than among whites.

Birth Rates - The higher birth rates among Negroes, in comparison with whites, are shown in Table 2. In 1949, the rate per 1,000 among the Negro population was 34.8, compared with 21,8 among whites. Since 1945 there has been a significant rise in the birth rate for Negroes. During the depression 30's, sharp declines in birth rates occurred among both Negroes and whites. (Chart 2)

Death Rates - Death rates among Negroes continue to be higher than the rates for whites, though the difference in the rates has consistently narrowed. (Table 3) It is still a fact, however, that the death rate among Negroes today is not as low as it was for whites in 1913, the first year for which we have death rate data. This is largely a reflection of the continued low standard of living Mississippi Negroes exist under, in addition to a lack of access to adequate hospital care. (See Chart III.)

Infant Mortality - Infant mortality rates since 1920 for both races have generally gone downward. The rate for non-whites, however, swung upward in 1957 and continued upward until 1961 when it started downward again (Chart IV). It takes no statistical genius to understand what the figures reflect: In Mississippi the chances of a Negro baby dying within the first year of life are at best twice those of a white baby. Though most babies of both races do survive, Negro babies have a greater chance of starting life with a health handicap. In communities where Negroes are subject to major segregation and discrimination, the Negro baby is much more likely to be born prematurely. Premature babies may get excellent care if they are born in or near a hospital with a modern center for premature infants, but Negroes in Mississippi are largely denied this. (Table 4)

Significant Population Characteristics, 1950-1960

Age Distribution - Table 5 compares the changes in the Negro and white population which have occurred among different age groups between 1950 and 1960. During this decade the total population of Mississippi remained almost the same. There was a net increase in the white population and a net decrease in the non-white population. Most significant for Negroes is the large decrease in the group aged 20 to 34. Because workers in this age group are traditionally

CHART 7. Percent of Negro and white Population in the Labor Force, 1960

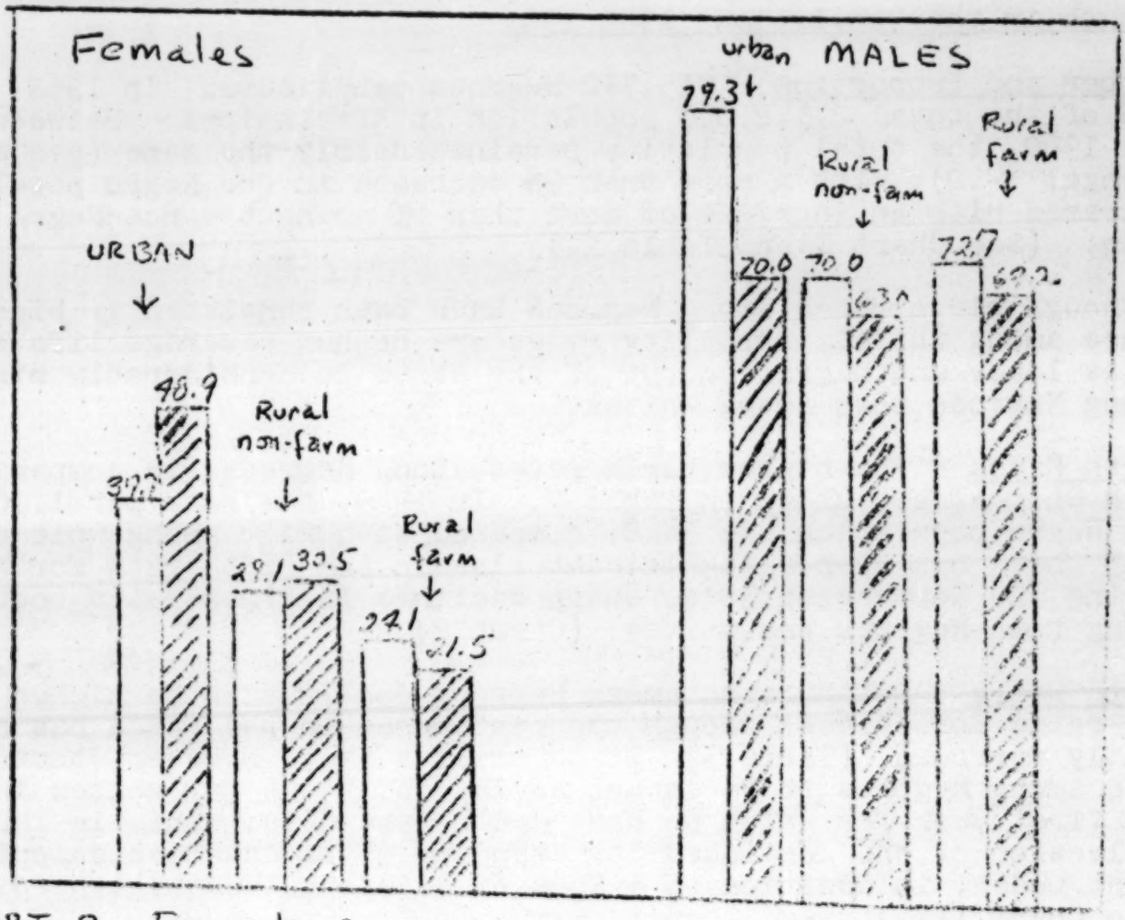
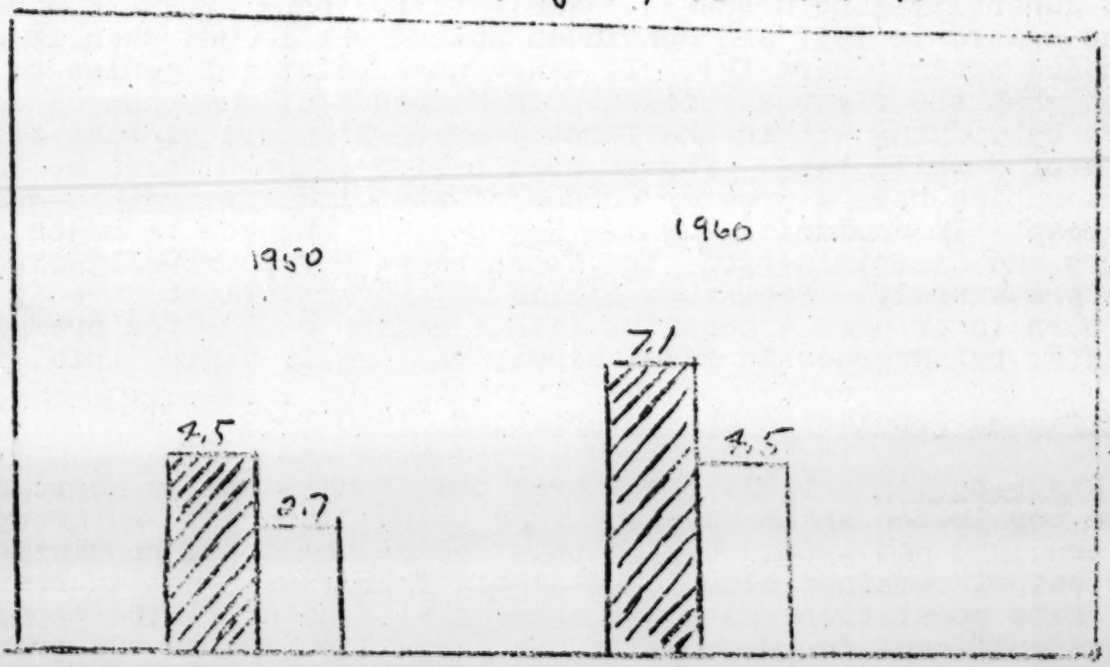


CHART 8. Percent of Negro and white workers in the Labor Force unemployed, 1950 and 1960.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census.

preferred in hiring for new employment, this change in age composition of the population may contribute to increased employment opportunity for younger Negroes. The situation may also add to the dilemma of employers whose hiring policies continue to favor white workers and workers under 35 years of age. (Chart 5.)

Urban-Rural Distribution - In 1960, the Negro population was largely rural, there being over two-thirds of the Negroes in the State living in rural areas. Of the 79,545 persons who migrated from rural areas into Mississippi cities, only 5 percent were non-white. There obviously has been no significant rural-urban redistribution of the non-white population within the state during the last decade. This is largely a feflection of the fact that employment opportunities for rural non-whites in the state's towns and cities are poor. (Table 7)

County Variations - Table 8, showing the Negro and white population in 1950 and 1960 for each county, reveals the high percentage of Negroes in some counties and the considerably high out-of-state migration taking place. There are 29 counties wherein Negroes constitute more than 50% of the population. Hinds, Calhoun and Coahoma are the counties with the largest numbers of Negroes. Tunica, Clairborne, and Jefferson have the largest percentages of Negroes. The area commonly referred to as the "Gulf Coast" has shown the only consistent increases in population during the last decade. This is the most affluent economic area or region in the state, significantly.

Cities of 10,000 or more - Table 9 shows the 18 cities in Mississippi that have a population of greater than 10,000. In all of these cities, with the exception of Biloxi, Negroes constitute 20 per cent or more of the total population.

Educational Attainment

As shown in Table 10, in 1960 all Negroes aged 25 and over had completed an average of only six years of school. This is five years less than the average for whites. The average is even less in the rural-farm areas where a high proportion of Negroes live.

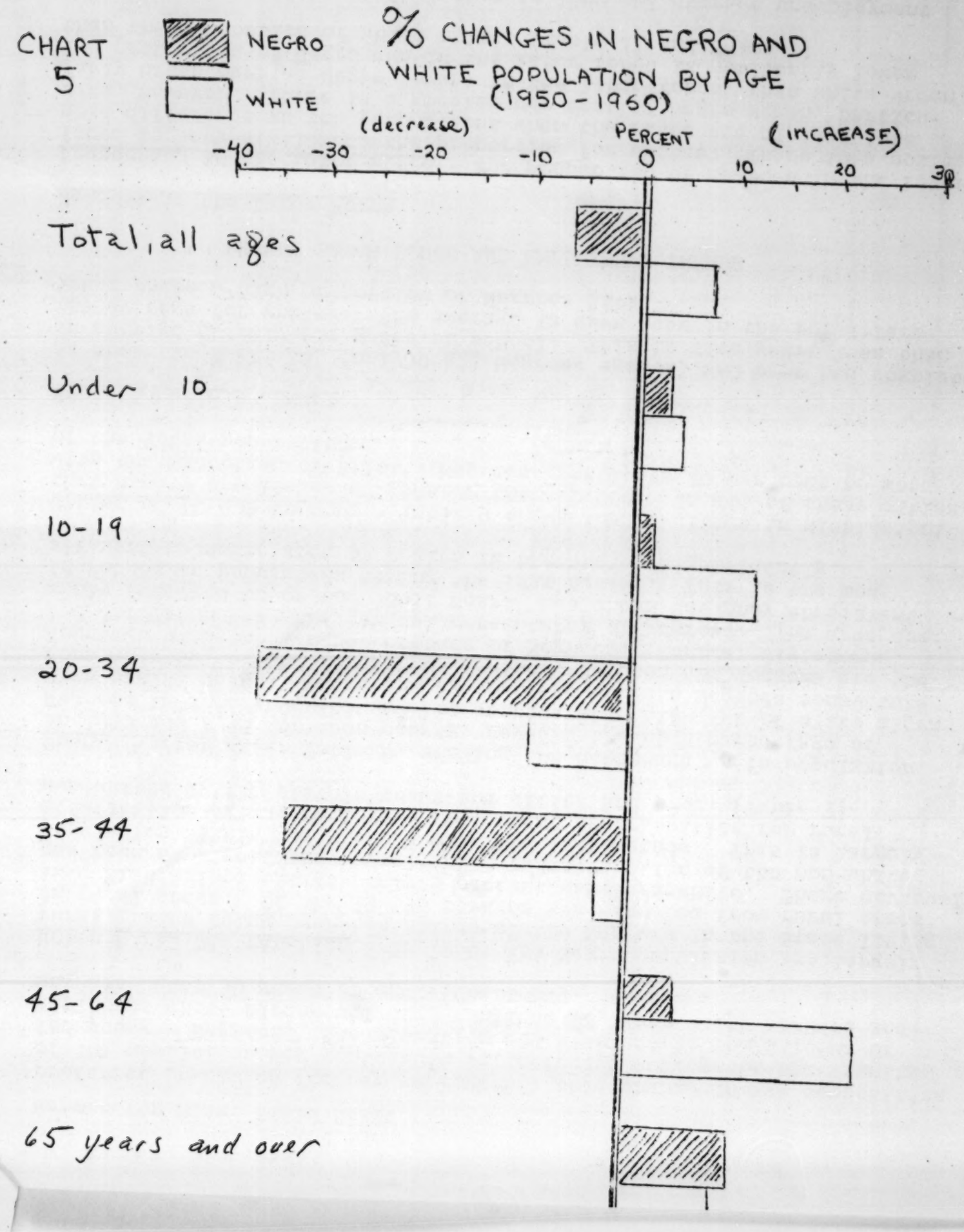
RECENT LABOR FORCE AND EMPLOYMENT TRENDS

Negroes in the Labor Force

Proportion in the Labor Force - The proportion of Negroes in the labor force is very similar to the proportion for whites. There is a noticeable difference in the proportions when the races are divided into sexe, however. There is a greater per cent of Negro women, particularly urban married Negro women, in the labor force, than white women. The proportion of Negro men in the labor force is noticeably lower than the proportion of white males. (Table 11 and Chart 7)

Unemployment - Table 12 shows that in 1960 the average unemployment rate for Negroes was more than 50 per cent gr[illegible] that of whites. Changes in the rates for the two races f[illegible] the same. This change [illegible] unemployment rate for Negroes of 7.1 percent. (Chart VIII)

CHART 5



...ss. Field St...
...tions at different Ag...
...saw with white men and ...
...were in the labor force ...
...nificantly higher proportio...
...were in the labor force co...
20 and 64, the labor force.
The pattern among the rates of
tion of Negro women in every
women in every age group shou
Women, the rate of labor for
the average age of marriage)
through the age of marriage)

35-44

45-64

65 years and over

...for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Status among different Age Groups - Table 13 shows, for 1960, the variations at different ages in the labor force status of Negroes in comparison with white men and women. About 67% of all Negro men ages 14 or over were in the labor force compared to roughly 75% of all white men. A significantly higher proportion of Negro men under age 24 and over age 65 were in the labor force. For both Negro men and white men between the of 20 and 64, the rates of labor force participation were comparable. The pattern among women shows some significant contrasts. The proportion of Negro women in the labor force was higher than for white women in every age group except ages 14-19 and 20-24. Among white women, the rate of labor force participation drops after age 24 (about the average age of marriage), whereas for Negro women the rate increases through the 45-49 age group.

Industry Distribution - In Table 14, it is apparent that of the roughly one-half million employed Negroes in the State, more than a third are employed in agriculture with more than another third employed in service industries. Unbelievable as it may seem, though Negroes comprise almost 40% of the total employed labor force, only about 4½% are employed in manufacturing and even less than that in coustruction employment.

Pattern of Unemployment - Table 15 reveals that of those Negroes unemployed, not more than 8% can be categorized as skilled workers. Though 21.1% of those unemployed were previously semi-skilled operatives or kindred workers, 31.9% were non-agricultural laborers and 21.55% were farm laborers. Thus, over 50% of the unemployed Negroes were unskilled laborers.

INCOME

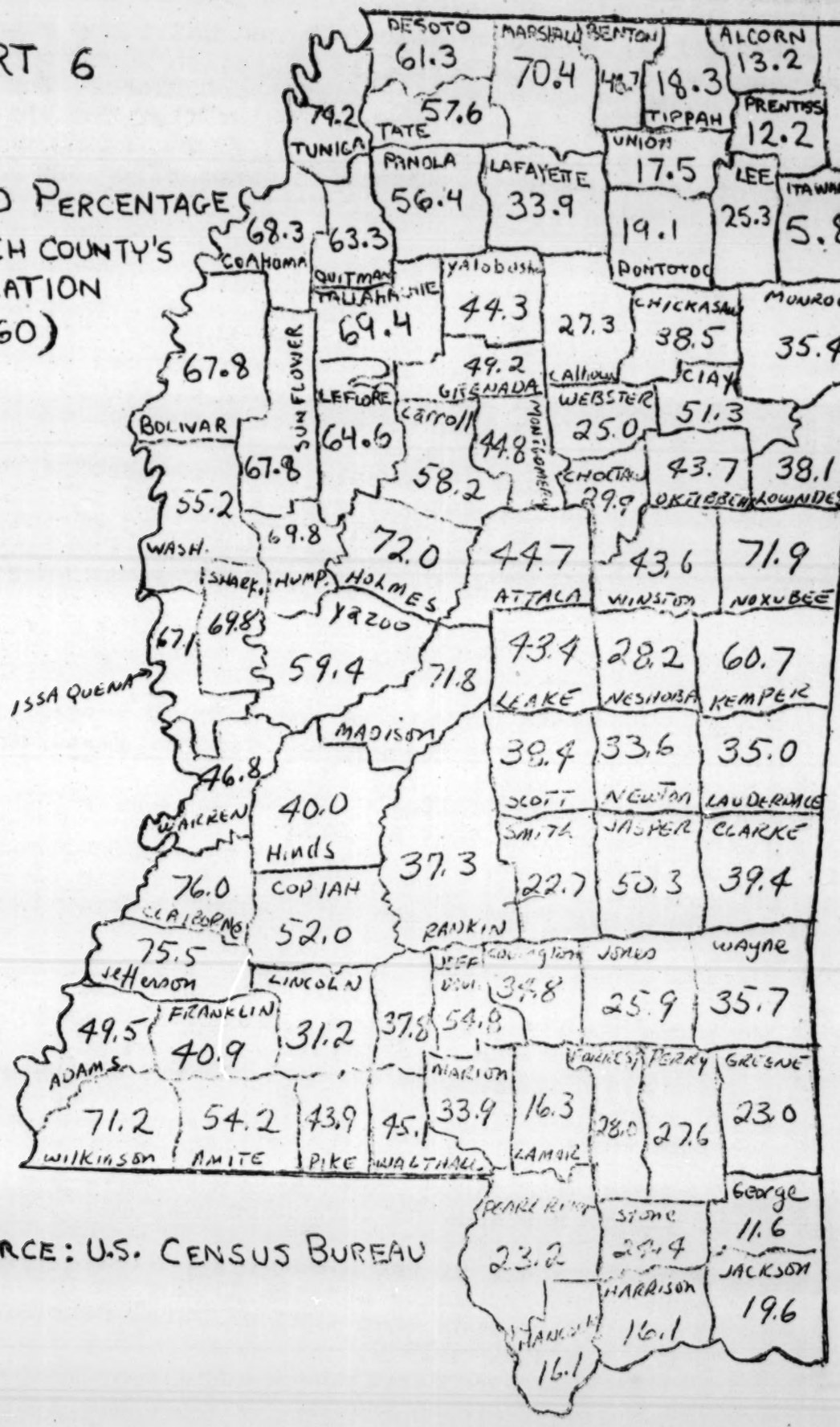
Income of Families, 1950-1960 - Table 16 and Chart 9 present the median income of all Negro and white persons for the years 1950-1960. In 1960 Negroes had an average annual income of $606, only 29% of the average income of $2,..3 among whites. The difference seems particularly wide in view of the fact that a higher proportion of Negro family members are in the labor force. The data in the previous section on labor force and employment show that a higher proportion of Negro males under age 24 and women over age 24 are in the labor force than is the case among whites.

There is a relatively smaller differential between Negroes and whites for urban as compared with rural persons. In 1960 the average income of urban Negroes was 33% of the average among whites, a decline from 36% in 1950. The urban Negro family in 1960 had an average income of $871, compared with an average of about $2600 for whites. Between 1950 and 1960 the average income of urban whites increased some $800, whereas among Negroes it increased less than $200. Among rural persons the median income of Negroes increased from #390 in 1950 to $474 in 1960 when it was about 31% of the average for white persons. This represented a relative decline from the $390 average of 1950 when the rural Negro's average income was 41% of the average among rural whites. The money income of both Negro and white persons living on farms remained low and increased relatively less than that of rural non-farm and urban families in the years 1945-1949.

Report for Miss. Field Staff-

CHART 6

NEGRO PERCENTAGE OF EACH COUNTY'S POPULATION (1960)



SOURCE: U.S. CENSUS BUREAU

HOUSING CONDITIONS

Statistics revealing housing conditions for Mississippi Negroes are somewhat shocking. In 1960 there were 207,611 housing units for Mississippi Negroes. Of these, 38.1% were owner-occupied, and 61.9% were renter-occupied (significantly out of line with the national proportion of owner- and renter-occupied housing). Of the 207,611 houses, only one-third can be classed as being in sound condition; the others have been classified as either deteriorating or dilapidated. Of the homes in the rural areas, over 75% are without any piped water at all, and over 90% of these rural homes had no flush toilets, no bathtub and no shower. (see table 18)

APPENDIX TABLES

Table 1 -- Population of Mississippi, by color, 1900-1960

Year	Total	Nonwhite	
		Number	Percentage
1960	2,178,141	920,595	44.4
1950	2,178,914	990,282	45.5
1940	2,183,796	1,077,469	49.1
1930	2,009,821	1,011,744	50.5
1920	1,790,618	936,656	52.5
1910	1,797,114	1,011,003	56.2
1900	1,551,270	910,070	58.6

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

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Table 2 -- Estimated birth rates, by color, selected years, 1920-1961

Births per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	34.8	21.8
1959	36.6	20.9
1955	36.6	23.2
1950	37.6	22.9
1940	27.3	20.9
1935	25.1	20.8
1930	24.0	23.2
1925	23.4	24.1
1920	22.7	26.3

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 3 -- Death Rates, by Color, selected years, 1920-1961

Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	11.0	8.8
1959	11.4	8.1
1955	10.2	8.7
1950	11.2	8.0
1940	12.6	8.6
1935	11.6	8.7
1930	14.8	9.0
1925	14.4	8.8
1920	15.1	9.3

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Report for Miss. Field Staff

Table 4 -- Deaths under 1 year, rates for selected years, 1920-1961

Deaths per 1,000 population

Year	Nonwhite	White
1961	50.0	23.5
1960	54.4	23.5
1955	46.4	24.7
1950	42.6	28.1
1945	44.7	36.1
1940	60.9	46.4
1935	58.6	47.5
1930	84.5	51.0
1925	85.7	53.0
1920	101.1	59.9

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 5 -- Population of Mississippi, by color, age, and sex, 1950-1960

Age and Sex	Negro		Native Born White		CHANGE - 1950-1960			
	1950	1960	1950	1960	Number Negro	N.B. White	Percentage Negro	NBW
Total	987,935	915,722	1,179,964	1,250,282	-72,213	70,318	-7.3	6.2
under 10	270,685	276,403	250,315	260,678	5,746	10,363	2.1	4.1
10-19	203,905	206,586	208,785	231,572	2,681	22,787	1.3	10.9
20-34	188,915	130,405	264,085	236,908	-58,510	-28,177	-38.5	-10.7
35-44	114,475	79,386	244,450	157,199	-35,089	-4,930	-33.8	-2.1
45-64	143,430	149,447	206,455	251,383	6,017	44,927	4.2	21.8
65 and over	66,605	72,528	85,680	92,043	5,923	6,363	8.9	7.4
MALE Total	479,580	440,641	589,869	621,656	-33,939	31,787	-8.1	5.4
under 10	135,685	138,456	128,310	133,140	2,771	4,830	2.0	3.8
10-19	100,490	105,074	107,490	120,351	4,584	12,861	4.5	1.3
20-34	86,520	57,893	129,785	117,612	-28,621	-12,173	-33.1	-9.4
35-44	52,755	33,923	79,810	77,182	-18,832	-2,628	-35.7	-3.3
45-64	70,940	70,053	101,770	122,485	-887	20,715	-1.2	20.7
65 and over	33,270	35,284	41,200	50,886	2,014	9,686	6.1	23.4
FEMALE Total	508,355	475,081	590,095	628,626	-33,274	38,531	-6.6	6.5
under 10	135,000	137,947	122,005	127,538	2,947	5,533	2.2	4.4
10-19	103,415	101,512	101,295	111,221	-1,903	9,926	-1.9	9.8
20-34	102,395	72,512	135,300	119,296	-29,883	-16,004	-29.1	-11.9
35-44	61,720	45,463	82,320	80,017	-16,257	-2,303	-26.4	-2.8
45-64	72,490	79,394	104,685	128,897	6,904	24,212	9.5	23.1
65 and over	33,335	37,244	44,480	41,157	3,909	-3,323	11.7	-7.5

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 6 -- Population of Mississippi, by color and urban-rural residence, 1960

Residence	Native-born White		Negro	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Urban	245,006	266,507	134,907	158,765
Rural-- non-farm	243,385	243,131	156,597	167,778
Rural--farm	124,265	118,988	149,137	148,588

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 7 -- Urban and rural migration, by race, in Mississippi, 1950-1960

Area	Population 1950	Population 1960	Net Migration Number	Net Migration %	Natural Increase	Net Change-%
State	2,178,914	2,178,141	-424,158	-16.3	19.4%	-0.03
White	1,188,632	1,257,546	-108,470	-7.9	14.9	5.8
Nonwhite	990,282	920,595	-315,688	-25.5	24.8	-7.0
Urban	607,162	820,805	79,545	10.7	22.1	35.2
White	374,320	525,853	75,476	16.8	20.3	40.5
Nonwhite	232,842	294,952	4,069	1.4	24.9	26.7
Rural	1,571,752	1,357,336	-503,703	-27.1	18.4	-13.3
White	814,312	731,693	-183,946	-20.1	12.4	-10.1
Nonwhite	757,440	625,643	-319,757	-33.8	24.8	-17.4

(Source: Mississippi State Board of Health)

Table 8 -- County Breakdown of Population and Migration

County	Population	No. Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes, 1950-1960
Adams	37,730	18,695	49.5	-16.1
Alcorn	25,282	3,333	13.2	-14.6
Amite	15,573	8,443	54.2	-19.1
Attala	21,335	9,546	44.7	-17.5
Benton	7,723	3,609	46.7	-6.3
Bolivar	54,464	36,943	67.8	-14.4
Calhoun	15,941	4,346	27.3	1.3
Carroll	11,177	6,500	58.2	-26.4
Chickasaw	16,891	6,511	38.5	-22.7
Choctaw	8,423	2,520	29.9	24.3
Clairborne	10,845	8,245	76.0	-7.7
Clarke	16,493	6,492	39.4	-17.6
Clay	18,993	9,719	51.3	-3.7
Coahoma	46,212	31,582	68.3	-11.4
Copia	27,051	14,059	52.0	-13.7
Covington	13,637	4,741	34.8	-9.1
Desoto	23,891	14,643	61.3	-11.4
Forrest	52,722	14,752	28.0	13.

Tishomingo 13,849 679 4.9 -15.8

Table 8, continued

County	Population	Number Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes 1950-1960
Franklin	9,286	3,800	40.9	-11.7
George	11,098	1,287	11.6	4.5
Greene	8,366	1,923	23.0	27.9
Grenada	18,409	9,057	49.2	-7.9
Hancock	14,039	2,255	16.1	10.6
Harrison	119,489	19,256	16.1	43.5
Hinds	187,489	74,840	40.0	17.1
Holmes	27,096	19,501	72.0	-20.3
Humphreys	19,093	13,335	69.8	-17.2
Issaquena	3,576	2,400	67.1	-28.3
Itawamba	15,080	874	5.8	-6.7
Jackson	55,522	10,864	19.6	61.3
Jasper	16,909	8,507	50.3	-12.5
Jefferson	10,142	7,653	75.5	-9.1
Jefferson Davis	13,540	7,414	54.8	-13.9
Jones	59,542	15,447	25.9	2.9
Kemper	12,277	7,449	60.7	-21.0
Lafayette	21,355	7,245	33.9	-10.4
Lamar	13,675	2,232	16.3	6.0
Lauderdale	67,119	23,484	35.0	0.4
Laurence	10,215	3,861	37.8	-18.9
Leake	18,660	8,101	43.4	-11.6
Lee	40,589	10,289	25.3	-3.5
Leflore	47,142	30,443	64.6	-13.8
Lincoln	26,759	8,352	31.2	-9.1
Loundes	46,639	17,768	38.1	-3.5
Madison	32,904	23,637	71.8	-5.2
Marion	23,293	7,885	33.9	-6.0
Marshall	24,503	17,239	70.4	-2.8
Monroe	33,953	12,021	35.4	-12.3
Montgomery	13,320	5,971	44.8	-4.1
Neshoba	20,927	5,901	28.2	-11.5
Newton	19,517	6,567	33.6	-16.4
Noxubee	16,826	12,102	71.9	-18.8
Oktibbeha	26,175	11,448	43.7	-2.6
Panola	28,791	16,226	56.4	-7.2
Pearl River	22,411	5,190	23.2	15.5
Perry	8,745	2,412	27.6	
Pike	35,063	15,408	43.9	-1.9
Pontotoc	17,232	3,286	19.1	-13.9
Prentiss	17,949	2,186	12.2	-6.3
Quitman	21,019	13,304	63.3	-15.3
Rankin	34,322	12,818	37.3	-6.2
Scott	21,187	8,137	38.4	-13.2
Sharkey	10,738	7,491	69.8	-18.5
Simpson	20,454	7,200	35.2	-1.0
Smith	14,303	3,247	22.7	-4.2
Stone	7,013	1,711	24.4	25.3
Sunflower	45,750	31,020	67.8	-18.7
Tallahatchie	24,081	15,501	69.4	-20.1
Tate	18,138	10,442	57.6	0.7
Tippah	15,093	2,756	18.3	-18.8
Tishomingo	13,889	679	4.9	-15.8

Change Negroes -1960

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 8, concluded

County	Population	Number Nonwhite	% Nonwhite	Net Change of Negroes 1950-1960
Tunica	16,826	13,321	79.2	-24.8
Union	18,904	3,312	17.5	-8.9
Walthall	13,512	6,100	45.1	-14.9
Warren	42,206	19,759	46.8	-1.7
Washington	78,638	43,399	55.2	-7.8
Wayne	76,158	5,809	35.7	-6.6
Webster	10,580	2,642	25.0	-1.9
Wilkinson	13,235	9,428	71.2	-3.4
Winston	19,246	8,393	43.6	-9.7
Yalobusha	12,502	5,540	44.3	-16.8
Yazoo	31,653	18,791	59.4	-14.9

(Sources:United States Bureau of the Census and Miss. State Board of Health)

Table 9 -- Urban places of more than 10.000 persons, 1960

Place	Total Population	White and Nonwhite		Nonwhite	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Biloxi	44,053	26,606	17,447	2,748	2,809
Clarksdale	21,105	9,834	11,271	5,056	6,148
Cleveland	10,172	4,902	5,270	1,841	2,042
Columbus	24,771	11,022	13,749	4,542	5,396
Corinth	11,453	5,334	6,119	1,042	1,275
Greenville	41,502	19,636	21,866	9,186	11,002
Greenwood	20,436	9,303	11,133	4,675	5,826
Gulfport	30,204	15,064	15,140	3,030	3,306
Hattiesburg	34,989	16,644	18,345	5,189	6,026
Jackson	144,422	67,619	76,803	23,854	27,702
Laurel	27,889	13,169	14,720	4,615	5,352
McComb	12,020	5,574	6,446	1,531	1,882
Meridian	49,374	22,715	26,659	7,501	9,260
Natchez	23,791	11,073	12,718	5,633	6,710
Pascagoula	17,155	8,599	8,556	1,924	1,961
Tupelo	17,221	8,158	9,063	1,847	2,300
Vicksburg	29,143	13,422	15,721	6,098	7,436
Yazoo	11,236	5,109	6,127	2,745	3,441

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 10 -- Years of school completed by persons 25 or older, 1960

Race	Number 25 and over	Years completed					high school	
		none	1-4	5-6	7	8	1-3	4
Nonwhite								
number	383,017	24,318	92,063	61,525	37,729	67,239	42,547	16,273
percentage		8.4	31.3	20.2	9.1	12.4	11.1	4.2
White								
number	681,959	8,444	40,274	51,865	38,450	98,287	156,554	168,058
percentage		1.2	5.9	7.6	5.6	14.4	23.0	24.6

Median grade: Nonwhite - grade 6 (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)
White ---- grade 11

Table 11 -- Employment status of the civilian, noninstitutional population in Mississippi, by color and sex, 1960 (% distribution)

Employment status and sex.	White			Nonwhite		
	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm
Both sexes: Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	57.6	49.3	48.9	58.1	45.7	45.1
Not in labor force	42.4	50.7	51.1	41.9	44.3	44.9
In labor force						
employed	96.0	94.6	96.3	91.2	92.9	95.3
unemployed	4.0	5.4	3.7	8.8	7.1	4.7
Females: Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	37.7	29.1	24.1	48.9	30.5	21.5
Not in labor force	62.3	70.9	75.9	51.1	69.5	78.5
In labor force						
employed	95.3	95.0	95.0	92.0	91.7	90.2
unemployed	4.7	5.0	5.0	8.0	8.3	9.8

Table 11, continued

Males:	White			Nonwhite		
	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm	urban	rural non-farm	rural farm
Total, 14 years and over	100	100	100	100	100	100
In labor force	79.3	70.0	72.7	70.0	63.0	69.2
Not in labor force	20.7	30.0	27.3	30.0	37.0	30.8
In labor force						
employed	96.3	94.5	96.7	94.5	93.5	96.9
unemployed	3.7	5.5	3.3	5.5	6.5	3.1

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 12 -- Rate of unemployment, 1950-1960

1950		1960	
white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
2.7	4.5	4.5	7.1

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 13 -- Total in labor force (percentage), by ages, 1960

Age	Male		Female	
	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
Total, 14 years up	100	100	100	100
14-19	33.0	34.5	15.1	16.5
20-24	80.3	64.3	38.6	40.8
25-29	89.5	92.4	43.4	39.4
30-34	91.2	94.3	47.2	42.6
35-39	91.2	93.9	48.8	44.0
40-44	91.2	93.2	49.1	46.6
45-49	90.4	92.1	49.6	45.3
50-54	87.2	89.1	46.3	41.9
55-59	81.9	83.9	40.4	35.3
60-64	72.4	71.0	30.7	26.0
65-69	49.0	44.9	18.2	14.8

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Report for Miss. Field Staff, continued

Table 14 -- Industry grouping of employed persons, 1960 (percentage distribution)

INDUSTRY	NONWHITE				WHITE			
	State	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm	State	Urban	Rural non-farm	Rural farm
Agriculture	34.9	3.1	36.0	76.5	12.8	1.2	8.4	47.1
Manufacturing	4.6	6.7	4.4	2.0	23.3	20.1	29.1	20.2
Wholesale trade	1.3	2.4	1.1	0.2	3.2	4.6	2.5	1.1
Mining	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	1.3	1.3	0.9	0.8
Transportation, Communications and other public utilities	4 0	3.6	3.3	1.5	4.8	6.1	3.3	2.8
Retail Trade	6.5	14.4	7.4	1.7	16.9	20.9	16.9	7.5
Service industries	35.9	55.1	31.7	12.4	26.1	31.1	23.0	10.8
Industry not reported	2.1	2.6	1.9	1.5	1.9	2.2	1.7	1.8

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Cunsus)

Table 15 -- Major group occupation of the experienced unemployed, 1960(%)

Group	Male		Female	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Professional	2.4	0.6	5.5	1.2
Farmers and farm managers	3.2	3.5	0.4	3.2
Managers, officials, proprietors	3.5	0.2	2.5	0.1
Clerical and kindred workers	4.4	0.9	18.6	0.6
Sales workers	4.0	0.2	10.9	0.5
Craftsmen, foremen and kindred	28.5	10.4	1.2	0.1
Operatives and kindred workers	29.1	21.1	35.2	5.6
Private household workers	0.1	0.7	2.4	39.8
Service workers, except private household workers	3.0	6.1	12.5	12.8
Farm laborers and foremen	4.8	21.5	2.4	31.5
Laborers, except farm and mine	13.3	31.9	0.7	1.0
Occupations not reported	3.7	3.0	7.6	3.7

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 16 -- Median income for persons, 1950 and 1960

	1950			1960		
	state	urban	rural	state	urban	rural
Nonwhite	$440	$693	$390	$606	$871	$474
White	$1,236	$1826	$973	$2,023	$2,622	$1,605

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

Table 18 -- Negro housing in Mississippi, 1960

	State Total	Urban	Rural
Total Housing Units	207,611	77,824	129,787
owner-occupied (#)	79,059	32,913	46,146
owner-occupied (%)	38.1	42.3	35.6
renter-occupied (#)	128,552	44,911	83,641
renter-occupied (%)	61.9	57.5	64.4
Condition			
Owner-Occupied:			
sound	36,656	17,677	18,979
deteriorating	27,545	10,005	17,540
dilapidated	14,858	5,231	9,627
Renter-Occupied			
sound	33,168	15,294	17,874
deteriorating	52,629	15,937	36,692
dilapidated	42,755	13,680	29,075
Water Supply			
Hot and Cold Water, piped inside	40,870	33,181	7,689
Only cold Water, piped inside	39,101	30,376	8,725
Piped water outside	27,502	10,229	17,273
No piped water	100,138	4,038	96,100
Toilet Facilities			
Flush Toilet, exclusive use	62,160	52,481	9,679
Flush Toilet, shared use	7,570	6,965	605
None	137,881	18,378	119,503
Bathing Facilities			
Bathtub or shower, exclusive use	44,991	36,333	8,658
Bathtub or shower, shared	2,207	1,807	400
No bathtub or shower	160,413	39,684	120,729

(Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census)

G.W. Please return [1963]

REPORT ON LEFLORE COUNTY

by Constancia Romilly

Voter Registration in the Delta of Mississippi

The Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in their report of January, 1963, Administration of Justice in Mississippi, as quoted in The Congressional Record, Senate, 1963, pp. 2653-2557, states: (aspects of discrimination) "include(s) the denial of the fundamental right to vote and have that vote counted in elections. Sixty-five sworn voting complaints from 13 Mississippi counties have been received by the Commission. This is the third highest in the Nation." The voting problem remains serious in the state of Mississippi. Activity by the Justice Department in Mississippi promises some slow relief in counties where suits have been initiated. (In 1961, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reported that voting suits were brought by the Federal Government in Clarke, Forrest, Walthall and Jefferson Davis Counties, Mississippi. None of these are in the Delta region.) "Yet the State government continues to erect all possible barriers to equal access to the franchise by our Negro citizens. In 1962, the Mississippi Legislature enacted a new law requiring the publication of the names and addresses of all new voting registrants for 2 weeks in a newspaper ofggeneral circulation. This law is ostensibly designed to faci facilitate challenges of registrants on moral grounds. In fact, it can be used to facilitate reprisals against Negroes who seek to register." This was consistant with the trend begun in 1954 when the Mississippi Constitution of 1890 was amended to impose more stringent registration qualifications. (See the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights report on Voting in 1961.)

A further difficulty encountered by the Commission was the lack of figures on voter registration. The Commission found that Missis-

sippi compiles no official records by race on a statewide basis, although, since the registration process requires racial identification, these figures are available to the local officials having charge of voter registration. But local officials have been discouraged from releasing these figures to the Commission. In spite of this difficulty, the Civil Rights Commission revealed some very significant figures in its 1961 report. First, however, we present some general background, especially on Leflore County, the center of the current crisis. This information is also to be found in the 1961 Civil Rights Commission report on Voting.

In 1961, it was reported that there existed in Leflore an active white citizens council, a N.A.A.C.P. group and a Negro Voters League. These last two were, of course, part of the statewide vote promotion efforts of several organizations, later organized into the Council of Federated Organizations, with Aarom E. Henry as its president and Robert Moses, Director. The need seen by SNCC for a voter registration effort in Mississippi which prompted them to join the NAACP in August, 1961, will be easily understood after an examination of the facts presented below on Leflore County. Again, these figures are taken from the report on Voting issued by the U. S. Civil Rights Commission in 1961.

Mississippi is one of theastates to retain the poll tax. Mississippi election laws provide for permanent registration, and require that an applicant "be able to read any section of the Constitution... (and) give a reasonable interpretation thereof." That such clauses can be flexibly applied by local registrars to deny the applications of Negro registrants, and have been thus used, can be deduced from the evidence presented here.

Mississippi ranks third as a source of sworn complaints received by the Commission, 43 complaints from 10 counties (as of 1963 this figure had grown to 65 from 13 counties as reported earlier). Five of these counties are in the Delta (Bolivar, Hinds, Leflore, Sunflower and Tallahatchie). The Commission also found strong indications of disenfranchisement of Negroes in these Delta counties: Carroll, Desoto, Issaquena and Tate. There are at least 9 Mississippi counties where no Negroes are registered, although they are a large proportion of the population. In Mississippi as a whole, 36.1% of the total voting age population (1,170,522) is registered. However, only 6.1% of the Negro voting age population (25,921 out of 422,256) is registered. This is a slight, but not encouraging, increase over the 4.4% of voting age Negroes registered to vote reported in 1954 by the then Attorney General James P. Coleman.

In Leflore County 56.9% of the total voting age population is registered to vote, while only .9% of the Negro population of voting age is registered. This is even more disturbing when one notes that this figure represents a decrease of .7% from 1950, or inaactual numbers of people, a drop from 297 Negroes registered in 1950 and only 163 registered in 1960. It must also be remembered that Negroes in Leflore represent 64.6% of the total county population. It must not be thought that Leflore is atypical in this respect. Looking at neighboring Sunflower County, the home of Mississippi Senator Eastland, we find a similar picture. 60.6% of the total voting age population is registered, while only 1.2% (161 out of 13,524) of the Negro population of voting age is registered.

Obviously something more than the oft-cited voter apathy must account forthese extreme figures. The Commission has indeed found other causes. There is evidence of widespread fear in the Negro

community of economic and physical reprisals for attempted registration. They can hardly be blamed for suchaan attitude, considering the history of lawless violence perpetrated against Negroes in Mississippi. Indeed, Leflore County itself was the locale of the brutal murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 for alleged advances made to a white woman. Emmett Till's self-confessed murderers are still free in Mississippi. And in 1959, occurred the 538th lunching of a Negro in Mississippi since 1883. This was the infamous case of Mack Charles Parker, in Poplarville, Pearl River County, in Southern Mississippi. Mississippi holds the national record for lynchings.

In addition, there has been constant harrassment of voter-registr tration workers and participants. The form of such intimidation ranges from economic or physical reprisals, or threats of such reprisals, through arbitrary application of the literacy and constitutional interpretation requirements. The complete absence of local justice afforded these people is amply documented in both the Justice section of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission report of 1961 and the more recent report of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights cited earlier.

<u>Violence Stalks Voter-Registration Workers in Mississippi</u>

The latest outbreak of violence came less than 12 hours after President Kennedy delivered his 6,000 word civil rights message to Congress calling for increased protection of Negro rights and less than two weeks after Samuel Block appealed to the Justice Department to send Federal marshals into the area to protect citizens trying to vote.

Staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), working on voter registration in Leflore County, Mississippi, have been the object of a new wave of violence in the past few weeks.

The town of Greenwood has been the scene of these recent efforts to terrorize student workers who have also helped to secure fodd for Negro sharecroppers denied Federal surplus food relief.

On February 25thaand 26th, over 150 Nebroes attempted to register to vote in Greenwood, Mississippi. This is the largest number of Negroes who have attempted to register in Greenwood or any Black Belt County. Hunger and violence are apparently being used to curtail voter-registration efforts.

Since February 20, 1963 :

..... Four Negro businesses destroyed by fire!

..... SNCC Field Secretary sentenced to six months in jail!

..... Student worker shot in the neck when attacked by a passing car!

..... Second shooting injures four voter-registration workers!

Four small business places, located on the same street as the Greenwood office of SNCC, were destroyed by fire early Wednesday morning, February 20.

The belief that the real target was the SNCC office finds support in the callkreported by Mrs. Nancy Brand, worker in that office. She received an anonymous phone call the morning of the fire from a man who asked if she ever went to the office. When she answered "Yes", the caller said, "You won't be going there any more. That's been taken care of."

The destroyed businesses were Jackson's Garage, George's Cafe, Porter's Pressing Shop, and the Esquire Clubb.

On February 22, Samuel Block, SNCC field secretary, was arrested in front of his office in Greenwood, Mississippi.on He was taken to an unknown jail and charged with "circulating breakh of the peace." When tried on Monday, February 25, the charge was changed to "issuing

statements calculated to breach the peace," and Block was sentenced to six months in jail and fined $500.00.

The Judge who pronounced sentence told Mr Block that he would reduce the fine to $250.00 and suspend sentence if he would leave Mississippi for good. Samuel Block was born and reared in Mississippi.

Samuel Block is one of the twenty young Mississippi Negroes working with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee voter-registration program.

Block has been arrested seven times, beaten twice, and was forced to jump from a second story window last August to flee a lynch mob of white men carrying chains, ropes and iron pipes.

James Travis, 20 year old SNCC staff member, narrowly missed death when the car which he was driving was shot into by three white men, seven miles outside Greenwood on Thursday evening, February 28.

Travis was accompanied by Robert Moses, director of SNCC's statewide Mississippi registration program, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of southwide Voter Education Project. An untagged 1962 white Buick passed Travis' car on the highway to Greenville, Mississippi and fired several blasts into his car. Both front windows were demolished, seven bullets pierced the side of the car, and a bullet passed through Travis' shoulder and lodged at the back of his head, behind the spine. He was operated on the next day at University Hospital in Jackson, Mississippi.

Four voter registration workers were cut by flying glass when the car in which they were sitting was fired into on Wednesday night, March 7. This was the second such shooting in Greenwood in less than ten days.

Those cut by the shattered front window of their car were Sam Block, 23, Willie Peacock, 25, Miss Peggy Marye, 19, and Miss Essie

Broome, 24. The four young people had just left a church meeting dealing with food and clothing needs of the county.

Population and Economy

Leflore County is in the center of the Delta region of Mississippi. While the Negro population of the State as a whole represents more than 40% of the total and in the Delta more than 50%, in Leflore the white population is 16,699 and the Negro population 30,443, or 64.6%. It is a primarily rural area with a one-crop economy based on cotton, surviving on a tenant-sharecropper system. Like many such Black Belt counties, the population has been steadily dropping. The discrepancy between opportunities for the white and Negro segments of the population are glaring. An analysis of median family income follows:

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME

	Total	White	Non-White
U.S.	$2,619	$3,135	$1,569
Miss.	1,028	1,614	601
Leflore	918	2,784	595

It is clear from the foregoing that while the Negro population has a median family income not only lower than the national average, but even lower than the Mississippi average, wwhile the white population has an average which exceeds the national overall median family income. In 1959, 310,080 acres of land were owned by whites and only 24,116 by Negroes, while it is reported that the only land available for building by Negroes is located on the outskirts of town.

Less than 50% of all accomodations in Leflore, occupied and mm vacant, were tallied by the Census as "sound with all plumbing facilities." Of the remaining livable dwellings, Negroes occupy 21.4%, while whites, who represent only 35.4% of the population, occupy

78.3% of these livable dwellings. 82.8% of all Negro housing has been classified as substandard, and it has been noted that only 13.4% of Negro dwellings are owner-occupied (a symptom of the tenant-share-cropping system mentioned above.)

Education

Another area where we find glaring inequalities is that of education. In leflore County, of the 68 elementary schools for Negroes, 41 are run on the inadequate one or two teacher system. None of the 5 high schools for Negroes in the county are accredited by the regional association, wheras both the white high schools are. The teacher-pupil ratio is 1:28 in the Negro schools and 1:23 in the white schools. Informants report that the Negro schools were physically equal to or newer than the while schools, butthe Commission points out that this as a pattern frequently found in communities which are attempting to avoid integration in education.. Even in these new schools, it is reported that adequate library, recreation and laboratory facilities are sorely lacking. An analysis of median years of school completed by persons age 25 or over follows:

MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS AGE 25 OR OVER

	Total	White	Non-White
U.S.	9.3	9.7	6.9
Miss.	8.1	9.9	5.1
Leflore	6.4	11.9	4.3

Again we find, as in the case of median family income, that the white population exceeds the total U.S. average, and in this case even the white median for the U.S. as a whole, while the Negro population falls under both the U.S. and the Mississippi median for non-whites.

Public Facilities

Community facilities for Negroes in Leflore are totally inadequate. There is no library in Leflore for Negroes, public beaches and municipal pools are strictly for the use of whites, all theaters, restaurants, hotels and motels are segregated, and the facilities in both the bus terminal and the airport are seperate.

On March 15th, a staff lawyer for the Civil Rights Commission was arrested for disobaying racial segregation rules at the bus depot.

There is no Negro clerk, bailiff or prosecutor in any court in Leflore County. No Negro judge sits on any bench and there is no local Negro attorney. There has never been a Negro juror in Leflore. No Negro nolds a job in any portion of the law enforcement agency, and the quarters in the Negro parts of the jails are inferior. The Post Office has employed Negroes as letter carriers restricted to delivering in Negro neighborhoods. Through the State Employment Agencies Negroes are offered only unskilled jobs (these agencies are aided with Federal Funds).

The Armed Forces Reserve Unit and the National Guard component in Leflore are both restricted to participation by whites only.

PROPOSED RECOMMENDATIONS

We heartily concur with the findings of the Mississippi Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, especially as outlined in items 4 and 5 quoted below:

"4. This committee finds that the Federal Government has not provided the citizens of Mississippi the protection due them as American citizens. The Department of Justice has acted in good faith, but the present interpretation of the function of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department is unduly and unwisely narrow and limited. This may be due to the inadequacy of funds available to the Division for staff and the like, and it may be due to a reluctance to

bring cases to trial under exinting Civil Rights Acts in view of the prospect of facing an all-white jury likely to return a verdict in favor of a white law enforcement official accused by a Negro. Whatever the reason, the fact that police officers are rarely tried on civil rights charges has led the public to believe that few serious charges are ever made, and has reinforced the belief among offending peace officers that they may treat or mistreat Negroes as their whims direct them.

"5. We also find that the Commission on Civil Rights itself continues to have an unfulfilled obligation in regard to Mississippi. It is our opinion that a formal civil rights hearing, such as only the Commission can conduct, is more urgently needed in Mississippi than in practically any other State of the Union. Yet the Commission has never met in this State in the course of its 5-year existence."

We would like to add some recommendations of our own:

"Recommendations: That the President direct the Department of Justice to investigate every allegation of physical abuse of authority by state or local officials in Mississippi, and institute criminal proceedings in all cases in which such action appears to be warranted, regardless of the prospects for conviction; That the Commission on Civil Rights hold formal public hearings in Mississippi on charges of equal protection of the law on account of race, and that these hearings be held periodically so long as the present situation exists and the Commission remains in force; and that the Commission on Civil Rights make recommendations to the Congress for the passage of further legislation designed to protect American citizens from being physically abused by persons acting under the color of governmental authority at any level."

We also particularly emphasize the Recommendation of the Commission in 1961, #3: "That Congress amend subsection (b) of 42 USC 1971 to prohibit any arbitrary action or (where there is a duty to act) arbitrary inaction, which deprives or threatens to deprive any person of the right to register, vote, and have that vote counted in any federal election."

In addition, we would recommend that Government action be taken to insure the sharecroppers of Leflore County surplus food and that if present rules prevent distribution of government surplus food to the needy, that the rules be changed with a stroke of the Secretary of Agriculture's pen.

Notes on COFO Welfare and Relief Committee Meeting

Hattiesburg, Mississippi

January 24, 1964

PEOPLE PRESENT: Mary Lane, Susie Taylor, Mindy Samstein, Oscar Chase, Dorie Ladner, Mrs. Leonia Luckett, Miss Lois Rodgers, Miss Pinkie Pilcher, George Green, Annell Ponder.

T H I N G S D O N E

1. Report from areas represented by Leflore, Bolivar, Hinds (Jackson office work) counties. Third District needy counties were pointed out by George Green.

2. Decided to make immediate contact with Atlanta office of SNCC to see whether they had made national appeal.

   b. To contact Carl and Anne Braden regarding their getting a drive underway in cooperation with the Louisville Movement.

   c. To contact the next day a group of Negro businessmen (meeting at Tougaloo College) concerning the program and appeal for their help. (Mr. Rodriguez of Jac son Central Insurance Company is key person in this group. The meeting was not held)

   d. To request the out-of-town ministers participating in the Hattiesburg protests to follow up their personal efforts by conducting drives in their churches when they return home. (Annell will do this. She is also soliciting aid from SCLC and other contacts.)

   e. To send batches of Welfare and Relief Applications out to new centers listed below.

   f. Lois Rodgers agreed to contact summer visitors to Delta projects regarding aid. (She will get addresses and names from as many sources as possible.)

3. Discussed new distribution centers.

   a. Quiver Street in Ruleville

   b. Church Street in Cleveland

   c. Charleston outlets in Tallahatchie County

   d. A church in Warren County secured by Jesse Harris

   e. Mrs. Leonia Luckett, Grant Street, Itta Bena, Miss.

   f. Mrs. Laura McGhee, Route 2, Box 287, Greenwood, Miss.

   g. Mary Lane to help set up committee in Itta Bena.

4. Agreed to get from Charlie Cobb information on county by county welfare program breakdown.

5. We discussed the possibility of recontacting groups or organizations which have already sent supplies. Mary Lane has records of persons sending things to Greenwood. Everyone agreed to list persons or groups in and out of the state who may send in supplies and contact at last some of these by the next meting. Lists were to be brought to the next meeting.

6. Listed key contacts already working for SNCC Welfare and Relief drives:

Jim Monsonis, New York SNCC, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY

Mr. Thernell, SNCC Washington Office, 3418 - 11th St. Washington, D.C.

Julian Bond, Atlanta SNCC, 8½ Raymond Street, Atlanta, Georgia, 30314

7. People present were quite concerned about the need for the Welfare and Relief program in the following counties:

Jefferson, Quitman, Amite, Pike, Walthall, Warren, Carroll, Tallahatchie.

8. The next meeting will be held in Greenwood, Wednesday, February 26, at 1:00 P.M.

S U G G E S T I O N S

SUGGESTED BY Miss Pilcher:

Only people that need food and clothing should receive it. Have people to canvass in order to find out the people that need food and clothing.

SUGGESTED BY Mrs. Luckett:

Committees be set up to distribute food and clothing.

SUGGESTED BY Mary Lane:

A committee be set up and have a meeting and precise rules be made. Have a mass meeting and let the people know who the members of the committee are.

O T H E R S U G G E S T I O N S

(1) Food and clothing drive be rotated (hills & delta)

(2) Distribution centers be set up and when the appeals are made, food and clothing be sent directly to the centers.

(3) Get a list of people who have been denied surplus food (Federal Government) because of Voter Registration.

PLACES THAT NEED FOOD AND CLOTHING

The counties that need food and clothing are:

1. Jefferson
2. Amite
3. Pike
4. Bolivar
5. Leflore
6. Carroll
7. Holmes
8. Sunflower
9. Tallahatchie
10. Warren

P R O B L E M S

1. Whether there is enough on the staff of distribution of food and clothing.

2. People partial in giving.

3. Discussion and concern about Quitman County. We're in hope that Clarksdale will be able to work this county.

P O S S I B L E C O N T A C T S

GREENWOOD - contact people that have sent food and clothing. Mary Lane is responsible for contacts.

Send a letter to SNCC Office in New York for list of ministers.

Other possible contacts are ministers in Hattiesburg.

file

COFO
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Miss.
February 3, 1964

Dear Norman Hill:

Enclosed is a discription of the COFO program for Mississippi. It's probably a little idealistic, but enough of it is presently in operation that we think the approach is right, and we hope for even better results in the future.

I'm writing because Mississippi COFO, and that includes Mississippi CORE, needs some things from the National Action Council and the National Office of CORE. The Mississippi Task Force people have talked these things over, and I'm writing to tell you about them, so you all will know when we get to New Orleans. First of all we feel (naturally) that Mississippi is important. Mississippi has a role in the Movement that no other geographical entity has. ~~Its~~ Its symbolic value is potent in the North as well as the South. We feel that the importance of Mississippi to the Movement is that if we break Mississippi we break segregation as a legalized and morally acceptable social system, and only when segregation is a shameful memory, like slavery, can the more subtle phenomena of prejudice and discrimination be attacked effectively. In other words, we feel that we're next on the list of historical priorities.

Our next belief is that our approach to the problem of Mississippi is a sound one, in fact the only possible approach. CORE--anybody--must operate in Mississippi on a COFO-like basis. We can't attack Mississippi on the basis of what it was like in North Carolina or Tennessee or Louisiana two years ago. The problems are different. We know that there is opposition to our efforts in other areas. But Mississippi is the only state where the opposition forms a monolith embracing all society all over the state. Racism is official here; it doesn't exist in pockets; it's everywhere. It has to be attacked on a unified basis. Also, while I am sympathetic to the special problems of the North, I do not feel that Mississippi is a blue-jeans operation, which lends glamour to the serious business up North. This situation is grown up. We write this letter in the shadow of the murder of Louis Allen. Allen was the only witness willing tospeak out after the 1961 murder of Herbert Lee in Amite County. He never publicly testified because the Justice Department would not offer to protect his life and family. He was threatened repeatedly during the two and a half years he lived after the Lee murder, his jaw was broken last summer by a deputy sheriff, and finally the threats upon his life were executed. That takes care of the possibility that the Lee case could have been settled with justice. We feel that we, too, are working with no outside protection in Canton, that we have only each other. We can't mess around with petty organizational disagreements and with separate loyalties when the OUT THERE aspect is so pressing. We must work together, and those are not just words.

We would like you to try to understand and sympathize with this attitude we have (that we have to have), and try to communicate the feeling to other people in the National Office. It is very demoralizing when one of our fellows, a dedicated worker and a leader of the Canton project (and Canton is supposed to be a CORE project) is excluded from a staff meeting because it is a "CORE staff" meeting by a representative of the National Office. We cannot define staff in terms of payroll. Such ridiculous divisions lead to a breakdown of the tightly-knit "community" feeling we Have to have.

The next item is money. We are presently trying to comply with Jim McCain's suggestion to put our requests specifically into dollars and cents. In

general, our proposal is that CORE continue to support the Fourth Congressional District, but on a different basis--that of chanelling the money through the Council of Federated Organizations. As long a s project funds are sant from the national offices in New York and Atlanta, there can't be any coordinated planning, and some desirable program goals, such as staff mobility become terribly confused. SNCC is not willing (bble) to continue to support the state organization by itself; they have told us that they will have to revert back to the old system of financing Mississippi on an individual project basis (as CORE does now) unless COFO can persuade other organizations (and at the moment CORE is the only possibility) to join with SNCC in backing COFO as a statewide organization. Besides supporting the Fourth District through COFO rather than directly, we're making one additional request for COFO. We think CORE should pay one-third of the expense of the Jackson office. SNCC cannot afford to pay for all of our overhead much longer either. Three of CORE's permanent staff people work in the Jackson office, one a Field Secretary, and that represents a third of the Jackson office staff of nine. So we would like the CORE budget planners to consider Jackson as well as the field projects in the Fourth District.

The other area of CORE financial support is the community center project. As I understand it, the National Action Council voted to underwrite for three months an experimental community center in Canton. As you probably know, repression has so far been too great in Canton. The workers in the center were unable, under the pressure of the situation, to separate the work of the community center from that of voter registration and other community projects, notably a boycott called by the local citizen's group.' In such an extreme situation, distinctions like that can never be made, I guess. Anyway, the police arrested the entire center staff and condemned the building, so we're temporarily stymied in Canton. Dave Dennis, fortunately, had the good judgement to divert two of the community center people to Meridian, to start a second center. In the milder climate of Meridian, that center is doing fine, so we will definitely have some results to show the NAC even if Canton continues to be impossible. So our request concerning the community centers, though not worked out yet, will be higher than Dave originally proposed because we hope to salvage the Canton center and still maintain the Meridian project.

Besides financial support of community centers, regular political activity in the Fourth District and a third of the Jackson office expense, we would like two other things from the National office of CORE, perhaps harder to give than money: First is the sincere and enthusiastic backing of COFO's unity approach to the Mississippi project. I don't think there needs to be any explanation of that, but we have the impression that somehow we're not really true CORE people if we operate on a basis different from that of the New York office. Rationally, I know that's wrong, but that's the best way I can express the in words the unspoken attitude that we got from the people from the National Office. Secondly, we want a willingness on the part of national CORE to approach staff problems differently. There can be no artificial division between salaried CORE workers, local volunteer workers and workers with other groups. uality of a person's work and leadership distinguish him as "staff", not the weekly $25. We believe, moreover, that CORE should plan to increase staff in Mississippi regularly as indigenous leadership develops, and to use the increased staff to expand the program. We must expand. hile we stand still, fighting a futile and expensive holding operation, they're winning, because Negroes are leaving the state by the thousands, and we're losing our greatest weapon of numbers. The segregationists don't have to do a thing to win but continue what they are presently doing. We must not

only expand our own efforts, and mobilize those other groups that are willing to work with us, such as religious groups, we must devise methods of inducing those powerd (i.e. the national government) which may not now be willing to do anything to intervene actively on our behalf. SNCC can't do it alone. Nom group can. I'm not sure that everybody together can. But in the effort, CORE really has to do what SNCC has already done if the Mississippi project is to survive--it has to take the plunge into COFO, hoping to thus persuade others to join.

Anyway, please forgive the ~~lngt~~ length of this letter, and try to understand that our ~~pmi~~ position is different from that of a Northern CORE chapter, so our tactics must be. Please try to communicate this to others, so that in New Orleans we won't feel that New York is so far removed from the problems of Mississippi. We believe that our fight is part of CORE's overall program, that CORE has to act simultaneously in the North, the crumbling South and the hard core South if it is to stay on top of a major social upheaval. Also, lest there be any misunderstanding, we are not asking for increased CORE participation in Mississippi at the expense of any other project. To think that would be to miss the whole point that I have made at such great length. We want to challenge CORE to expand, not to shift to Mississippi. If other areas are moving and need National CORE's support, we're for that, too. But the situation we know about is Mississippi, so that's the cause we're speaking for now.

Yours truly,

Lois Chaffee, speaking for the
Mississippi Task Force Workers

cc: Dave Dennis
Marcia McKenna

P.S. Jackson State College up the street is moving tonight. The rioting may spread down here. We've already had one man beaten in front of the office by the police. I tell you this partly for its melodramatic value, but also to explain that if we can get this posted tonight, I will even if in the excitement I can't finish the COFO Program outline to include.

Edward S. Hollander
CORE Field Secretary

Council of Federated Organizations
1017 Lynch St.- P.O. Box 2896
Jackson, Mississippi 39203
Tel: (601) 352-9605
Canton: (601) 859-9982

February 26, 1964

REPORT ON CANTON, MADISON COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

Canton is the county seat of Madison County, located about 20 miles north of Jackson in west central Mississippi. The county population is 32,904, of which 9,262 are white and 23,637 are Negro (72%). Canton is the county's largest town, with a population of 9,707, of which 6,220 are Negro.

Madison County, by anyone's standards, is poor.

FAMILY INCOME (1960)

	Madison Co.	Canton	Rural Madison Co.
All families	6,719	2,239	4,480
Under $1,000	2,242	457	1,785
$1,000-1,999	1,296	436	860
$2,000-2,999	782	314	468
$3,000-3,999	607	273	334
$4,000-4,999	441	147	294
$5,000-5,999	365	137	228
$6,000-6,999	303	149	154
$7,000-7,999	226	114	112
$8,000-8,999	115	33	82
$9,000-9,999	90	50	40
$10,000 and over	252	129	123
Median income	$1,862	$2,721	$1,529

It can be seen above that more than one-third of all families in Madison County have incomes below $1,000 a year.

1961 INFANT MORTALITY RATE (per 1,000 births)

	Total	White	Non-white
Madison County	42.4	28.9	43.4
Mississippi	37.8	23.5	50.0
United States	25.3	22.4	40.7

The following statistics on housing conditions give an idea of the situation, but they cannot describe the actual conditions under which many of the poor live.

	Canton	Madison County
All housing units	2,717	7,945
Deteriorating	644	2,262
with all plumbing	225	443
lacking only hot water	65	104
lacking other plumbing	354	1,715
Dilapidated	611	3,172

Housing Conditions, continued	Canton	Madison County
Water Supply		
hot and cold water (piped inside)	1,606	3,172
only cold water (piped inside)	942	1,142
no piped water	18	3,175
Toilet Facilities		
flush toilet, exclusive use	109	3,176
flush toilet, shared	393	420
other facilities, or none	219	3,809
Other plumbing		
bathtub, shower--exclusive	1,704	3,306
bathtub or shower, shared	44	64
no bathtub or shower	969	4,573

Civil rights staff workers have been in Canton since June, 1963. Those currently there are:

James Collier, SNCC field worker, Negro, 28, from Jackson, Mississippi.
Alma Bosley, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 21, from Plaquemine, La.
C.O. Chinn, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 42, from Canton, Miss.
Theodis Hewitt, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 25, from Canton, Miss.
Joe Lee Watts, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 20, from Canton, Miss.
Richard Jewett, CORE Task Force worker, white, 30, from New York City
Carole Merritt, SNCC field worker, Negro, 23, from Cincinnati, Ohio
Claude Weaver, SNCC field worker, Negro, 20, from Atlanta, Georgia
Lenora Thurmond, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 20, from Lexington, Mi
Andrew Lee Green, SNCC field worker, Negro, 29, from Hattiesburg, Miss.
Mattheo Suarez, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 26, from New Orleans, L
George Raymond, CORE Task Force worker, Negro, 21, from New Orleans

Temporarily in Canton:
Rev. B. Elton Cox, CORE Field Secretary, Negro, 32, from High Point, N
Jerome Smith, CORE Field Secretary, Negro, 24, from New Orleans, La.

David Dennis, CORE Field Secretary (Negro, 23, Jackson, Miss.) is in overall charge of Canton. He is also the Assistant Program Director for the Council of Federated Organizations.

All the staff permanently in Canton work for subsistence and a "salary of about $10 a week. The staff works under the direction of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). COFO is a confederation of civil rights organizations in Mississippi; it includes CORE, SNCC, NAACP, SCLC and some local groups. Nearly all civil rights work done in Mississippi is done under the COFO banner, though under its organization the separate groups do not lose their identity. Projects are, for the most part, jointly staffed, planned and financed.

The main aims of the staff in Canton are to get Negroes to register to vote and to establish a community center to provide various services such as a library (there are no library facilities for Negroes in the County except for those in the Negro schools), a reading hour for smal

children, typing and reading classes, etc. The community center has not been established because a suitable building cannot be found. There is a center in Meridian which is functioning well. Currently the staff is also working on a selective buying campaign which is in its eighth week

In the early 1950's a group of about 300 Negroes marched to the courthouse in Canton and demanded to be registered. A few (believed to be about 40) were successful. In the 13 years since then only 200-250 Negroes have been able to register. In the last eight months, since the staff has been in Canton, Negroes have made over 1,000 attempts to register. Only about 30 have been successful. Over 300 signed affidavits complaining of discrimination have been filed with the Justice Department in Washington.

On January 6, 1964, a selective buying campaign was started against 21 stores and 3 products (Mosby's Milk, Barq's Drinks and Hart's Bread, which are also being boycotted statewide). The staff in Canton estimates that the campaign is about 90% effective among Negroes. One local merchant has been so hard hit that in the third week of the boycott he attended a mass meeting of the Negro community and asked forgiveness and the return of their patronage.

Harassment, intimidation and violence are not new in Canton. On July 24, 1963, a local white gas station attendant, Price Lewis, shot five teenagers, who had been involved in civil rights activity, with a shotgun on Peace St. in Canton. Fortunately, none was injured seriously. Lewis was charged with the unlawful discharge of a firearm within city limits and fined $500. He is now free. During the Democratic primaries last August whites rode around in the rural areas threatenin the few registered Negroes that if they showed up at the polls they would be killed.

Since January, however, intimidation and violence have increased. Faced with both a selective buying campaign and increased voter registration activity, the white community has retaliated in a variety of ways.

The Freedom House in Canton (the building in which the staff lives) has been raided twice by police who searched it. George Raymond, CORE Task Force worker, was told by Constable Herbie Evans that every time the Justice Department comes to Canton it will cost the Negro community $5,000. In January, Raymond was pistol-whipped by Evans. After the beating, Raymond was charged with intimidating an officer and resisting arrest. He was never tried and is out on $70 bail.

Mass meetings are usually held twice a week in Canton. Police are always present taking license numbers, taking people's names and addresses, taking photographs of those who attend, stopping cars and asking for drivers' licenses, listening to the proceedings from outside with electronic listening devices, following people after they leave, etc.

Local Negroes are losing their jobs and being arrested for violations which would normally not be punished. Specific information is hard to get because in Most cases these incidents are not reported to the staf because, taken individually, the events aren't seen as part of the general pattern.

On January 21 the Board of Mayor and Aldermen passed a city ordinance making it an offense to distribute leaflets, handbills, or circulars on city streets and sidewalks without permission from the Mayor and Chief of Police. The law specifies that a written request for permission accompanied by a copy of the leaflet must be submitted. It provides penalties of not less than $10 nor more than $100 and jail terms of up to 30 days. To enforce this law and deal with civil rights workers in other ways both the city and county increased their police forces the week the law was passed.

On January 22 George Washington, a local Negro grocery store owner and property holder, was arrested for "burning trash without a permit" on the sidewalk in front of his store as he had done for a number of years. Washington is in his middle fifties and has lived in Canton since 1935. He was released from jail on $250 bail and on Monday, February 3, was fined $100 (which he paid) and given a 30-day jail sentence suspended pending "good behavior." Also on February 3, his store was shot into by a passing car during the evening, when it was closed. Washington had two gasoline pumps in front of his story, but they were taken out on January 29 by the Pan Am company (reported to be an affiliate of Amoco). Also, all meat deliveries to his store were cut off that week. He is now getting meat secretly.

On Januagy 23-24 nearly all the staff (all but 3 at the time) and some local people were arrested. Except for CO Chinn and Theodis Hewitt, all were arrested for distributing leaflets without a permit. Except for the juveniles, this charge was dropped and others added whil they were in jail.

Those arrested:

Pete Hewitt, 17 Milton Esco, 17 Levi Jackson, 15	Released after 2 days without bail because they are juveniles. Juvenile court hearing February 5. Released on good behavior and told that if they took part in civil rights activity they would be sent to the Oakland Training School.
Bobbi Robinson, 15	Charges against her were dropped because she and her parents signed a statement for the sheriff that Carole Merritt gave her leaflets to distribute, which provided the basis for the contributing to the delinquency of a minor charge against Carole.

The following defendants were tried Monday, February 3, in Canton city court (Mayor's Court) and found guilty by Justice of the Peace L.S. Matthews (who is also Mayor).

James Collier	Altering the inside of a building without a permit. Sentenced: $100 and 15 days in city jail. Released Feb. 22 on $500 appeal bond supplied by the National Council of Churches.
C.O. Chinn Theodis Hewitt	Intimidating Easter Branch; $500 and six months in county prison for both of them. Chinn released about Feb. 6 on $500 appeal bond privately raised. Hewitt released Feb. 21, $500 appeal bond raised by the National Council of Churches.

Carole Merritt	Contributing to the delinquency of a mi publishing libel, for each count $500 an Released February 21 on $1000 appeal bond by the National Council of Churches.
Joe Lee Watts, 20	Interfering with a business and publishing Each count $500 and 6 months; released Febr on $1,000 appeal bond, privately raised.
Richard Jewett Patricia Meyers, 18 Martha Jones, 21 William Veal, 18 Sylvester Lee Palmer, 20	Publishing libel and disturbing the peace; for eac count $500 and 6 months. Patricia Meyers released on $1,000 appeal bond, privately raised, about Feb. 5 The other 4 released on $1,000 appeal bond each, on Feb. 21, raised by the NCC
Alma Bosley	Contributing to the delinquency of a minor, publishing libel, disturbing the peace; $500 and six months on each count; released Feb. 21 on $1500 appeal bond raised by the NCC.

With the exception of Collier, who was in the city jail because he had violated a city ordinance, all the others were in the Madison County jail. During their stay, some were moved to the Jackson jail for six days for an unknown reason.

On Monday, January 27, George Raymond was told to get out of town by plainclothes policeman John Chance. He did not leave. On Wednesday, January 29, about 11:30 p.m., Raymond was driving from Canton to Jackson following a community meeting in the Pleasant Green Church. He was stopped by the state highway patrol on Highway 51 just outside Canton. He was taken behind the patrol car and found Constable Herbie Evans waiting there. Evans challenged Raymond to a fist fight and removed his badge, gun and watch and verbally taunted him to fight. When Raymond remained passive, Evans kicked him several times, knocking him against the back of the patrol car. Evans then let him go. The passengers in Raymond's car could not see the incident; the only possible witness was a highway patrolman who turned his back during the incident.

On February 3, 1964, two local Negro teenagers were beaten by police, some in uniform, some not, after they left a voter registration meeting on Monday, Feb. 3. The police stopped them in front of their truc outside the church, asked for identification, searched them, drew a gu and told them they were under arrest. Willie Galloway, Jr. was taken behind the jail and hit in the head and stomach by officers and Constable Herbie Evans. They asked him a number of question about his (Galloway's) father and mentioned that they knew that his father had tried to register recently. The beating, with their fists, was mixed with the questioning. They told Galloway that it would not be good for him if they saw him at any more meetings. They told him to tell his father, a carpenter, that if he went to work the next day, the men on whose property he was working would have an undertaker carry him of the property. They told him not to tell anyone what happened and that if he did, he had better catch the next train for St. Louis. The other young man, Arthur Harris, was taken inside the police station an questioned about what went on at the meetings, what various speakers said. Combined with the questioning they hit him on the head with a

rubber siphon hose, broke a nightstick over his head, cut some hair off the top of his head with a razor, fired a bullet near his feet and held a pistol loaded with blanks up to his head and then fired a blank close to his body (he has powder burns on his coat). They told him not to tell anyone what happened or they would put a weight around his neck and drop him in the river. They also told him that if he came into Canton (he lives in the rural area), he had better be home by 9 o'clock. They were not actually arrested, apparently.

On February 7, Claude Weaver and Ed Hollander were arrested for allegedly "intimidating by threats of force and violence" a woman named Charlean Smith and her child. The threats were supposed to have been to keep her from accepting a job at the C & C store #2, one of the stores on the selective patronage list. Neither Weaver nor Hollander had ever met or heard of Charlean Smith prior to their arrest. They were found guilty on February 10 and sentenced to $500 and six months. Both were released February 21 on $500 appeal bond each, raised by the National Council of Churches. They had been in the Madison County jail.

On February 15, Henry Lee Chinn, 21 (son of CORE Task Force worker C.O. Chinn) was arrested for speeding and not having his driver's license with him. Plainclothes policeman John Chance and another policeman questioned him about civil rights activity, the whereabouts of his father and beat him on and off for over half an hour. They hit him in the face, head and stomach with open hands, fists and a nightstick. He was confined in a cell briefly afterwards, then released.

On February 23, Richard Jewett was arrested, just two days after he had gotten out of jail, on a charge of reckless driving. He was released later that day after paying a $36 fine.

In January state senator Ed Henry and representative P.L. Hughes, both from Madison County, introduced bills to make it illegal to promote selective buying campaigns (boycotts are already illegal) by the use of leaflets and other means. One of the bills has passed the state senate.

On February 25, the state legislature passed and the governor signed a bill providing for "mutual assistance pacts." The bill provides for cities to loan each other police and equipment to deal with any problems. Though the plan had been in the hopper, it seems to have been rushed through with Canton in mind. Madison County Sheriff Jack S. Cauthen has told newsmen that every city, large and small, is standing by to help Canton.

No one knows what will happen in Canton on Friday, February 28, Freedom Day. Negroes are going to attempt to walk to the courthouse, stand in line and register. Norman Thomas and about 15 ministers from various denominations, under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, willbbe present as observers. These ministers will be from such places as New York, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, Hays and Wichita, Kansas; Chicago, Chapel Hill, NC. and Westfield, N.J.

Local officials likely to be involved: Sheriff--Jack S. Cauthen, Police Chief--Dan C. Thompson, Assistant Chief--W.R. Cook, Registrar--Foote Campbell, Mayor--L.S. Matthews, Deputy Sheriff--Billy Noble (former sheriff and very powerful), City Attorney--Robert Goza

[1964, May 6]

MISSISSIPPI INTRODUCES MORE LAWS TO CURB FREEDOM SUMMER

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI, May 6th.

In addition to the laws mentioned in the foregoing release, the State Legislature of Mississippi has two newly introduced laws before it which, if passed, will further close that State off from the rest of the democratic world, truly establish a police state comparable to any known to modern history, and finally, make it impossible for the Summer Project to take place. It almost appears that one will soon need a passport and visa to travel from the United States to Mississippi.

House Bill number 870 (which is reproduced below) is directly aimed at stopping the Summer Project volunteers from entering the state, and would empower the state to close its borders to anyone at whim. The bill follows:

FASCIMILE

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE — REGULAR SESSION 1964
BY: JR. JONES (FORREST) — TO: JUCICIARY "A"
INTRODUCED: MAY 6

HOUSE BILL NO. 870

AN ACT TO PROHIBIT ENTRY INTO THE STATE FOR THE PURPOSE OF COMMITTING ACTS IN WILLFUL VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF THIS STATE: ALLOWING INJUNCTION TO ISSUE: AND PROVIDING PENALTY FOR VIOLATION.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, group or organization to advocate or have as its purpose, aim or objective, any change by force, violence, or willful violation of any of the laws of the State of Mississippi; or any of its gcvernmental subdivisions.

SECTION 2. Any court of competent jurisdiction may issue an injunction to prevent any such person, group, or organization from entering this State with the purpose of violating the provisions of this Act.

SECTION 3. Nothing herein shall be construed to limit or prohibit the advocacy of any change, by peaceful or lawful means, in any law or laws of the State of Mississippi.

SECTION 4. Anyone found guilty of violating this Act, upon conviction, shall be guilty of a felony, punishable by a fine of no more than One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00), or by confinement in the penitentiary not more than two (2) years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 5. This Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

The second bill defines "criminal syndicalism" and then describes the penalty for this as a fine of not less than $200.00 or more than $1,000.00 or two to ten years in jail. But the Act is binding not only on people who instigate, advocate, suggest, teach or aid the commission of "criminal syndicalism," but on anyone who "justifies or attempts to justify","prints, publishes, edits, circulates, sells, distributes or displays" any book or printed matter, and anyone who organizes or helps to organize, and the owner, agent, lessee, janitor, caretaker, or occupant of any building where any "criminal syndicalist" activity takes place. The full text of this bill is attached. One can only hope that the State of Mississippi for its own sake does not pass these bills.

FACSIMILE

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE REGULAR SESSION 1964
BY: SENATORS COLLINS and HILBUN TO: JUDICIARY
INTRODUCED: MAY 6

SENATE BILL NO. 2027

AN ACT TO DEFINE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO MAKE UNLAWFUL THE ACT OF CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO PROHIBIT ASSEMBLAGE FOR THE PURPOSE OF CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM: TO PROVIDE THE PENALTY THEREFOR: AND FOR RELATED PURPOSES.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

SECTION 1. Criminal syndicalism as used in this Act is hereby defined to be the doctrine or precept which advocates, teaches or aids and abets the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning willful and malicious physical damages or injury to physical property), unlawful acts of violence and force, arson or other unlawful acts or methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing or effecting a change in agricultural or industrial ownership or control or in effecting any political or social change or for profit.

SECTION 2. Any person who:

(1) By word of mouth or written words or personal conduct advocates, instigates, suggests, teaches or aids and abets criminal syndicalism or the duty, necessity, propriety or expedience of committing crime, criminal syndicalism, sabotage, violence or any other unlawful method of terrorism as a means of accomplishing or effecting a change in agricultural or industrial ownership or control or effecting any political or social change or for profit; or

(2) Openly, willfully and deliberately by spoken or written word justifies, or attempts to justify, criminal syndicalism or the commission or the attempt to commit crime, sabotage, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism with intent to exemplify, approve, spread, advocate, instigate, teach, aid, suggest or further the doctrine of criminal syndicalism; or

[1964, June 24]

INCIDENTS REPORTED TO THE JACKSON OFFICE DURING A 24 HOUR PERIOD:

Ruleville

June 24, 2 AM: A car driven by whites circled noisily around the Negro community for about two hours, hurling bottles at cars and into homes. Seven incidents were reported to the police, but they never arrived on the scene.

June 25, 2 AM: Williams Chapel, near the home of Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Negro candidate for Congress, was firebombed. Volunteer fireman quickly had the fire under control. The church was a center of voter registration activity.

Drew

June 24: 30 voter registration workers from Greenville made the first efforts to register Negro citizens in Drew and met with open hostility from local whites. Verbal abuse and threats were hurled at them from circling cars and trucks, some of which were equipped with "vigilante" gun racks. One white man stopped his car and said, "I've got something here for you," brandishing a gun.

Greenwood

June 23 - 24: 2 separate cars of Magazine reporters were chased at speeds up to 90 mph by a car driven by whites on their way from Ruleville to Greenwood. The reporters were returning from a public meeting in Ruleville held that evening.

Local whites are reported to be trying to intimidate voter registration workers by circling again and again around the SNCC office at night.

Greenville

June 24: Summer volunteer, Morton Thomas, who left Greenville to carry on voter registration work in nearby Hollandale, had to retrun to Greenville because the Mayor and police force in Hollandale said he could not sleep or work in the Negro community. The Mayor claimed that there was a city ordinance to that effect.

Canton

June 24: A car frequently used by CORE workers was struck by a bullet about 9:15 PM approximately 2 miles outside of Jackson on the road to Canton. The car was driven by a Canton Negro, Eddie LePaul. The shot came from the grass at the side of the road.

)over)

Last night a Canton policeman threatened to strike CORE worker Scott Smith with a shotgun. The policeman accused him of trying to take over the town, and of having told a white man to get out of town. Smith denied the charges.

Moss Point

June 24: The keeper of the Knights of Pythias Hall reported seeing a white man set fire to the building soon after midnight. Damage was minimal, as the keeper soon had the fire under control. The building was to be used for a coming mass meeting. SNCC volunteers had just passed out leaflets announcing the meeting.

Two Negro teenagers were arrested for allegedly having insulted a white woman. They were released the next day after bond was posted.

Two white summer volunteers, Howard Kirschenbaum and Ron Ridenour, were arrested shortly before midnight on the 23rd and subjected to a night of mental harassment and intimidation in the Jackson County Jail, Pascagoula. They were released the next day, with no formal charges.

Collins

June 24: 40 M-1 Rifles and 1,000 rounds of ammunition were stolen from the National Guard Armory in the early hours of the morning.

McComb

June 24: At least five bomb threats have been reported in the two days since the Monday night bombings in McComb.

Vicksburg

June 24: SNCC staff workers coming back from a mass meeting at nearby Yorkena spotted a suspicious-looking 1959 Buick with no license plates. The same car parked for some time in front of the Freedom house that night.

Jackson

June 23: A Negro man was hit twice in the head by gunfire, while following a car driven by two white men who had just fired into a Negro cafe on Valley St. The wounded man, Marion Tarvin, 26, was released from University hospital with a bullet still in his scalp.

June 24: About noon a group of white men tried to enter the house of Mrs. Grace Helms at 714 Weaver St., and other homes in the area. They threatened to return again and again until they found some Negro boys with whom they had fought the night before. The previous night the police had picked up the Negro boys involved in the fight, but had not even taken the names of the whites.

strike
police-
town; and
Smith

FBI INVESTIGATION AND ARRESTS IN ITTA BENA----June 25 and 26

At 6:00 pm on June 26, UPI reported that the FBI had arrested three white men in Itta Bena, Mississippi. The three had threatened two SNCC summer Volunteers the day before and had tried to run them out of town.

SNCC Volunteers John Byon Paul of Ossining, N.Y., and Roy Torkington of Berkeley, California, were canvassing on the afternoon of the 25th with SNCC staff member Willie McGee. They had informed Mr. Wober, the Itta Bena town Marshall, of their intention of doing voter registration work and had received assurance that this was "all right" and that they could "go right ahead."

While they were passing out leaflets, however, four white men drove up in two trucks. The men got out of the trucks, separated the Volunteers from McGee, and marched the students to a gas station that also serves as the bus stop. Although the men threatened the Volunteers, they were unsuccessful in getting them to leave town.

The COFO office in Jackson and the SNCC office in Atlanta began immediately to inform the FBI and the Justice Department. John Doar of the Justice Department promised to look into the incident.

The Volunteers were finally released, and despite further threats, spoke at a Mass Meeting the same night in Itta Bena. After the incident of the afternoon, they asked the town Marshall, Mr. Weber, for protection; Weber would not promise protection, but when the meeting was over the Volunteers found him outside and they believed he might have been influential in preventing trouble. There were indications that the FBI had talked to Weber and had had an influence on him.

The next morning, Paul and Torkington talked wtth four FBI agents in Itta Bena. One of the latter said that Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department, had called him and said that he wanted them to do everything possible in the case.

Because they had both license numbers and names, the Volunteers felt there might be a good chance for an arrest. COFO and SNCC made further calls to the FBI and Justice Department relaying the information which the volunteers had; sometime around 6:00 pm on the 26th, three of the four men involved in the incident the day before were arrested, on charges of interfering with voter registration work. This is believed to be the first arrest made under this law, although it has been in effect since 1960.

The importance of this case is that it indicates that FBI pressure <u>can</u> offer protection to people in Mississippi, and that the Justice Department and the FBI <u>can</u> authorize arrests in civil rights cases.

SOME PROVISIONS FOR FEDERAL PROSECUTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS

From Title 18 U.S. Code

FBI Arrests - 18 U.S. Code, Section 3052: The Director, Associate Director, Assistant to the Director, Assistant Directors, inspectors, and agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice may carry firearms, serve warrants and subpoena issued under the authority of the United States and make arrests without warrant for any offense against the United States committed in their presence, or for any felony cognizable under the laws of the U.S. if they have reasonable grounds to believe that the person to be arrested has committed or is committing such felony.

Interference with the Vote - 18 U.S. Code, Section 594: Whoever intimidates, threatens, coerces, or attempts to intimidate, threaten or coerce, any person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, Member of the Senate, or Member of the House of Representatives, Delegates or Commissioners of the Territories or Possessions, at any election held solely or in part for the purpose of electing such candidate, shall be fined not more than $1000 or imprisoned not more than one year or both.

Deprivation of Constitutional Rights - 18 U.S. Code, Section 242: Whoever, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom, willfully subjects any inhabitant of any State, Territory, or District to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured or protected by the Constitution or laws of the United States, (or to different punishments, pains, or penalties, on account of such inhabitant being an alien, or by reason of his color, or race, than are prescribed for the punishment of citizens,) shall be fined not more than $1000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

THE PHILADELPHIA, MISSISSIPPI CASE
CHRONOLOGY OF CONTACTS WITH AGENTS OF THE FEDERAL GOV'T.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21 [1964]

10:00 PM:* H. F. Helgesen, Jackson FBI agent, was contacted by law student Sherwin Kaplan. Helgesen was informed that the party was missing and was given the three names. An investigation was asked for; Helgesen said something like, "Keep me informed of what happens."

10:30 PM: A Mr. Schwelb, a Justice Department lawyer, was called from the Meridian COFO office. Schwelb was in Meridian at the time. He was informed of the disappearance of the party.

11:00 PM: Jackson COFO called Schwelb at approximately 11:00, but he gave no indication of having taken any action.

12:00 PM: Robert Weil from Jackson COFO called Schwelb and gave him the license number of the missing car and further information on the addresses of the missing people. Weil requested an investigation. Schwelb stated that the FBI was not a police force and that he was not yet sure whether any federal offense had occurred; so he could not act. He was informed of the provision in the US code providing for FBI arrests; he still insisted that he did not have authority.

12:00 PM: Weil also called Helgesen at this time. Helgesen took in the information curtly and did not allow a chance for further conversation. Weil also called the Mississippi Highway Patrol, with similar results.

MONDAY, JUNE 22

1:00 AM: (EDT, 2 hrs. ahead of Mississippi) Ron Carver of the Atlanta SNCC office called John Doar of the Justice Department in Washington, D.C., and informed him of the case. He said he was concerned, and asked to be kept informed. He said he would look into the case. He suggested that the Mississippi State Highway Patrol be alerted.

3-4:00 AM: (CST) John Doar was called again by Atlanta SNCC. He repeated that he would attempt to see what the Justice Department could do.

6:00 AM: On being called again, Doar replied that "I have invested the FBI with the power to look into this matter."

7:30 AM: Information concerning the arrest on traffic charges of the three which had been gathered from the Philadelphia jailer's wife was phoned in to the Jackson FBI office. The agent said he would give the information to FBI agent Helgesen, whom we had contacted the night before.

8:30 AM: New information from the jailer's wife, Mrs. Herring, to the effect that the three had been released at 6:00 PM, plus the results of phone calls to various neighboring jails were called in to Agent Helgesen. Helgesen said he could do nothing until called by the New Orleans FBI office.

9:00 AM: Robert Weil in Jackson called the Highway Patrol. Though they had been called at least four times during the night, they did not seem to know about the case.

*All times are Central Standard Time (CST), except where otherwise indicated.

9:15 AM: Attorney Doar was called again at 9:15 from Atlanta and apprised of new developments.

11:00 AM: Helgesen was called and given new information reported by some white contacts in Philadelphia to the effect that the three were still in jail at 9:00 PM and appeared to have been beaten, though not seriously. Helgesen said he would "take the necessary action." He said that the alleged beating threw new light on the FBI's role in the case. He said he would call our source.

12:00 PM Helgesen was called again. He said that he had only called New Orleans and had not received instructions to investigate.

12:15 PM: Atlanta SNCC called Jackson and said they had spoken to Agent Mayner in New Orleans, who had said he had received no orders from Washington.

1:00 PM: Meridian informed the Jackson office that Marvin Rich, public relations director of CORE, and James Farmer, executive director of CORE had contacted FBI Agent Delloch, second in command of the FBI, as well as Lee White, Presidential Assistant, and Burke Marshall, head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Rich and Farmer said that if they got no action from the FBI, they would call the President. Meridian also informed us that Farmer in Washington had called the FBI in New Orleans. Henry Wolf, attorney for the Goodman family, called to say that Robert Kennedy had been contacted.

1:40 PM: Meridian reported that attempts had been made to call local air force bases to institute an air search, but were unsuccessful. Atlanta SNCC called John Doar; he was speaking on another line. They left word for him to call back.

2:10 PM: Our source with the white contacts in Philadelphia reported that as of that hour the FBI had not yet called him, as Helgesen had promised he would two hours earlier. Meridian reported that Marvin Rich was calling the Defense Department to try to institute an air search. Stormy weather developed later in the afternoon in the Meridian Philadelphia area, however.

2:45 PM: Atlanta informed us that calls were made to Burke Marshall and John Doar at 2:30 and 2:45 PM respectively. Word was left, as the two men could not be reached by phone.

2:55 PM: It was reported that reporters had been permitted to go through the Philadelphia jail and were satisfied that the three were not there.

3:30 PM: As of this time neither the Atlanta nor the Jackson offices had received any return phone calls from Doar or Marshall, nor did the FBI office in Jackson have any word from them.

5:20 PM: Doar called Atlanta. He informed them that the Mississippi Highway Patrol had put out an ALL POINTS ALERT bulletin and that both the sheriff of Neshoba County and the FBI were searching. The sheriff claimed that the trio were last seen heading South on Route 19 toward Meridian.

8:00 PM: Bill Light in Jackson called Agent Helgesen. He was asked five times if the FBI was investigating the case. Five times Helgesen answered," all inquiries are to be directed to the Justice Department in Washington."

8:45 PM: Meridian reported that they called Doar in Washington. Doar was busy. A collect call was placed to Hohn Doar at his home in Washington, fro Meridian. He would not accept the call.

9:30 PM: Reporters called from Philadelphia that four FBI agents from the New Orleans office were in Philadelphia. No men from the Justice Department we e reported. The FBI agents reportedly were talking to people and were planning to launch a road search and investigation in the morning.

10:00 PM: UPI reported that Edwin Guthman of the Justice Department in Washington had announced that the FBI was ordered into the case to determine whether the trio were being held against their will or whether there was a violation of civil rights involved.

TEUSDAY, JUNE 23:

8:40 AM: Meridian called to say that Marvin Rich had informed them that the Air Force might come by. As of this time, nothing had been heard from them.

10:10 AM: Meridian informed us that John Proctor and Harry Saizan, FBI agents, were in the Meridian office. They were investigating, asking questions, and getting photographs of Schwerner. We were told that Nathan Schwerner (Mickey's father) has an appointment with Lee White, Presidential Ass't.

1:00PM: Meridian called to tell us that Marvin Rich had made contact with the White House (with Lee White). He was told that the Naval Air Station near Meridian was available to the FBI for an air search. Rich asked for an FBI head agent out in the field. Rich said he was going to call New Orleans.
Meridian informed us that some Meridian citizens with private planes were thinking of conducting their own air search, in case of further defaulting by the Defense Department. One of these people was Negro Charles Young.
Newsman Burn Rotman said helicopters are flying around the Philadelphia area. Marvin Rich said that the President was to call back to CORE in New York.

2:10 PM: The Naval Air Station near Meridian was called. They said that as far as they knew, no search was being conducted. There were only student flights taking place in the area.

2:50 PM: Mr. Henry Wolf, attorney for the Goodmans, called. He said that the Goodmans and Mr. Schwerner, accompanied by Representative William Fitz Ryan of New York and others, had spent over an hour talking to Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Kennedy assured them that all authorities were working on the case and that Navy helicopters were searching the area. He told us that they had an appointment to see Lee White soon afterward.

He also informed us that there was hope that President Johnson would make a statement to the nation.

3:55 PM: Meridian heard that local radio station WMOX broadcasted that the FBI had found the car, charred and burned and cold. There was no trace of the missing persons.

5:15 PM: Attorney Wolf informed us that Mr. and Mrs. Goodman, Mr. Schwerner, and two congressmen saw President Johnson for about 21 minutes this afternoon. While they were there, they received the news that the car had been found. Johnson assured them that the Federal Government was doing everything it could.

5:25 PM: Attorney Larry Warren heard a confirming report on local radio that a Navy Helicopter was being used in the search. The sexton of the Methodist Church which had been burned June 16 in Philadelphia informed us that the FBI had been working on the burning case since Friday, June 19.

6:00 PM: WRBC news report on Gov. Johnson's afternoon press conference; Johnson had sent two plainclothesmen into the area to assist the FBI in the search. Gov. Johnson had not called President Johnson or the Justice Department, but he was working with the FBI.

7:30 PM: Martin Popper, who is Att'y. Wolf's partner for the Goodmans, called to describe the trip to Washington. On the trip were Mr. and Mrs. Goodman, Mr. Schwerner, Congressmen Ryan and Reed, and Popper.
They first went to see Kennedy. Katzenbach, Marshall and others were with him. This visit was apparently the first think on Mr. Kennedy's agenda after his arrival from Massachusetts. Mr. Kennedy told the group that the Department of Justice was doing everything possible, and that he was using the maximum resources available to him, including personal resources. He told them the President also expressed concern. The FBI, according to Mr. Kennedy, was acting on the assumption that this was a kidnapping; it was on this assumption that they are assuming jurisdiction on the case.
The parents' group made it clear that the Federal Government must make every effort to: (1) find the boys, and (2) Protect the rest of the workers in the state. They made a special point that what was needed was not just investigation, but protection.
Kennedy said that the government was making a statement to Mississippians, urging them to come forward if they had any information. He assured them that they would be protected by the Federal Governemnt. Kennedy said he personally would report to the President on new developments.
The group then went to the White House. They met the Presidential assisstants Lee White and Myer Feldman. The parents were told there was a possibility that military personell might be used in the search; that Navy helicopters were already being used; that the President had told McNamara to advise J. Edgar Hoover that military personnel were available to Hoover.

Then the President himself saw them and said he was using every available force, including the Justice Department and the Defense Department for this case.

8:00 PM: The President called Goodman at his home in New York. He told him that there was no evidence that bodies had been found, but that tracks had been found leading away from the car. He said he had ordered more FBI and Defense Department personnel to "comb the countryside."
Goodman's attorney, Popper, informed us that he had heard that 60% of the FBI on this case are special personnel from the North.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24

7:00 AM: Radio report: Allen Dulles, ex-chief of the CIA, is being sent to Mississippi as President Johnson's personal investigator.

8:30 AM: Dulles arrived.

1:00 PM: Meridian informed us that a young boy from Meridian who is often around the office, had seen Mickey and Andy before they had left and remembered what they were wearing. Mickey was wearing a blue shirt, blue jeans and sneackers. Andy was wearing a red shirt. This information was phoned to the FBI in Jackson, as the FBI in Meridian could not be reached.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

3:00 PM: Allen Dulles and Tom Finney, representatives of the President, met with leaders of the groups working in Mississippi. Dulles stated his mission was a fact-finding one. The leaders expressed the sense of frustration and isolation felt by Negroes because of police and civilian brutality of the state and the seeming unwillingness of the Federal Government to do anything about it. Dulles said he had been under the impression that the situation was improving in Mississippi, especially in the area of Education. The leaders told him all visitors were given that sort of brainwashing. They related to Dulles and Finney examples of incidents where police were involved with local citizens in committing atrocities.
Mr. Dulles was also told of the dangerous situations in various parts of the state, and was told what the leaders were demanding of the Federal Government: A. The president should meet with local leaders, as he has already been requested several times to do. B. That the Civil Rights Commission should immediately hold full hearings in the state of Mississippi. C. That the President should see to it that new Federal Judgeships were filled by men of integrity and fairness. D. Government officials should not publically state that they cannot protect people. E. There should be Marshalls and FBI Mobilized in all potentially dangerous areas.

:15 PM: After waiting 45 minutes, Mrs. Mickey Schwerner was finally able to confer with Dulles, who said he had another meeting to attend. He expressed his sympathy. Mrs Schwerner replied, "I don't want your sympathy. I want much, much more."

A LIST OF MISSISSIPPI CHURCHES DESTROYED OR DAMAGED: IN MISSISSIPPI:

JUNE 15 -- SEPTEMBER 9, [1964?]

June 15-- Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Rosary Roman Catholic Church; Pastor: Father John Kersten.
Auditorium gutted by fire hours after a meeting, during which, in the words of the pastor," These Negroes were discussing means of averting racial violence."

June 16-- Philadelphia, Mississippi
Mt. Zion Baptist Church. Leveled by bomb after local whites beat three Negroes. (This was the church that Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner were sent to inspect.)

June 21-- Brandon, Rankin County, Mississippi
Sweet Rest Church of Christ Holiness; Pastor: Rev. L.C. Robinson.
Molotov cocktail. Fire started; damage not extensive.
(This church was subsequently destroyed in early August.)

June 25-- Ruleville, Mississippi
Williams Chapel. Molotov cocktail. Chapel stairs and front charred. Eight gasoline-filled plastic bags spread around the church failed to ignite.

June 26-- Clinton, Mississippi
Church of the Holy Ghost; Pastor: Rev. James Washington.
Kerosene spilled on the floor, and lit. Half of the floor and ceiling were charred; other damage minor. The incident occurred after a local white minister, Rev. Yonkers, had spoken to the Bible class. The church was not being used as a civil rights center.

July 6 -- Jackson, Mississippi
McCraven - Hill Missionary Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. Frank Jones.
Kerosene fire; slightly damaged. The church had no ties with the civil rights movement.

July 11-- Browning, Mississippi (near Greenwood)
Pleasant Plan Missionary Baptist Church burned to the ground.
Shortly before it was burned, whites sought to buy the church. Their offer had been refused.

July 13--Kingston, Mississippi (near Natchez)
Jerusalem Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. Shead Baldwin.
The church was leveled by fire. The church had not been used for civil rights meetings.

July 13 -- One mile east of Kingston, Mississippi
Bethel Methodist Church. Totally destroyed by fire.
The church had no connection with the civil rights movement.

July 17-- Mc Comb, Mississippi
Mount Zion Hall Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. Daniel Walker.
Moderate damage.

July 19-- Madison County, Mississippi (on Highway 51,
between Ridgeland and Madison)
Christian Union Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. R.L. Luckett.
Burned to ground. The church had not been used by the
civil rights movement.

July 22-- Pike County (six miles east of Magnolia, Mississippi;
near the southern entrance to Percy Quinn State Park, four
miles from Mt. Zion, which was burned June 16, 1964)
Mt. Vernon Missionary Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. Henry Mc Knight.
Completely destroyed by fire. The church had no ties
with the civil rights movement.

July 24--Mc Comb, Mississippi
Rose Hill Church. Moderately extensive damage,caused by fire.

July 30 -- Meridian, Mississippi
Mount Moriah Baptist Church leveled by fire.

July 31-- Rankin County, Mississippi (located on Highway 80,
approximately three miles from Brandon, Mississippi)
Pleasant Grove Missionary Baptist Church; Deacon: Mr. Benjamin Jones.
The church was burned to the ground. ...

August 5-- Finwick, Mississippi (near Natchez, Mississippi)
Mount Pilgrim Baptist Church, on Duck Pond Road, burned.
The building could not be saved.

August 11-- Gluckstadt, Mississippi (near Clinton)
Mount Pleasant Church; Pastor: Rev. N.C.Taylor.
The church was severely damaged by fire. It had been used
as a Freedom School.

August 12-- Brandon, Mississippi
St. Matthew's Baptist Church; Pastor: Rev. Jesse Sutton.
The church was heavily damaged by fire.

August 22-- Itta Bena, Mississippi
Perry's Chapel. The chapel burned to the ground. The Itta Bena
Fire Department deemed the building out of the department's
jurisdiction.

September 9-- Aberdeen, Mississippi (on Route 45)
Mount Moriah Baptist Church. Parts of the floor and
pews destroyed by dynamite. No fire.

[1964]

Genocide



in

Mississippi

CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE

(Approved by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948).

Article II -- In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) IMPOSING MEASURES INTENDED TO PREVENT BIRTHS WITHIN THE GROUP;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

" We oppose the ratification by the United States of the Genocide Convention of the United Nations. "

from the 'PLATFORM and PRINCIPLES of the MISSISSIPPI STATE DEMOCRATIC PARTY,' June 30, 1960

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

While Senator James O. Eastland is exerting his considerable power in the U.S. Senate to prevent Negroes securing the minimal protection of the pending civil rights legislation, his staff assistant in Mississippi is designing and implementing a program of genocide against the Negroes of that state.

On March 11, 1964, when the tactics of Senator Eastland and his cohorts were just beginning in the U.S. Senate, the Mississippi House of Representatives was voting on a bill designed to drive Negroes from Mississippi, and to render those who refused to leave incapable of having children. The bill was introduced by seven representatives, one of whom identifies himself in the current Hand Book of the Mississippi Legislature as "staff assistant to Senator James O. Eastland when the Legislature is not in session." (see Exhibit 2)

Exhibit 1 is a reproduction of the text of House Bill 180 which passed the Mississippi House on March 11 by a vote of 72 to 37. One is urged at this point to turn to Exhibit 1 and familiarize oneself with the provisions of HB 180.

The bill was introduced in the Mississippi House by the seven representatives whose names appear in the upper left hand corner of Exhibit 1. Representative Pierce is the staff assistant to U.S. Senator James O. Eastland. All seven sponsors of the bill are comparatively young men, two in their twenties, four in their thirties, and one 44. All are married. Two are attorneys, and the other four list themselves as cattlemen and farmers.(see Exhibit 2)

As originally introduced, the bill would have penalized the birth of an illegitimate child by imposing a prison sentence of 1 to 3 years on the parents. During floor debate the bill was amended to permit one illegitimate birth before the penalty provisions apply. Another floor amendment provided for sterilization in lieu of the prison sentence. The sterilization amendment was offered

by Rep. Ted McCullough, a Todd cotton buyer, merchant and druggist who is chairman of the board of deacons of his Baptist Church and a Sunday School teacher here.

In arguing for passage of the bill, Rep. Buck Meek, of Webster County, who managed the bill on the floor, provided a list of statistics purporting to show that Negro illegitimate births far outnumber those of whites. He made no attempt to disguise the anti-Negro nature of the bill.

Rep. Horace Lester, Hinds County, tried to get the bill killed with a motion to recommit. He was concerned that the bill would "embarrass white girls who had already had enough trouble." (Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger, 2-13-64).

However, the House, "which was in a boisterous mood" (C-L, 3-13-64), refused. Mrs. Gordon White, prominent clubwoman representing Lauderdale County, took offense at the mood of levity in the House. "This is no laughing matter," she said. "We have a welfare problem that is hurting our state. We are trying to let people know that we do not approve and we are not going to continue to pay for it. I very much favor this bill."

Some of the backers of the bill said they felt the measure would cut down the rise of illegitimate children on the welfare rolls and force many Negroes to leave the state. (New Orleans Times-Picayune, 3-13-64)

Rep. Russell Davis of Hinds County, objecting to a bill which would have charged a license fee of $500 to employment agencies which recruit Negroes in Mississippi for employment outside the state, said that "one day the House passes a bill (HB 180) to get rid of them (Negroes) and the next day it makes it cost $500 to take them away." (C-L, 3-13-64)

Rep. Stone Barefield, prominent Hattiesburg lawyer and member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, observed during floor debate on the bill: "When the cutting starts, they'll (Negroes) head for Chicago."

Thus the Mississippi House made it clear that HB 180 is directed against Mississippi Negroes; that it is an attempt to reduce the number of Negroes in Mississippi either by destroying their capacity to reproduce, or by driving them from the state. That it is, in short, a program of officially supported and sanctioned genocide.

On the surface the legislation is designed to discourage illegitimacy. Most Americans would probably agree that this is a socially and ethically commendable objective, though many would argue that mandatory sterilization (1 to 3 years in a Mississippi prison is hardly an alternative) raises more social and ethical problems than it solves.

However, HB 180 is clearly something quite different from the ordinary welfare measure one expects in dealing with what is, pragmatically at least, a welfare problem. In the first place, the arguments of the legislators who supported the bill indicate that the intent of the measure is to eliminate the population of Negroes from Mississippi. There is other evidence.

In both Mississippi houses, the bill was referred to the Judiciary Committees. The Rules of the Mississippi Legislature do not specify the subject matter which is to be within the jurisdiction of each committee. However, each House has a welfare committee to which genuine welfare measures are customarily referred. Legislative bodies whose rules do specify the jurisdiction of committees, invariably use the judiciary committee for penal matters (see, for example, Rule 12, Rules of the House of Representatives, U.S. Congress) and never for welfare matters, unless a particularly important point of law is involved (and then only with respect to that point of law; never with respect to the substance of the bill). It might be argued that this was the procedure in the Mississippi Legislature, except that the bill was never considered by the Welfare Committee of the House.

Furthermore, HB 180 was immediately referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate when it was introduced there. Earlier in the session a planned parenthood bill designed actually to deal with the problem of illegitimacy was considered and killed by the Senate Health and Welfare Committee. That bill had provided for setting up planned parenthood clinics throughout the state and had imposed criminal penalties upon parents of illegitimate children who did not attend the clinics after the birth of the child. Sterilization was to be strictly voluntary under the Senate bill. It was not referred to the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, though the point of law involved in mandatory attendance at planned parenthood clinics where sterilization might be strongly advocated, closely parallels that involved in mandatory sterilization.

Whether or not HB 180 reaches final passage in the Senate during the current session, the fact that a substantial majority of the elected representatives in the Mississippi House favored such a measure is an ominous portent for the future of the state, and of the Negroes who make up 40% of its population.

Exhibit 3 shows Mississippi, its counties, and the numbers of Negroes and whites in each county. As indicated on the map, 26 of the 72 affirmative votes on HB 180 came from counties which have substantial majorities of Negroes. Except for the disfranchisement of Negroes in the counties from which these 26 votes came, it is politically inconceivable that the bill would have passed the House. If Negroes could vote in these counties, no elected representative would dare vote for a bill designed to destroy or drive out Negroes. Indeed, if Negroes were free to vote in these counties, it is likely that a large proportion of the 26 legislators would be Negroes.

There is no stronger argument for the speedy passage and rigorous enforcement of the civil rights bill which the Senate is "debating" now, than this experiment in genocide by the Mississippi Legislature under the leadership of Senator Eastland's assistant. Indeed, such criminal irresponsibility on the part of those who govern Mississippi argues persuasively for the strengthening of the voting sections of the civil rights bill.

And the struggle for additional civil rights legislation must not be permitted to obscure the fact that the President and the Attorney

General have legal weapons now which they have never used to protect the right to vote in the South. Section 594, Title 18, U.S. Code provides: "Whoever intimidates, threatens, coerces, or attempts to intimidate, threaten or coerce, any other person for the purpose of interferring with the right of such other person to vote. . . shall be fined not more than $1,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both." If the statute had been enforced in Mississippi (it has been on the books since 1948), we may be certain that the genocidal legislators presently in power would long since have been retired to the political boneyard where they belong.

The President and the Attorney General have refused to use the criminal statute quoted above, preferring to seek injunctions against officials who interfere with voting rights. The total bankruptcy of this policy should now be apparent to everyone. At the time the genocidal Mississippi House was elected last fall, 22 voting suits had been filed by the Attorney General against Mississippi registrars and other officials. Yet fewer Negroes were registered to vote than had been registered in the previous election.

The case of Forrest County registrar Theron Lynd is classic. An injunction ordering him to cease discrimination against Negroes was issued by a Federal court more than a year ago. He refused to comply and was cited for contempt. He has been under this citation for more than six months now (with no sanctions of fine or imprisonment imposed against him), and his discriminatory tactics continue. This piling of injunction upon injunction has been going on since the 1957 and 1960 civil rights bills were enacted. Negroes still can't vote in Mississippi.

Now they are faced with action by Mississippi government which literally threatens their existence as a people.

If the President and the Attorney General were placed, themselves, under a similar threat, what could be their reaction? If they had used every conceivable stratagem, had faced police dogs and fire hoses and billy clubs and prison for the right to vote, and if all their efforts resulted only in a worsening of their condition, would they, would Americans generally, react with a strengthened conviction of the efficacy of such peaceful persuasion; or would they begin to think in pure terms of self-defense, peaceful or no, violent or nonviolent?

This question the President and the Attorney General must ask themselves, as must all Americans. As they answer it for themselves, so must they answer it for Negroes in Mississippi. As they would act for themselves, so must they act for those Negroes.

Else let them not wring their hands and gnash their teeth and roll their eyes heavenward when Mississippi Negroes begin doing for themselves what their government has refused to do.

Exhibit 1

MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE
By: Messrs. Meek, Pierce, Swindoll, Cook, Mitchell (Walthall), Lee, and Harned.

REGULAR SESSION 1964
To: Judiciary "B"
Rereferred: Judiciary "A"

HOUSE BILL NO. 180
(As passed by House)

AN ACT TO PROVIDE THAT ANY PERSON WHO SHALL BECOME THE PARENT OF AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD SHALL BE GUILTY OF A FELONY AND TO PROVIDE THE PUNISHMENT THEREFOR.

BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI:

SECTION 1. If any person, who shall have previously become the natural parent of an illegitimate child within or without this State by coition within or without this State, shall again become the natural parent of an illegitimate child born within this State, he or she shall be guilty of a felony and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by imprisonment in the State Penitentiary for not less than one (1) year nor more than three (3) years. A subsequent conviction hereunder shall be punishable by imprisonment in the penitentiary for not less than three (3) years nor more than five (5) years. Provided, however, that for the purpose of this act, multiple births shall be construed to be the birth of one (1) child. Provided that the emotional and psychological make-up of the offender shall be taken into consideration by the court of jurisdiction. Provided, however, that any parent convicted hereunder may submit to sterilization in lieu of imprisonment.

SECTION 2. The circuit court of the county in which said illegitimate child is born shall have jurisdiction of any action brought under this section, but no male person shall be convicted solely on the uncorroborated testimony of the female person giving birth to the child.

SECTION 3. On or before the tenth day of each month, the Mississippi State Health Department shall notify in writing the district attorney of each district in Mississippi of the name and address of each person shown as a parent on the birth certificate of any illegitimate child filed with said department during the preceding month.

SECTION 4. This act shall take effect and be in force from and after ten (10) months after its passage.

wm

Exhibit 3

How Mississippi Counties Voted on the Genocide Bill

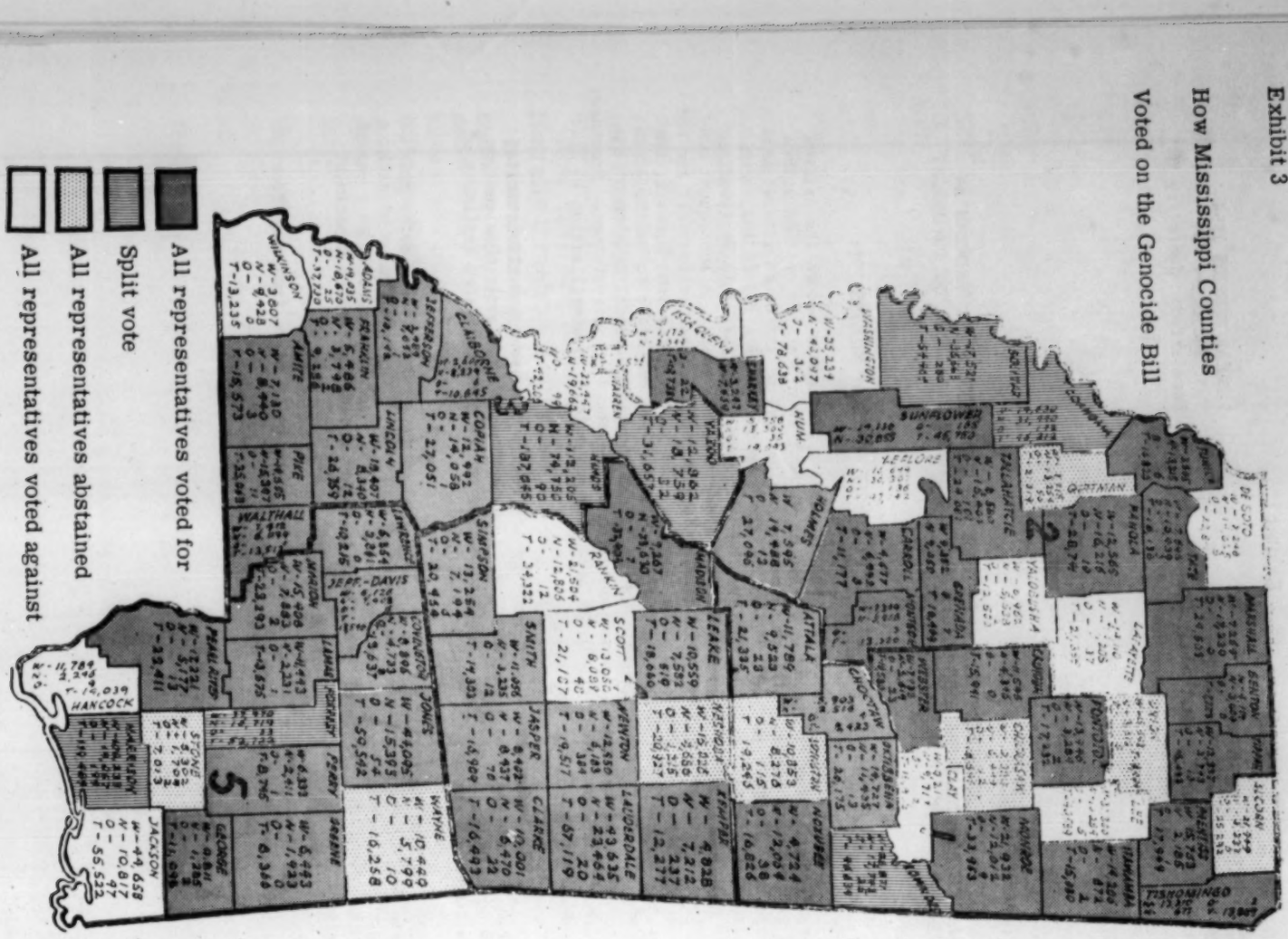


Exhibit 2

Representatives Who Voted for the Genocide Bill

ALLEN, CHARLES BRENHAM, JR. (Charlie), Box 344, Amory, Monroe County. Born November 19, 1904 at Rosedale, Miss.; Insurance (Retired Government Employee); Episcopalian; Graduated Greenville Military Academy 1922, University of Miss. with LLB degree 1927; SEA; Kappa Beta Phi; Rotary; Golf Club; National Football Rules Committee (Miss. Representative 24 years); Married; House 1960-1964.

ANDERSON, ROBERT EDWARD (Bob), Route 3, Box 211, Wesson, Copiah County. Born November 30, 1914 at Hazlehurst, Miss.; Farmer and Dairyman; Baptist; Lions Club; Touchdown Club; Farm Bureau; Miss. Milk Producers' Assn.; Married; House 1956-1964.

BENNETT, DAVID HOLMES (David), Lamar, Benton County. Born May 15, 1921 at Chalybeate, Miss.; Farmer; Baptist; Vice-President, Miss. Farm Bureau; President, Benton County Co-op; Mason; PTA; American Legion; Married; House 1960-1964.

BLACKWELL, CHARLES GRAY (Charlie), 790 Northwood Dr., Laurel, Jones County. Born March 4, 1939 at Ellisville, Miss.; Lawyer; Baptist; Civitan Club; Patriotic American Youth; National Guard; Citizens Council; Past President of Patriotic American Youth; Past Chairman, Oxford Citizens Council; Graduate, University of Miss.; Campus Senate 3 years; Past President, Student Body of Jones County Junior College; Married.

BOTELER EDGAR LEE, JR. (E. L.), Riverside Farms, Grenada, Grenada County. Born February 4, 1920 at Grenada, Miss.; Farmer; Presbyterian; Rotary; Farm Bureau; Married; House 1956-1964.

BRADY, TULLIUS (Tully), Box 115, Brookhaven, Lincoln County. Born June 18, 1906 at Brookhaven, Miss.; Attorney; Presbyterian; Psi Upsilon; Mason; Civitan; Lion; Brookhaven Country Club; Jackson Country Club; American Numismatic Society; Sons of the Confederacy; Sons of the American Revolution; Married.

BRANCH, ELWOOD L. (Elwood), 414 Michigan Ave., McComb, Pike County. Born November 30, 1909 at Smithdale, Miss.; Construction Contractor; Baptist; UCT; Married.

BRISTER, MILTON E. (Milton), Kilmichael, Montgomery County. Born April 6, 1917 in Montgomery County, Miss.; Asst. Cashier; Cattle Farmer; Baptist; American Legion; Farm Bureau; Aberdeen Angus Breeders Assn.; Mason; Chamber of Commerce; Lions Club; Married; House 1960-1964.

CALLICOTT, WILLIAM EDWARD (Bill), Senatobia, Tate County. Born June 16, 1924 at West Point, Miss.; Insurance Agent; Presbyterian; American Legion; V.F.W.; 40 & 8; Rotary; National Guard; Married; House 1960-1964.

CAMMACK, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, JR. (B. F.), Route 1, Hazlehurst, Copiah County. Born June 16, 1908 at Rockport, Miss.; Farmer and Cattleman; Merchant; Methodist; Farm Bureau; President, Copiah County Farm Bureau; Hazlehurst Touchdown Club; Married.

CARRUTH, GEORGE SIMMONS (Doc), R.F.D., Summit, Pike County. Born November 6, 1906 at Summit, Miss.; L. C. Railroad; Methodist; Mason; Shriner; Eastern Star; Vice-President Employees Service Club ICRR; Married; House 1952-1964.

CASE, GEORGE MILTON (Milton), 126 Cisnie Ave., Canton, Madison County. Born July 5, 1934 at Canton, Miss.; Attorney; Baptist; Knights of Pythias; Mason; Elk; Lion; Jaycees; Single; House 1960-1964.

COSSAR, GEORGE PAYNE, Charleston, Tallahatchie County. Born August 26, 1907 at Webb, Miss.; Lawyer; Methodist; Sigma Nu; Phi Alpha Delta; ODK; Mason; Shriner; Rotary; Jaycees; Married; House 1944-1948, 1952-1964.

CRAIG, CARL H. (Carl), Box 404, Brookhaven, Lincoln County. Born August 16, 1905 at Olive Branch, Miss.; Poultryman; Cattleman; Feed Miller; Methodist; Chamber of Commerce; Cattlemen's Assn.; Farm Bureau; Married.

COMANS, RAYMOND, Box 272, Decatur, Newton County. Born March 20, 1930 at Dixon, Miss.; Owner & Operator, Retail Furniture Business; Baptist; Union Chamber of Commerce; Mason; American Legion; Farm Bureau; Married.

COOK, JAMES HARVEY (Harvey), Box 235, Weir, Choctaw County. Born November 29, 1937 at French Camp, Miss.; Student and Farmer; Baptist; Mason; Married.

DALLAS, DeVAN (Van), 123 W. Oxford St., Pontotoc, Pontotoc County. Born March 4, 1926 at Okolona, Miss.; Automobile & Implement Dealer; Baptist; Tennessee and Mississippi Sheriffs and Peace Officers Assn.; American Legion; VFW; 40 & 8; Pontotoc Boosters Club; Lion; Farm Bureau; Married.

FINNIE, HUBERT NOEL (H. N.), Courtland, Panola County. Born June 13, 1900 in Panola County, Miss.; Cattle and Cotton Farmer; Teacher, Merchant; Board of Supervisors 1940-1948; Baptist; W.O.W.; Lion; Batesville Chamber of Commerce; Farm Bureau; Citizens Council; Miss. Cattlemen's Assn.; Trustee, Eleemosynary Institutions; Married; House 1956-1960.

FOX, RUSSELL, LAMBERT (Russell), Pattison, Claiborne County. Born July 11, 1909 at Jackson, Miss.; Farmer; Livestock Breeder; Presbyterian; Sigma Chi; Mason; Lion; State Board of Directors Farm Bureau; State Board of Directors CDC; Married; House continuously since 1936.

GEOGHEGAN, JAMES FRANCIS (Francis), Box 236, Fayette, Jefferson County. Born August 17, 1927 at McNair, Miss.; Insurance; Cattleman; Methodist; Mason; Shriner; Kiwanis; Married; House 1960-1964.

GIPSON, THOMAS ZACHARIAH (Hoot), Route 4, Box 90, Columbia, Marion County. Born October 2, 1923 at Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Pharmacist; Baptist; Mason; Chapter and Council; The Gideons Intl.; V.F.W.; Citizens Council; Miss. State Pharmaceutical Assn.; Miss. Cattlemen's Assn.; Marion County Historical Society; Chamber of Commerce; Farm Bureau; Married.

GRAHAM, MACK, Box 205, Sumrall, Lamar County. Born June 12, 1924 at Sumrall, Miss.; Merchant and Farmer; Baptist; World War II Veteran; V.F.W.; American Legion; 40 & 8; Board of Directors, Miss. Assn. for Retarded Children; P.T.A.; Lion; Vice-President, P.T. Council Miss. School for Blind; Married; House 1961-1964.

GRAHAM, THOMAS ESTUS (Estus), Route 2, Ellisville, Jones County. Born November 10, 1904 at Ellisville, Miss.; Farmer; Baptist; Mason; Eastern Star; Jones County Wild Life League; Married; House 1952-1956.

HARNED, HORACE H., JR. (Horace), Route 1, Box 27, Starkville, Oktibbeha County. Born July 27, 1920 at State College, Miss.; Dairy and Livestock Farmer; Baptist; Rotary; Mason; Kappa Sigma; American Legion; 40 & 8; Married; Senate 1952-1956, House 1960-1964.

HARVEY, DANIEL, Route 3, Magee, Smith County. Born September 16, 1927 at Mt. Olive, Miss.; School Administrator; Baptist; American Legion; V.F.W.; Mason, 32nd Degree; Shriner; Married; House 1960-1964.

HERRIN, RALPH HERMAN (Ralph), Box 367, Collins, Covington County. Born December 3, 1908 at Sanford, Miss.; Farmer, Business Man; Baptist; Rotary; Collins Business and Professional Club; President, Covington County Baptist Brotherhood; Farm Bureau; Married; House 1956-1960.

HICKS, HERVEY OWINGS (Hervey), Route 1, Box 64, Benton, Yazoo County. Born August 9, 1900 at Benton, Miss.; Planter; Livestock Dealer; Methodist; Mason; Director, Yazoo County Farm Bureau; Methodist Men's Club; Benton Farmers Club; Married; House 1932-1936; 1948-1964.

HOLLINGER, JOHN FIELDING (John), Route 1, Meadville, Franklin County. Born May 25, 1917 at Meadville, Miss.; Merchant, Farmer and Sawmill Operator; Methodist; American Legion; Farm Bureau; Citizens Council; Miss. State Alumni Assn.; State Forestry Assn.; Civitan; Married; House 1960-1964.

HOLYFIELD, ROBERT LEE (Bob), Rose Hill, Jasper County. Born July 4, 1922 at Meridian, Miss.; Cattleman; Methodist; Pi Kappa Alpha; President, Southeast Miss. Industrial Development Council; Director, Miss. Farm Bureau Federation; Single.

HOOKER, EDWIN WILBURN, SR. (Wilburn), 103 Wall St., Lexington, Holmes County. Born July 17, 1913 at New Orleans, La.; Farmer; Cattleman; General Insurance; Methodist; Mason; Shriner; Phi Delta Theta; Lexington Chamber of Commerce; Director, Delta Council; Rotary; American Legion; V.F.W.; Farm Bureau; Married; House 1956-1964.

HOUGH, JOHN HOWARD (John), Indianola, Sunflower County. Born December 22, 1900 at Magnolia, Miss.; Farmer; Ginner; Realtor and Developer; Baptist; Past President, Indianola Rotary Club; Past President, Indianola Investment Club; Alderman 3 terms; Colonel, Miss. State Guard; President, Indianola Chamber of Commerce; Director, Delta Council; MEC; Citizens Council; Miss. Cattlemen's Assn.; Farm Bureau; Sons of Confederacy; Sons of American Revolution; Indianola Country Club; Married; House 1960-1964.

HUGHES, PEASTER LEO (P. L.), Mannsdale Road, Madison, Madison County. Born August 28, 1910 at West, Miss.; Farmer and Cattleman; Baptist; Elk; Madison-Ridgeland Optimist Club; Lion; Citizens Council; Miss. Cattlemen's Assn.; Canton Chamber of Commerce; Commissioner, Madison County Soil Conservation District; Married; House 1960-1964.

JONES, JESSE FRED (Fred), Box 45, Inverness, Sunflower County. Born August 11, 1894 at Inverness, Miss.; Farmer; Methodist; Scottish Rite Mason; Shriner; Rotary; Miss. Democratic Executive Committee 8 years; Supervisor 4 terms; Former President Sunflower County Board of Supervisors; Past President, Miss. Delta Power Assn.; Married; Senate 1944-1952.

JONES, REX KENTON (Rex), Box 125, Hattiesburg, Forrest County. Born November 16, 1933 at Hattiesburg, Miss.; Attorney; Methodist; Phi Alpha Delta; Jaycees; American Bar Assn.; Miss. State Bar Assn.; Single.

LADNER, HIRAM GRIFFIN, JR. (Griffin), 120 Jefferson St., Ripley, Tippah County. Born January 17, 1918 at Gulfport, Miss.; Attorney and Insurance Agent; Presbyterian; Miss. Bar Assn.; 32nd Degree Mason; Phi Kappa Psi; Chamber of Commerce; Pine Hill Golf and Country Club; American Legion; Boy Scout Council member; Ripley Football Booster Club; Married.

LASSITER, ROBERT L. (Bob), Route 2, Richton, Perry County. Born October 19, 1920 at Jackson, North Carolina. Farmer; Carpenter; Baptist; Deacon, Good Hope Baptist Church; Married.

LEE, BILLY JOE, Route 1, Box 190A, Silver Creek, Lawrence County. Born March 14, 1929 at Arm, Miss.; Farmer; Cattleman; Merchant; Baptist; Mason; Farm Bureau; Chamber of Commerce; Jaycees; Married; House 1962-1964.

LONG, BETTY JANE (Betty), 2219 49th Ave., Meridian, Lauderdale County. Born May 8, 1928 at Electric Mills, Miss.; Lawyer; Presbyterian; Miss. Farm Bureau; Pilot Club; B. & P. W. Club; Salvation Army Board; Cerebral Palsy Board; A.A.U.W.; Who's Who of American Women 1958-1959; Single; House 1956-1964.

LOVE, JAMES PERCY (J. P.), Tchula, Holmes County. Born July 12, 1902 at McAdams, Miss.; Planter and Cattleman; Baptist; ODK; Natl. Cotton Producers Institute; Delta Council; Farm Bureau; Miss. Livestock Assn.; Natl. Livestock Assn.; Miss. Hereford Assn.; American Hereford Assn.; Married; House 1956-1964.

MABRY, MALCOLM H., JR. (Malcolm), Dublin, Coahoma County. Born June 28, 1933 at Dublin, Miss.; School Teacher and Farmer; Methodist; Miss. Education Assn.; Farm Bureau; Sons of American Revolution; Civitan Club; Single.

MASSEY, ALTON, Box 189, Kosciusko, Attala County. Born December 18, 1909 at Lobutcha, Miss.; Attorney; Methodist; Alpha Tau Omega; Eastern Star; Mason; Shriner; W.O.W.; V.F.W.; American Legion; D.A.V.; Lion; Single; Senate 1936-1940.

MATHIS, JAMES WESLEY (Jim), Box 26, Carthage, Leake County. Born September 17, 1934 at Lena, Miss.; General Insurance; Baptist; Sigma Nu; W.O.W.; Rotary; Jaycees; Leake County Chamber of Commerce; President, East Central Jr. College Alumni Assn.; Citizens Council; Travelers Club; Central Miss. Archery Club; Married; House 1960-1964.

McALLISTER, LEWIS LESLIE, JR. (Mack), 2402 46th St., Meridian, Lauderdale County. Born September 25, 1932 at Jackson, Miss.; C.P.A.; Methodist; Miss. Society of C.P.A.; AICPA; Kappa Alpha; ODK; Married; House 1963-64.

McCOY, CHARLES ELVIS (Charley), Box 56, Wheeler, Prentiss County. Born October 7, 1916 at Booneville, Miss.; Construction; Methodist; Married.

McCULLOUGH, WILLIAM TODD (Todd), Box 82, Pope, Panola County. Born October 28, 1903 at Batesville, Miss.; Cotton Buyer; Merchant; Druggist; Baptist; Chairman, Board of Deacons; Sunday School Teacher; Farm Bureau; Chamber of Commerce; Married; House 1948-1956, 1960-1964.

McGAUGHEY, NOEL DOUGLAS (Noel), Route 2, Prentiss, Jefferson Davis County. Born October 8, 1916 at Tylertown, Miss.; Manager of Sunflower Food Store; Baptist; Mason; American Legion; PTA; Married.

McGREW, JOHN WESLEY (John), Route 1, Vossburg, Clarke County. Born June 7, 1917 at Stonewall, Miss.; Baptist Minister; Baptist; Mason; Married.

MEEK, WALTER BUCHANAN (Buck), Route 1, Eupora, Webster County. Born January 13, 1926 at Memphis, Tennessee; Attorney; Insurance Agent; Farmer; Methodist; Pi Kappa Alpha; Past President, Miss. Jaycees; Rotary; American Legion; American Bar Assn.; Miss. Bar Assn.; Farm Bureau; PTA; Married.

MILLER, ALBERT VIRGIL (Albert), Rolling Fork, Sharkey County. Born August 12, 1926 at Gainesville, Miss.; Lawyer; Baptist; Phi Delta Phi; American Legion; Farm Bureau; Miss. State Bar Assn.; Rotary; Mason; Delta Council; Married; House 1956-1964.

MILLER, JOSEPH ABRAHAM, JR. (Abie), Box 487, Leakesville, Greene County. Born September 10, 1914 at Fruitdale, Alabama; Telephone Company Owner and Manager; Church of the Brethren; Lion; Rotary; Married.

MITCHELL, HENRY REDMAN (Redman), Amory, Monroe County. Born December 6, 1906 at Amory, Miss.; Farmer and Dairy Bar Operator; Baptist; Deacon and Teacher of Young People; Mason; Married.

MITCHELL, WILLIAM HENRY (William), Route 2, Tylertown, Walthall County. Born August 23, 1935 at Tylertown, Miss.; Farmer and Cattleman; Baptist; W.O.W.; Jaycees; Farm Bureau; Chamber of Commerce; Miss. Cattlemen's Assn.; Married; House 1960-1964.

MOSS, JOSEPH GIBSON (Joe), Box 144, Raymond, Hinds County. Born April 26, 1922 at Jackson, Miss.; Lawyer; Farmer; Methodist; Sigma Delta Kappa; Lion; Farm Bureau; V.F.W.; Married; House 1956-1964.

MUTHS, SHERMAN LEWIS, JR. (Sherman), Box 127, Gulfport, Harrison County. Born November 22, 1932 at Gulfport, Miss.; Lawyer; Methodist; Sigma Nu; Phi Alpha Delta; Jaycees; Gulfport Yacht Club; Chamber of Commerce; Y.M.B.C.; U.S.A.F. Reserve; University of Miss. Alumni Assn.; Harrison County, Miss. State and American Bar Assn.; Civil War Roundtable of South Miss.; Married.

OWEN, BEN, Box 1001, Columbus, Lowndes County. Born July 12, 1921 at Columbus, Miss.; Attorney; Baptist; Phi Delta Theta; Phi Delta Phi; Lowndes County, Miss. and American Bar Assn.; Farm Bureau; Kiwanis; American Legion; V.F.W.; Ole Miss. Alumni Assn.; M-Club; Married.

PHILLIPS, JOHN ALTON (Alton), Macon, Noxubee County. Born June 8, 1905 at Carrollton, Alabama; Lawyer; Tree Farmer; Baptist; Shriner; DKP; Rotary; Chamber of Commerce; Economic Council; American Legion; Bar Assn.; Married; House 1932-1940, 1944-1964.

PIERCE, CLARENCE ALBERT (Clarence), Box 277, Vaiden, Carroll County. Born October 1, 1928 at Thornton, Miss.; Staff Asst. to Senator Eastland when Legislature not in session; ODK; Beta Theta Pi; Sons of the American Revolution; Mason; Episcopalian; Single; House 1952-1964.

PUCKETT, THOMAS W. (Tom), Route 2, DeKalb, Kemper County. Born August 23, 1892 at Porterville, Miss.; Farmer; Merchant; Baptist; Scottish Rite, 32nd Degree; Shriner; American Legion; Post Commander Twice, Former District 5 Commander; Former Supervisor; Former Member, Game and Fish Commission; Lion; Married.

SCRUGGS, CLESTON, Route 3, Iuka, Tishomingo County. Born January 23, 1913 at Iuka, Miss.; Teacher; Farmer; Methodist; Mason; MEA; PTA; Miss. State Alumni; Farm Bureau; Former Supt. of Education; Married.

SEABROOK, STERLING WITHERS (Sterling), Route 1, Tunica, Tunica County. Born October 13, 1923 at Memphis, Tennessee; Farmer; Episcopalian; Rotary; Married; House 1960-1964.

SIMPSON, JAMES CHARLES (Jim), 706 W. Beach Blvd., Pass Christian, Harrison County. Born May 18, 1930 at Gulfport, Miss.; Seafood Canner; Catholic; Phi Kappa Tau; Chamber of Commerce; VFW; Pass Christian Yacht Club; Married.

SLAYDEN, MRS. EVERETT (Gladys), The Magnolias, Holly Springs, Marshall County. Born in Marshall County, Miss.; Farmer; Baptist; Life Member, Natl. Garden Clubs; Life Member and Past President, Garden Clubs of Miss.; Farm Bureau; DAR; UDC; Past President and Pilgrimage Chairman, Holly Springs Garden Club; Widow; House 1960-1964.

SMITH, WADE ORCHIN (Wade), Route 2, Box 168, Poplarville, Pearl River County. Born February 16, 1911 at Poplarville, Miss.; Farmer; Baptist; President, Farm Bureau; Pearl River County Director, Wolf River Wildlife Council; Married.

SWINDOLL, GEORGE MITCHELL (George), Box 158, Calhoun City, Calhoun County. Born June 11, 1931 at Slate Springs, Miss.; Attorney; Baptist; Beta Theta Pi; Miss. Bar Assn.; American Bar Assn.; Toastmasters International; Farm Bureau; Mason; Married; House 1960-1964.

THIGPEN, JUDSON ARLEDGE, JR. (Bud), 601 Deering St., Cleveland, Bolivar County. Born November 29, 1926 at Shaw, Miss.; Standard Oil Co. Agent; Real Estate Broker; Baptist; V.F.W.; American Legion; Citizens Council; Cleveland Volunteer Fire Dept.; Married.

THOMPSON, WILLIAM ISAAC SHELBY (Bill), 715 Brookwood Rd., Jackson, Hinds County. Born November 24, 1936 at Jackson, Miss.; Life Insurance Salesman; Methodist; Mason; Kappa Sigma; Jaycees; Jackson Exchange Club; Jackson Citizens Band Radio Club; Alumni Assn. of Miss. State, Millsaps & Ole Miss.; Married.

TRUE, JAMES BENJAMIN (Jim), 1110 Thirty First Ave., Gulfport, Harrison County. Born December 20, 1905 at New Orleans, La.; President, Jim True & Co., Inc.; Bay St. Louis Lodge No. 429 F. & A. M.; Gulfport Consistory; Colonial Patriots Chapter S.A.R.; Gulfport Chapter, Alumni Assn. Gulf Coast Junior College District; Chamber of Commerce; Citizens Council; John Birch Society; Married.

WALL, FRANK TRACY (Frank), Route 2, Liberty, Amite County. Born March 5, 1908 at Gillsburg, Miss.; Dairy Farmer; Bapist; Married; House 1952-1960.

WARREN, JACK A., JR. (Jack), D'Lo, Simpson County. Born November 29, 1907 at D'Lo, Miss.; Cattleman and Farmer; Public Relations; Methodist; Mason; Shriner; O.E.S.; President, Simpson County Soil Conservation District Com.; First Vice-President, S.E. Livestock Assn.; Director, Farm Bureau; Miss. Land & Timber Corp.; Mendenhall School Board; Chamber of Commerce; Lion; Married.

WHITE, MRS. GORDON (Berta Lee), Route 1, Bailey, Lauderdale County. Born June 27, 1914 at Obadiah, Miss. Secretary and Director, Hughes Telephone Company; Presbyterian; 4-H Club Leader; Obadiah Home Demonstration; Center Hill Community Development; Lauderdale County Cancer & Mental Health Board; Meridian B. & P. W.; Miss. Women's Cabinet; State Director of Farm Bureau; Trustee of Meridian Public Library; Miss. Library Commission; American Library Trustee; Associated Country Women of the World (Delegate to Australia 1962); Married.

WILBURN, EDWIN J. (Jerry), Mantachie, Itawamba County. Born September 18, 1940 at Mantachie, Miss.; Farmer; Methodist; Single.

WILKERSON, WILLIAM AVERY (Bill), Benndale, George County. Born March 9, 1938 at Benndale, Miss.; Teacher; Timber Farmer; Methodist; Masonic Lodge; George County Jaycees; George County Sportsmanship and Boating Club; Farm Bureau; Married.

C1964

MISSISSIPPI

★ SUBVERSION OF ★

THE RIGHT TO VOTE





The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N. W.

Atlanta, Georgia 30314

"All political power is vested in, and derived from, the people; all government of right originates with the people, is founded upon their will only, and is instituted solely for the good of the whole."

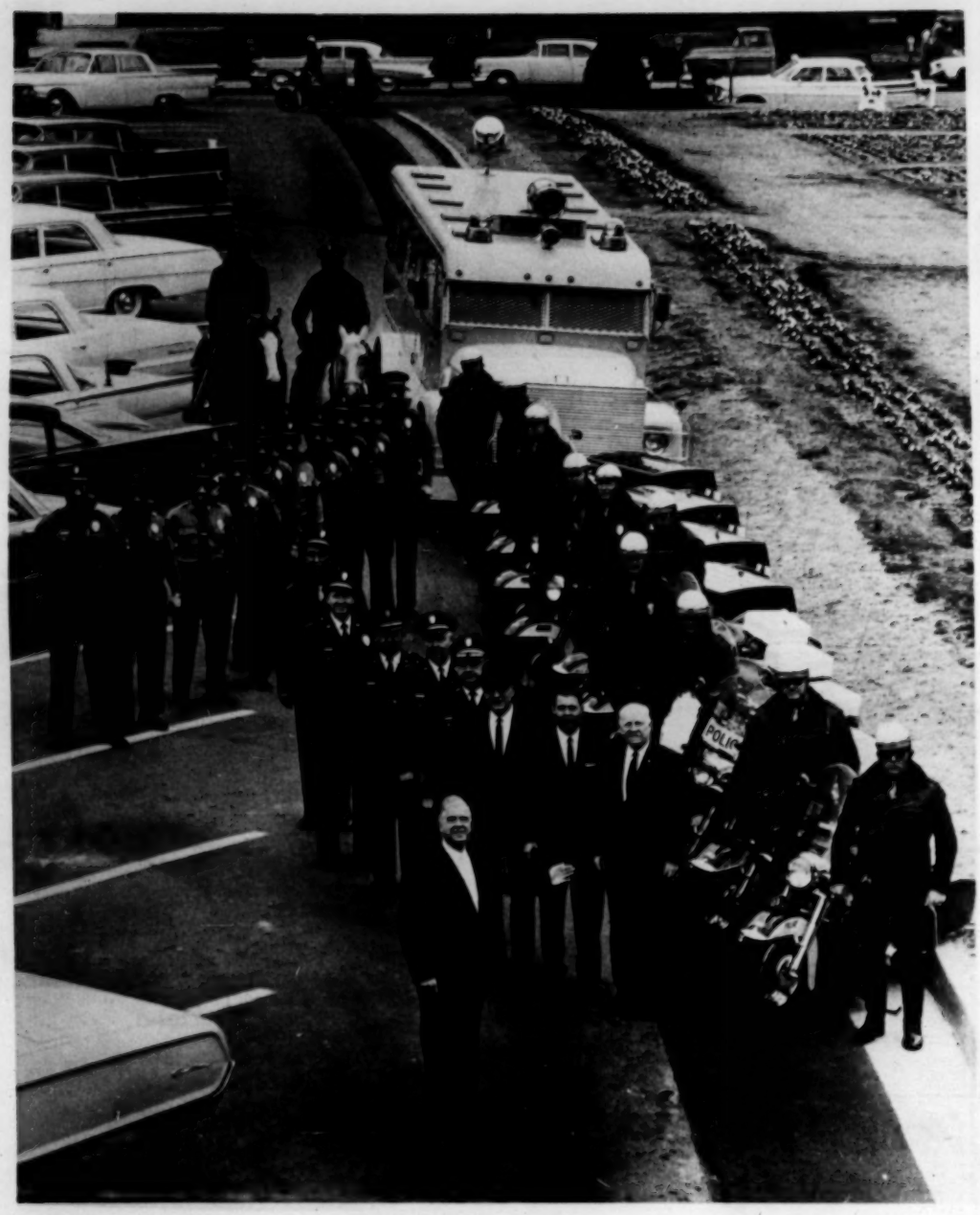
Article 3, Bill of Rights, Section 5
Mississippi Constitution, Adopted 1890

"Federal District Judge Harold Cox is expected to rule . . . on a Justice Department suit to speed up the processing of Negro voter applicants at Canton (Mississippi) . . . At yesterday's hearing Judge Cox, the first judge appointed by President Kennedy under the 1961 expansion of the Federal Judiciary, repeatedly referred to Negro applicants as a 'bunch of niggers'."

New York Times, March 9, 1964

"I assert that the Negro race is an inferior race. The doctrine of white supremacy is one which, if adhered to, will save America."

United States Senator James O. Eastland
(from Ruleville, Mississippi)
June 29, 1945 in the United States Senate during debate on proposed FEPC law. Text in the Congressional Record.



"We've got a larger than usual police force," Mayor Allen Thompson of Jackson explains. "It's twice as big as any city our size." The force was built up to control voter registration and other civil rights workers. "We're going to be ready for them," he explains. "They won't have a chance."

For the first time in United States history Negroes are organizing across an entire state to overthrow white supremacy. In Mississippi national and local civil rights, civic and church organizations, through the Council of Federated organizations, are pulling together for the right to demand changes in the Mississippi Way of Life.

At the same time there are whites throughout the state organizing to crush the movement for change. The dominant white supremacy group is known as the White Citizens' Councils, organized by Mississippi's "leading" citizens in 1954 to combat Negro voting rights and resist the Supreme Court school decision that same year. The Citizens' Councils now maintain a firm stranglehold on the governorship, the state legislature and the federal and state courts. They control local and state education throughout most of the state, and dominate the economic base and activity in the state.

Ten years ago Mississippi Senator James Eastland called for state-organized defiance of any federal efforts to ensure equal rights for Negroes. (The speech, titled "We've Reached Era of Judicial Tyranny," was delivered at the first state-wide convention of the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, held in Jackson on Dec. 1, 1955).

"As I view the matter," Eastland said, "it is fundamental that each Southern State must adopt a State policy or State program to retain segregation, and that all the power and resources of the State be dedicated to that end."

Eastland, a cotton-rich plantation owner who controls the Senate Judiciary Committee, attacked "gradualism" as one of the great dangers to the Mississippi Way of Life.

"The present condition in which the South finds itself is more dangerous than Reconstruction. It is more insidious than Reconstruction. It is more dangerous in that the present Court decisions are built on gradualism. To induce us to agree or to force us to comply step by

step. In Reconstruction there was the attempt to force the hideous monster upon us all at once. Our ancestors rallied and stopped it. Its weakness then was that they attempted to enforce it all at once. It will take special precautions to guard against the gradual acceptance, and the erosion of our rights through the deadly doctrine of gradualism. There is only one course open to us and that is stern resistance. There is no other alternative . . . ."

In the standard packet of literature distributed by Citizens' Council headquarters in Greenwood, Miss., several quotations are reprinted from a speech in 1907 by former Mississippi Governor James K. Vardaman. Although given in 1907, Vardaman's speech pinpoints the State's present position on Negro voting.

"The Negro should never have been trusted with the ballot. He is different from the white man. He is congenitally unqualified to exercise the most responsible duty of citizenship. He is physically, mentally, morally, racially and eternally the white man's inferior. There is nothing in the history of his race, nothing in his individual character, nothing in his achievements of the past nor his promise for the future which entitles him to stand side by side with the white man at the ballot-box . . . .

"We must repeal the Fifteenth and modify the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Then we shall be able in our legislation to recognize the negro's racial peculiarities and make laws to fit them. This would leave the matter precisely as was intended by the fathers of the Republic."

In 1955, Lamar Smith, a Negro, was killed after urging other Negroes to vote in a gubernatorial election. He was shot to death on the Brookhaven, Miss., courthouse lawn. A grand jury refused to indict the three men who were charged with the slaying.

In 1961, Herbert Lee, a Negro active in voter registration activities in Liberty, Miss., was shot to death by a member of the Mississippi State Legislature. Rep. E.E. Hurst, a Citizens' Council member, was vindicated by the coroner's jury, which ruled the murder a "justifiable homicide."

In 1964, a witness to the Lee killing, Louis Allen, was shot to death near his home. Allen had been harassed by local police officials several times since the Lee killing. Local authorities there say they have not come up with any clues in the Allen killing.

In 1962, Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville, Miss., was fired from her plantation job, where she had worked for 18 years, the same day she had gone to the county courthouse to attempt to register. The plantation owner had informed her that she had to leave if she didn't withdraw her application for registration.

Leonard Davis of Ruleville was a sanitation worker for the city until 1962, when he was told by Ruleville Mayor Charles M. Dorrough, "We've

going to let you go. Your wife's been attending that school." Dorrough was referring to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee registration school in Ruleville.

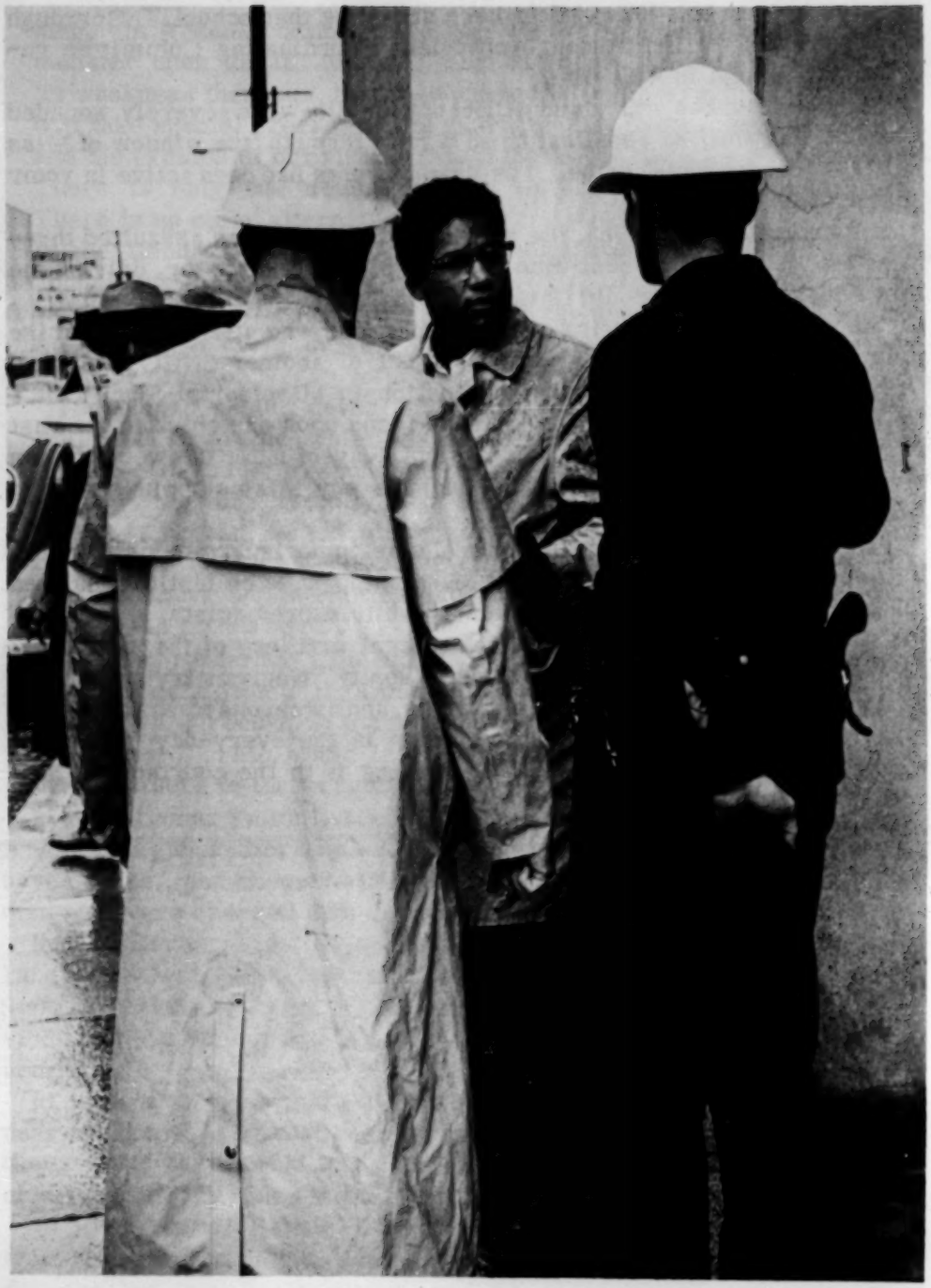
Marylene Burkes and Vivian Hillet of Ruleville were severely wounded when an unidentified assailant fired a rifle through the window of Miss Hillet's grandparents' home. The grandparents had been active in voter registration work.

In Rankin County in 1963, the sheriff and two deputies assaulted three Negroes in the courthouse who were applying to register, driving the three out before they could finish the forms.

The recording of reprisals against Negroes who attempt to exercise their Constitutional rights is the subject of another SNCC pamphlet, "Chronology of Violence and Intimidation in Mississippi Since 1961." In this pamphlet we will cut out and focus upon one chink in the vast race-walls which guard the Mississippi Way of Life: the web of voter registration requirements which ensnares any Mississippi Negro who would attempt to vote.

The White Citizens' Councils control most important state institutions. Without the right to vote Negroes in Mississippi have no institutionalized means of challenging the oppression by white supremacists.

It should be emphasized that the legal artillery of the State is by no means its mainline force against "uppity" Negroes trying to vote. The killings, beatings, shootings, jailings, and numerous forms of economic repression are important elements in the every-day "private" means of deterring Negroes from making it to the courthouse. The voting laws are the "public" face.



Hattiesburg police prevent Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee executive secretary, James Forman, from bringing Negroes to the courthouse to attempt to register to vote.

A Republic, or republican form of government, is one in which the citizens vote in order to elect representatives to make and execute decisions about how to run the government. The United States Constitution (Article 4, Section 4) guarantees to every state a republican form of government. Because the right to vote is vital to a republican form of government, the Constitution guarantees the right to vote in Article One (Section 2 and 4), and in the 14th, 15th and 19th amendments. But since 1890 the State of Mississippi has maneuvered to deny Negroes the right to vote.

Before 1890 the Constitution and laws of Mississippi provided that all male citizens could register to vote who were 21 years of age and over, and had lived in the state six months and in the county one month. The exceptions were those who were insane or who had committed crimes which disqualified them.

In 1890 there were many more Negro citizens than white citizens who were eligible to become qualified electors in Mississippi. Therefore, in that year a Mississippi Constitutional Convention was held to

adopt a new State Constitution. Section 244 of the new Constitution required a new registration of voters starting January 1, 1892. This section also established a new requirement for qualification as a register voter: a person had to be able to read any section of the Mississippi Constitution, or understand any section when read to him, or give a reasonable interpretation of any section.

Under the new registration the balance of voting power shifted. By 1899 approximately 122,000 (82 percent) of the white males of voting age were registered. But only 18,000 (9 percent) of the Negro males qualified. Since 1899 a substantial majority of whites of voting age have become registered voters. But the percentage of Negro registered voters declined.

Between 1899 and 1952 several "public" methods were used to keep Negroes off the voter lists or out of the political process to ensure white supremacy. Many Negroes simply were not allowed to register. Literate Negroes were required to interpret sections of the Constitution to the satisfaction of a white registrar. All Negroes were excluded from the Democratic primary elections. Victory in the Democratic primary in Mississippi during this period meant victory in the general election.

In June, 1951, a U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that a person could register to vote if he could read OR, if unable to read, he could understand or interpret a provision of the State Constitution. A much higher percentage of voting-age Negroes were literate in 1951 than in 1890.

The Mississippi Legislators, all white, felt the Court's decision would enable many more Negroes to register to vote. Therefore, in 1952 the State Legislature passed a joint resolution proposing an amendment to Section 244 of the 1890 Mississippi Constitution. The proposed amendment would require a registration applicant to be able to read and interpret any section of the State Constitution. The proposed amendment was placed on the general election ballot, but failure to vote on the proposed amendment was counted as a negative vote and the amendment was not adopted.

On April 22, 1954, the State Legislature again passed a resolution to amend Section 244. This time however, several new qualifications were included in the proposal.

First, that a person must be able to read and write any section of the Mississippi Constitution; and give a reasonable interpretation of the Constitution to the county registrar.

Second, a person must be able to demonstrate to the county registrar a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship under a constitutional form of government.

Third, that a person make a sworn written application for registration on a form which would be prescribed by the State Board of Election

Commissioners.

Fourth, that all persons who were registered before January 1, 1954, were expressly exempted from the new requirements.

In October, 1954, Robert B. Patterson, executive secretary of the Mississippi Citizens' Councils, was reported to have said at a Citizens' Council meeting, "The amendment is intended solely to limit Negro registration," according to University of Mississippi professor Russell H. Barrett.

The burden of the new requirements had to fall on Negroes because a substantial majority of whites were already registered and therefore exempted from the amendment. Most Negroes would still have to apply for registration and therefore have to fulfill the new requirements. In 1954 at least 450,000 (63 percent) of the voting-age whites were registered. Approximately 22,000 (five percent) of the voting - age Negroes were registered. With 95 percent of the 472,000 eligible voters white, the proposed amendment to Section 244 was adopted on November 2, 1954. Thus, adoption of the amendment ensured that at least 95 percent of the electorate would be white.

"Although this same amendment failed to pass in 1952," the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi reported, "it passed by a tremendous majority when the people of Mississippi, through the Citizens' Councils, were informed of the necessity and reason for the passage of this amendment."

The new requirements were to be administered by the county registrars. But, since at least 1892 all voter registrars in Mississippi have been white. (Indeed, it should be noted that since 1892 all state officials have been white.)

In January, 1955, an extraordinary session of the Mississippi Legislature was called in order that the adopted amendment to Section 244 could be inserted in the Constitution of 1890. At this session the State Legislature also passed legislation which implemented the amendment. The legislation required the interpretation test; the duties and obligations test; exempted persons registered prior to January 1, 1954; and directed the State Board of Election Commissioners to prepare a sworn written application form which the county registrars would be required to use in examining the qualifications of each applicant. In addition, the application forms were to be kept as permanent public records.

The amendment and its implementing legislation gave unlimited discretion to the county registrars in determining whether a voter registration applicant was qualified. Neither the constitutional nor the statutory provisions set any standards by which registrars should administer the tests.

Thus, Negroes in Mississippi must face a white registrar who has no legal guidelines for determining the manner in which these tests

are to be administered; the length and complexity of the sections of the Constitution to be read, written and interpreted by the applicants; the standard for a reasonable interpretation of any section of the Mississippi Constitution; the standard for a reasonable understanding of the duties and obligations of citizenship; nor a standard of performance by the applicant in completing the application form.

The registrar has 285 sections of the 1890 Constitution from which to choose, some of which are as complicated as the question of the leases dealing with land purchases from the Choctaw Indians.

A 1963 Omnibus Suit challenging Mississippi's voting laws, filed in Federal Court by the Justice Department, maintains, "There is no rational or reasonable basis for requiring, as a prerequisite to voting, that a prospective elector, otherwise qualified, be able to interpret certain of the sections of the Mississippi Constitution."

The suit further states,

". . . Registrars . . . have used, are using, and will continue to use the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test to deprive otherwise qualified Negro citizens of the right to register to vote without distinction of race or color. The existence of the interpretation test and the duties and obligations test as voter qualifications in Mississippi, their enforcement, and the threat of their enforcement have deterred, are deterring and will continued to deter otherwise qualified Negroes in Mississippi from applying for registration to vote."

But the suit does not stop at the voting qualifications themselves in attacking the efforts to keep Negroes from voting. The suit argues that since Negroes have been denied an equal public education, the state does not have the right to turn around and demand interpretation and understanding tests which reflect the quality of public education.

"In a state where public education facilities are and have been racially segregated and where those provided for Negroes are and have been inferior to those provided for white persons, an interpretation or understanding test as a prerequisite to voting, which bears a direct relationship to the quality of public education afforded the applicant violates the Fifteenth Amendment."

But the state of Mississippi was not through erecting barriers to Negro suffrage. In 1960, the Mississippi Legislature passed a joint resolution to amend Article XII of the Constitution of 1890 to include a new qualification, good moral character, to the list of qualifications to vote. On November 8, 1960, the new section (241-A) was adopted by the Mississippi electorate. Of the approximately 525,000 registered voters in Mississippi who were eligible to vote on this proposed amendment, about 95 percent were white, fewer than five percent were Negro.

As in the cases of the other qualifications, the new amendment exempts most of the voting age whites from the requirement and in-



Negro citizens attempt to cast ballots in Greenwood, August 1963. Note helmeted policeman and local citizen photographing each of them as they enter the courthouse. The photographs can later be used to intimidate them, and perhaps to force them from their jobs or homes because they tried to vote.

cludes most voting age Negroes.

Ole Miss professor Russell Barrett stated in 1964 that during the campaign on the moral character amendment in 1960 the Jackson, Miss., State-Times editorialized, "This proposed amendment is not aimed at keeping white people from voting, no matter how morally corrupt they may be. It is an ill-disguised attempt to keep qualified Negroes from voting; and as such, it should not have the support of the people of Mississippi."

During the 1960 legislative session another bill was passed, amending the Mississippi Code (Section 3209.6) to permit the destruction of registration records 30 days after the filing of the application form. In 1955 the legislature had passed a law which included a requirement that all registration applications be kept as a permanent public record. Mississippi legislators changed their attitudes after the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 were passed.

In 1957 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act which provided that the Attorney General of the United States may bring civil actions to protect the right to vote without distinction of race or color. In 1960 Congress passed another Civil Rights Act which required that all records and papers related to registration, poll tax payments, and any other matters pertaining to voting in federal elections be preserved for a certain period. The Act also provides that the United States Attorney General may gain access to county voting records by seeking a federal court order directing that the records be made available to him. (In May, 1964, the Justice Department secured such an order in Bolivar County, Mississippi, after four years of litigation).

However, the Mississippi statute now permitted registrars to destroy evidence of discrimination against Negro applicants should Justice Department officials want to photograph the records. The law was deliberately aimed at undermining Title III (1960 Civil Rights Act), a procedure which the Supreme Court has ruled violates Article VI of the Constitution of the United States.

In the spring of 1962 the State Legislature adopted another package of bills designed to thwart growing efforts by Negroes to register and vote.

Prior to this new legislation, the Mississippi Code (Section 3213) required that an applicant fill out the application form without assistance or suggestion from any person. The new legislation (House Bill900) amended that section, making the requirements of the statute mandatory; requiring that no application can be approved or the applicant registered if any blank on the application form is not "properly and responsively" filled out by the applicant; and required that both the oath in the application and the application must be signed separately by the applicant.

The purpose of House Bill 900 was to prevent anyone, including the

registrar, from giving the slightest suggestion about what was required on the application form. Thus, the applicant could be rejected because of the most inconsequential omission on the application form.

Another bill in the package (House Bill 901) amended the Mississippi Code so that designation of race could be eliminated from the county poll books. The purpose was to hinder Justice Department efforts to document the inability of Negroes to get on the registration rolls.

House Bill 905 amended the Mississippi Code to require the State Board of Election Commissioners to provide space on the application form where the applicant must put information which established his good moral character. It also required the registrar to use the good moral character requirement in registering voters. The bill implemented the State Constitutional amendment adopted by the electorate in 1960. House Bill 905 also retained the provision permitting destruction of application forms thirty days after they have been filed.

The 1963 Omnibus Suit attacks both the 1960 Constitution amendment and its 1962 statutory complement as "vague and indefinite," giving registrars "unlimited discretion . . . to determine the good moral character of applicants for registration . . . (but) neither suggests nor imposes standards for the registrar's use in determining good moral character."

Therefore, the Suit states, the registrar can determine:

"What acts, practice, habits, customs, beliefs, relationships, moral standards, ideas, associations, attitudes and demeanor (indicate) bad moral character and what weight should be given to each.

"What is evidence of good moral character and what weight should be given to affirmative evidence of it, such as school record, church membership, military service, club memberships, personal, social and family relationships, civic interest, absence of criminal record.

"What periods of the applicants' life are to be examined for evidence relating to his character — whether the applicants' conduct during a remote period of his life is to be considered.

"What sources, if any, such as public records, public officials, private individuals — Negro and white — will be consulted in determining the character of the applicant; or whether the determination will be made on the basis of personal knowledge, impression, newspaper accounts, rumor or otherwise."

But the all-white State Legislature did not intend to leave character investigation and judgment to the white registrar alone. House Bills 822 and 904 required disclosure of every applicant to public scrutiny so that any citizen might come forward to challenge the applicant's qualifications.

The two statutes required that within 10 days after application for registration, the registrar must publish the name and address of each



Officials in Canton interrogate Negroes attempting to register to vote. In a two day period in February 1964, over two hundred Negroes stood in line but only seven were permitted to take the registration test. Canton's mayor, sheriff, police chief and other leading white citizens are executives in the white supremist Citizens' Council.

applicant once each week for two consecutive weeks, in a newspaper having general circulation in the county where the applicant applies.

The statutes also provided that within 30 days after application any already - qualified elector in the county may challenge in an affadavit the good moral character of any applicant, or any other qualification of the candidate for registration. Then, within seven days after such an affidavit is filed by a 'concerned' citizen, the registrar must notify the applicant of the time and place for a hearing to determine the validity of the challenge. The registrar retains the discretion to change the date of the hearing.

The registrar is authorized to issue subpoenas to compel the attendance and testimony of witnesses. The testimony is recorded and then the registrar may either decide the validity of the challenge or take the challenge under consideration. Courtroom rules of testimony are not enforced at these hearings and both the applicant and the challenger may question witnesses. Either the challenger or the applicant may appeal to the county board of election commissioners, if the registrar decides against him in the hearing.

The cost of the hearings are taxed in the same way that costs are taxed in the State chancery courts: the all-white county board can decide whether the contestants must share the costs, or the one who is decided against must pay all of it.

The statutes further provide that if no challenge to the applicant's qualifications is filed, the registrar shall determine the nature of the applicant's moral character and other qualifications "within a reasonable time." Thus, if there is no challenge by a private citizen, there is nothing in the statutes which forces the registrar to come to a decision about the application.

If the registrar should find the applicant qualified, House Bill 903 requires that the registrar write the word "passed" on the applicatio form. However, the applicant is still not registered unless he comes back in person to the registrar and asks the result of his application. The bill places the burden of responsibility on the applicant to return to the registrar's office.

This requirement must be seen in the light of the murders and beatings of Negroes which have taken place in the courthouse or on its steps in connection with voter registration efforts.

If the applicant was ruled to have good moral character, but the registrar decided the applicant has not fulfilled one or more of the other requirements, the statute requires that the registrar write "failed" on the application. The registrar, however, must not specify the reasons for failure , because to do so "may constitute assistance to the applicant on another application."

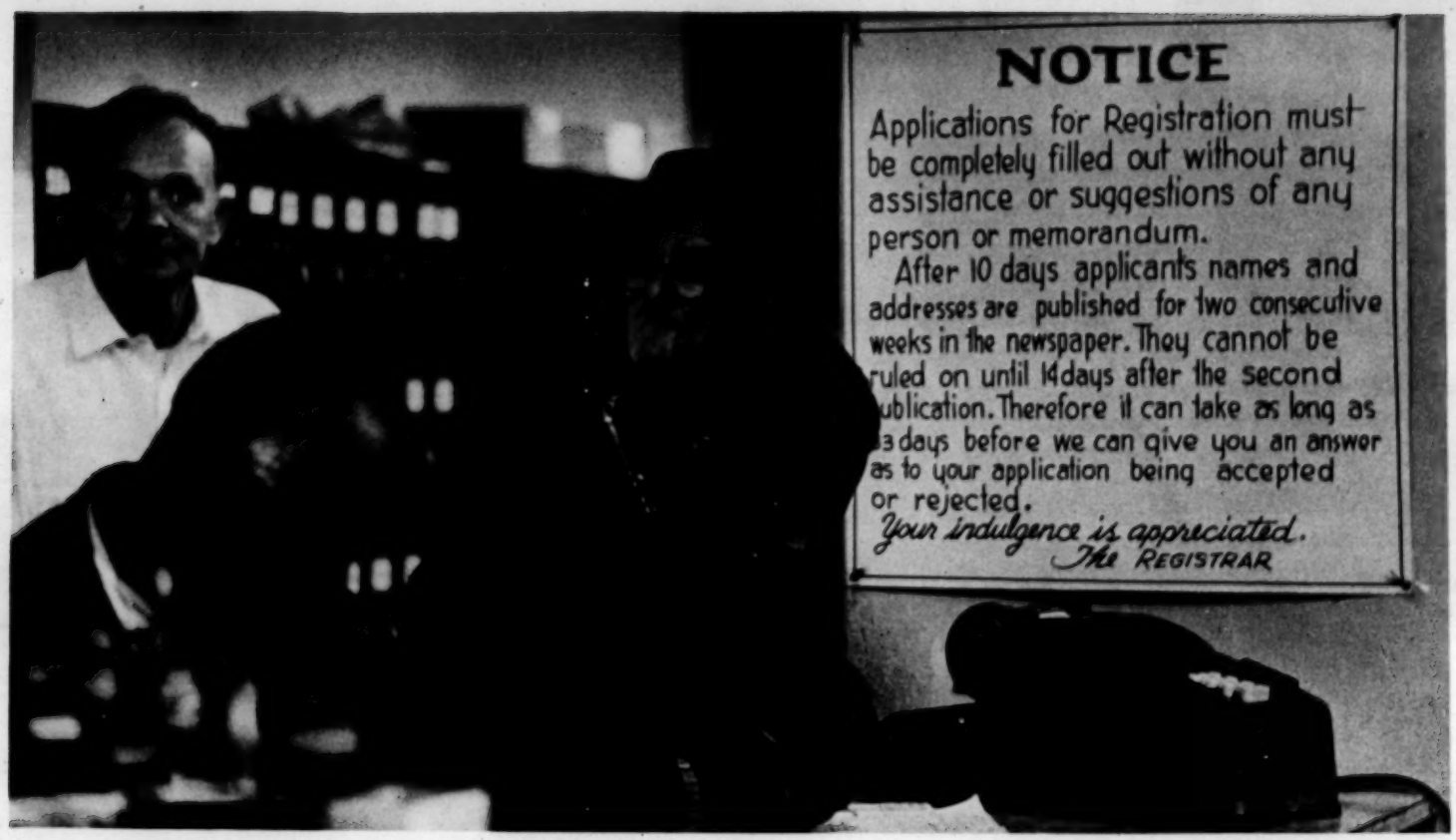
The statute also provided that if the registrar decides the applicant has fulfilled all requirements except that of good moral character,

the registrar writes that on the application form and the reasons why he finds the applicant not to be of good moral character.

If the registrar decides the applicant has not fulfilled one or more of the other requirements, and is not of good moral character, the registrar writes "failed" on the application and has the discretion to write on the application, "not of good moral character."

This is the "public" mask worn for the outside world to explain why Negroes are not registered in large numbers in Mississippi. The 1963 Omnibus Suit asks the Federal Court to declare all of these registration requirements unconstitutional except those which were largely provided prior to 1890. Those requirements are that the applicant: be a citizen of the United States; 21 years of age or over; a resident of Mississippi, the county and election district for the period outlined in the Constitution of 1890; be able to read; that the applicant not have been convicted of any of the disqualifying crimes described in the Constitution and Code of Mississippi; and that the applicant not be insane.

Negroes are now trying to tear away this legal mask to expose the real basis of white supremacy. Without the right to register and vote Negroes cannot take part in any phases of Mississippi's form of republican government. What recourse do the white supremacists leave Mississippi Negroes, if Negroes cannot voice their opinions at the polls?



Above: Registrar's office, Forrest County courthouse in Hattiesburg.

Back cover: Elderly lady enters Leflore County courthouse in Greenwood to attempt to register to vote.

[1964]

This is a report submitted to the Mississippi Advisory Committe to the United States Commission on Civil Rights at a meeting held March 10, 1964. It is filed on behalf of the state's 950,000 Negroes. It is written from the view point of those who are workers for the end of racial discrimination and segregation in Mississippi, for the encouragement of the excercise by Negroes in Mississippi, of their right to vote and to register to vote, and for the excercise and preservation of civil rights generally in Mississippi, whether such persons are paid or not paid to act as such workers.

The purpose of this report is:

1) To indicate to the Advisory Committee, (a) that there is a need for greater public awareness in regard to denial of civil rights and civil liberties for Negroes and for persons who are working to end racial discrimination in Mississippi, and (b) that the Advisory Committee could fulfil a vital need by issuing frequently reports, for nationwide distribution, informing the nation at large of these denials.

2. To submit to the Advisory Committee material which will give it a substantial basis for petitioning the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights to hold hearings in Mississippi, and

3. To indicate to the Advisory Committee the overwhelming need for greater federal government activity in Mississippi, if the rights and lives of Negroes are to be insured.

This report has been prepared by:

The COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS(COFO)
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi

COFO Publication #10

labor donated

THE MANIA FOR INTIMIDATING

Southwestern Mississippi:

Acts of intimidation take many forms: For example, the coming of the New Year marked the reorganization of the Klu Klux Klan in Southwestern Mississippi; in addition, Negroes have been beaten, shot, and murdered and noassailants have as yet been discovered or brought to justice.

McComb

On the evening of January 9, 1964 there were several instances of shooting in the McComb area. The places shot into included:

H.C. Wells' Grocery (hole in window)
Carter's Shoe Shop (hole in window)
Mrs. Alyene Quinn's homein Summit,
Also: Mr. Isadore Carter's home was shot into on Wednesday evening (January 8, 1964) (two large holes in a picture window.)

Speculations about the cause, or the occasion, of the shootings conclude that the general program of voter registration had disturbed the unruly white population. The immediate occasion was apparently the televised addresses of President Johnson (State of the Union Speech) and Charles Evers, Mississippi Field Secretary for the NAACP which were televised into the area on Wednesday evening. Mr. Evers was speaking in rebuttal of Jackson: Mayor Allen Thompson's earlier speech about consumer's boycott in Jackson. The purpose of the shooting was apparently to discourage Negro people from paying poll taxes and registering. About fifty or sixty have tried since November.

Mr. Carter, whose home and shoe shop were fired into, reported that the sheriff (Pike County sheriff Warren) came into his business Friday morning (January 10) and said that he had caught four white men; but would not give their names. Mr. H.C. Wells, whose grocery store was shot into said, that he saw a white Corvair go by at the time of the shooting, and it was going so fast that he was unable to tell anything more.

Notes on conversation with H.C. Wells:

"Shooting happened about 5:15 P.M.---heard no sound from the car, a white Corvair--it was travelling fast...my store front, glass window, fell in, sending glass fragments as far as five feet. The shot came from the back of the car going uphill." When asked as to why anyone would want to shoot up his place of business, Mr. Wells said that he believed that "someone just wanted something to do and shooting up a colored neighborhood was something to do."

Natchez

On February 18, 1964 Archie Curtis of Natchez received a phone call at 12:45 A.M. He was told to go out to Palestine Road and go "two miles past the black top" where "a man with a lantern will be waiting to show you the way to Henry Goodman's house." (He was told that Mrs. Goodman had had a heart attack and needed an ambalance)

Curtis went out to Palestine Road as requested, accompanied by Willie Jackson After going two miles past the black top, they did not see anyone with a light. Curtis blew his horn. A car pulled up behind the ambulance. Two white men got out of the left side and two white men got out of the right side. All four had white hoods over their heads. One had a gun in his hand. Curtis and Jackson were told to get out of the ambulance. Curtis told them to go away because he had no time for foolishness. Curtis told them he was looking for a Mr. Goodman. One of the four white men said, "I'm Henry Goodman. I am the one who called you for an ambulance--and damn it, I want you to get out." Another of the four men walked over to the driver's side of the vehicle and asked Curtis, while pointing a gun at him. "didn't you hear him say get out?" Curtis turned to get out --they caught his hand and hit his hand pit. Curtis got out of the ambulance, he was told to take off his glasses. Curtis was slow getting them off; one of the men grabbed them and threw them away. Next Curtis and Jackson were blindfolded and carried to the white men's car, pushed in the car. Both Curtis and Jackson were put in the front of the car and driven down to a field called Duck Pond. They were told to get out of the car in Duck Pond, which they did; they were told to remove their clothes. They refused. After being hit "two or three times," they dropped their pants. Curtiss was told to hand over his NAACP card. Curtis replied by saying he didn't have a NAACP card. He was told "yes, you have and that damn West has a NAACP card too." Curtis said "I don't think West has one" Curtis and Jackson were told to lie on their stomachs and then they were beaten. One of the four men suggested killing them--but another said no "lets just leave them here." Curtis and Jackson went to a freinds' house and got a ride into town.

In General

There have been at least five Negroes murdered in Southwestern Mississippi since the year's (1964) beginning. None of them have been solved and all seem to have racial overtones:

Lewis Allen was killed on February 1, 1964. He was shot in the face with a shot gun at night as he departed from his motor vehicle.

Three people were found dead in their automobile. Carbon Monoxided to death, however, they also had bullet holes in them.

A Mr. Walker was also found dead in Southwestern Mississippi, an obvious murder, the case still remains "unsolved."

There have been a countless number of cross burnings in Amite, Walthall and Pike counties. Many feel this is the result of the re-emergence of the KLU KLUX KLAN in Southwestern Mississippi.

In Franklin County barricades have been put in the middle of the street and Negroes have not been permitted to pass.

JACKSON MISSISSIPPI:

Intimidation takes a different form in sophisticated metropolitan Jackson. In Jackson the city's mayor is largely the intimidating force and he does it underthe pretext of waging a war against those who he prefers to refer to as "agitators from outside."

What is causing apprhension in the minds of civil rights workers presently in the state is that during the summer of 1964 hundreds of college students are planning to come to Mississippi and most will probably pass through Jackson. The mayor seems to manifest the attitude of a mayor whose city is about to be invaded by an alien armored division whose purpose is total destructi rather than college students who have a desire to work on voter registration, educational, and re-training programs. His words follows:

"We're ready for them...We've got the stuff...I'm going to use every force necessary to keep them from getting out of hand. I don't want to do it. My purpose is to maintain law and order in this city. Anything they bring in we can handle."

The mayor will no doublt be able to handle everything that is brought in, seeing as he has prepared for a small war and the only thing those students who do come to Mississippi will be bringing with them are knowledge and skills, that they desire to impart to unskilled, uneducated, poverty stricken Negroes.

Mayor Thompson can rely on a strong police force-city policemen, city employees who can be pressed into duty as officers, sheriff's deputies and a cordon of state highway patrolmen.

The pride of his force is a special riot control car known locally as "Thompson's Tank." It can carry 10 policemen and two drivers into a crowd--shot guns bristling out of gun ports, tear gas and other weapons inside.

Jackson has 400 policemen mostly tough young recruits who have joined the force in the last year or so, and is adding 35 more!

Last year Mayor Thompson bought 200 shot guns. Fifty more are ordered. Shotguns loaded with buckshot are mounted on motorcycle officers' vehicles and carried in patrol cars. Riot helmets and gas masks have been acquired for every officer.

Two city trucks have been equipped with searchlights and converted into troop carriers. Three flat-bed trailer trucks are now wire-enclosed paddy wagons for hauling away demonstrabors in wholesale lots.

And the Mayor delightedly declares, "there's no way for them to win"---he has reference to the summer "invaders."

THE FREEDOM VOTE

From the "freedom vote" campaign which was held during October and November of 1963 ample evidence is offered to substantiate the assertion that any person who is engaged in any activity, regardless of how harmless it seems on the surface, that attempts to organize Negroes politically, runs the risk of being imprisoned on even killed.

UMMARY OF EVENTS, October 22 through October 28

- Between October 22 and October 25, 22 election workers were arrested in Indianola for distributing leaflets without a permit. (Four SNCC workers were arrested, convicted, and appealed on the same charge in September of 1962. The charges were dropped and the bond returned when the Justice Department intervened; there was a consent agreement that no more arrests would be made under the ordinance.) The 22 were sentenced to $25 fines and 30 days in jail (suspendable upon payment of fines).

- In Clarksdale on October 24, after attending a meeting in the home of the candidate for governor, the chairman of the Campaign Advisory Committee and 2 Yale students were arrested while crossing the street from their parked car to enter the hotel where they had planned to spend the night. They were charged with violating a curfew and put in jail.

  The next day another Yale student was arrested and charged with distributing leaflets without a permit. He has been fined $50. Yesterday, four Yale students were stopped by police and told they could not stay in the Negro section of town. "Either you stay in the white section or get out," they were told. The students spent the night in two Negro homes, and today one was arrested. The other was taken by police from Henry Headquarters and told the police would no longer "protect" him from the wrath of the Negro community. The Chief of Police predicted that the student would be "stabbed in the back". This conversation occurred while the student was in the back seat of a police car and with guns displayed conspicuously.

- A Yale student and 2 SNCC workers arrived in Yazoo City at 4:00 PM, October 23. At 4:30 PM the police phoned the office where they were meeting with local Negro leaders. Presently it was "suggested" that they let the police escort them out of the city to "protect them from injury. Otherwise, the Negro leaders warned, there was no telling what might happen to them. A rally scheduled for Yazoo City for the following evening was subsequently cancelled after similar warnings.

- The mayor of Columbus refused requests for permits to distribute leaflets for Aaron Henry because it would "cause racial disturbance." Requests for permission to use a sound truck in Columbus were also denied. Distribution of Mississippi Free Press has been prohibited. Similar refusals of permits for the distribution of pro-Henry material have been reported from many places throughout Mississippi.

  Two white Methodist ministers were arrested in Jackson on Sunday, October 27, after they had attempted to enter the Capitol Street Methodist Church with a Negro student. There have been approximately 15 convictions in Jackson in the last 2 weeks for similar activity. The standard punishment for attempting to attend church services in an integrated group is 1 year in jail and $1,000 fine.

- It is commonplace for campaign workers throughout Mississippi, with the exception of the city of Greenville, to be taken into custody on a variety of traffic charges. (On one occasion the candidate for Lt. Gov. was fined for four separate traffic "violations" while in Jackson for an afternoon.) Perhaps the most difficult of these to cope with

left, the assailant shot three times at the left rear tire, hoping, it is believed, to disable the vehicle in order that the two workers could be forced into the Impala and taken somewhere more isolated than the highway.

With a slow leak in the tire, Greene once again tried to lose his pursuers, going through three red lights, crossing double lines and driving in oncoming traffic lanes. Finally he managed to get three cars ahead of the Impala and turned out of sight on to a backwoods road where the tire was changed. Payne and Greene then proceeded to Jackson to report the incident to the highway patrol, Department of Justice, Henry headquarters and the press.

Payne stated that about all that saved the two workers was Greene's excellent driving. (Greene had raced in high school.)

Freedom Vote for Governor Headquarters
1072 Lynch St.
Jackson, Miss. tel: 948-0690

Mendy
[1964]

COFO'S Proposed

COMMUNITY CENTERS

"Poor naked wretches, whereso'er you are,
That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
Your loop'd and window'd raggedness, defend you
From seasons such as these? O! I have ta'en
Too little care of this! Take physic, pomp;
Expose thyself to feel what wretches feel,
That thou may'st shake the superflux to them,
And show the heavens more just".....

ONE MAN ONE VOTE

COFO PUBLICATION # 8 Labor Donated

It should be understood that the Five Day notice to vacate is NOT legally binding. It is a request, and if furniture is moved out, CO RE and the tennat have every right to move the furniture back int the apaartment.

The landlord must file for EVICTION after the fiveday notice. The tenant is allowed 7 days to appear incourt, for the purpose of paying his rent. At this time we have the choice of pushing tenants rights, dramatically showing that the landlore has not upheld his part of the bargain by witholding maintenance. This can be done with pictures, and tennant witnesses, and by having the lawyer subpoena the building dept. records.

Whether or not the tenant wins, by having a court order to repairs is up to the Judge. It is not likely according to lawyers, as the eviction court is not the one which orders repairs anyway. However, CORE can try to push for such a precedent.

It costs a great deal for a landlord to take out an eviction notice. it is for this reason that it is felt that eviction notices will not be taken out, and the pressure of exposure will force the landlord to repair.

Escrow accounts should be kept for tenants who are not on welfare who wish to withold rent understanding the above. This is done by haveing the tennant make out a money order to himself and placed in a safety deposit box, One of the signers for the box at the bank can be a Non CORE neighborhood person, such as Mr. Evans, whom many poeple know.

The method of repairing buildings under the management of one realestate firm does two things:

a. puts this firm unde specific pressure to repair

b. puts housing at a priority over block organization.

Therefor we are able to better force particular bad landlords into compliance with the building code, but will have to finish up t e rent of the bock with tenant councils organized either by other canvassers, or save the rest of the block till later.

He Can also contact the beard of health. He should have the name of the landlord and where he can be reached when he calls. The board of kealth will call the landlord and charge him with the cost of extermenating.

Board of Health

RA 6 8000

The organizer should:

1. Get the mames of welfare clients

2. Find out the kind of w3lfare they are on:

Illinois Dept. of Public Aid (IDPA)
- a. ADC
- b. ADCU
- C. Old Age
- d. disability

Cook County Public Aid

or

General Assistance, (Relief)

Give these lists of mames per building to TAYLOR JONES of whoever he designates to speak to Mr. Radek at Welfare

3. The organizer should prepare a list of the fagrent violations, with spedifics per apartment to be sent to the landlore by registered mail, or taken to him at his office. Thei list is also goven to the building dept. and a cppy is kept by the organizer.the letter asks for the repairs to begin as soon as the letter is recieved; it may state that if the repairs are not finished within thirty days, rent will be witheld and his home or office will be picketed. one method of scareing him is to mention that if he oesn8t comply, a circular will be circulated in his neighborhood which will expose him for the kind of business man he is, at the same time his home is picketed. This letter can be signed "the tenant committee of _____ Street, and COTE organizer Mr. X. An invitqtion to negotiate should be included in this letter.

4. Rent strike proceedings for non-welfare tenants should be considered as a last resort. If this course of action is decided upon, there is no garuntee that the tenant will not be evicted.

[1964?] M.-3

Special Report - FEDERAL PROGRAMS PROJECT

For Further Information:
Communications section
MISSISSIPPI PROJECT
1017 Lynch Street
Jackson, Mississippi
(601) 352-9605

The purpose of the Federal Programs Project is to obtain and distribute information regarding the federal programs available to Mississippi Negroes, to help obtain legal and technical assistance to make full use of the programs, and, where necessary, to gather information on mishandling of federal appropriations in preparation for legal action.

The work this summer has largely been research to explore what is and what, under the law, should be available. In addition, in some areas, local groups have been organized to make use of federal aid to individuals, groups and communities. The types of aid available can be roughly divided into areas covered by the U.S. Departments of: Agriculture, Labor and Health, Education and Welfare. It would also include programs of the Area Redevelopment Administration and the Manpower Development and Training Act.

Agricultural work has resulted in the formation of the Madison County Farmers League, and the preliminary work has been done for the formation of a Farmers League in Leake County. The Madison County Farmers League was organized this summer, and now includes over 100 families. Farmers from all over Madison County have heard speakers from the Soil Conservation Service, the Farmers Home Administration, and the Sharecroppers Fund, describe Federal agricultural programs which were previously not known. Plans are being laid now to integrate the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Board, a county-wide committee which determines the cotton acreage allotted to each farmer under the Federal agricultural stabilization program. Preliminary planning has been completed for the establishment of co-ops in several communities.

The Manpower Development and Training program, administered by the Department of Labor will provide several job training programs in the state. Recruitment for these programs is being investigated by COFO workers. If discrimination is proved, the funds should be cut off.

Research has been started as to housing conditions in Shaw, Holly Springs, Canton, Carthage, Itta Bena, Greenwood and Indianola. The hope is that further research may lead to the establishment of public housing facilities. The administration of welfare funds is under continuing surveillance and complaints have been collected and compiled. These are continuing programs. Extensive research has been completed into the health situation in the state and a booklet, Medical Care and the Mississippi Negro, has been published. The information gathered will be used to guide future action programs.

A report summarising the results of the Federal Programs project research into the administration of federal money in Mississippi, has been submitted to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

[pp. 1-4 missing] [1964-1965?]

Infant Mortality

The infant mortality rate for the Mississippi Negro is more than twice as high as that of the white Mississippian. Inadequate dietary levels contribute significantly to deaths in early infancy, stillbirths and premature births (often fatal in situations where adequate medical facilities are not provided for Negroes). This situation is directly traceable to general conditions of poverty and ignorance; it can be somewhat alleviated by community-wide programs of education and aid in prenatal and infant care. When social justice comes to Mississippi, the differential in available facilities and the death-creating poverty shall be eliminated.

Food

The adequacy of dietary levels are measured by two criteria: caloric intake (quantity) and nutritional content (quality). The caloric intak for some--not all--poor rural Mississippians is at some--not all--times sufficient. These times are for the most part: 1)When they are recipients of government commodities, 2) During the period when the tenant or low income farmer receives money from the sale of his cotton and other minor crops--this usually occurs in early and mid-fall, and 3) when credit is given to tenant-families by their landlords--usually from late March to July. During other periods the poor rural families, the under and un-employed fare as best they can--this in most instances means: tightening their belts, surviving off of one meal a day, adults going without so that children may eat--in short it simply means slow starvation.

Even when food is adequate it is composed largely of starches and fats. There is a shocking reliance on corn bread, sweet potatoes and fat or side pork. Even the government commodities have short-comings and are not sufficient to insure the recipients adequate nutrition--despite what is claimed. Protein, calcium, essential vitamins and minerals are not taken in sufficient quantity to insure proper nutrition for the poor in Mississippi.

Clothing

Strange as it may seem, low income rural Mississippians are better dressed than their urban economic peers. This occurs because tenants receive their annual income for the most part in one lump sum in additi to the fact that many times they are paid in clothes and other necessit

Consequently a farmer may have $200 at one time--for the entire year--much more than $1,000 per year urban workers will ever have at one time The farmer is as a result in a much better position to buy a new suit or dress, etc.

Though the poor ruralite may be better dressed than the poor urbanite, the situation for both can best be described as drastic. Mothers don't go around the houses in dirty robes or ragged dresses or even their slips because they are basically unclean--but because they have absolutely nothing to change into. Fathers don't lounge around in the same filthy smelly overalls they work in during the day because they are to lazy to change their clothes, but because they have nothing else to put on. Children do not walk around barefooted because they want to pat their feet in the Mississippi mud; but because their parents can not afford them shoes. And in the winter that Mississippi mud becomes hard frozen ground.

THE COFO ANSWER

COFO envisions a community center which will have the following:

1. A clothing distribution program.
2. A dietary program.
3. An infant-care program.
4. A housing improvement program.

Clothing Distribution:
COFO wants to have clothing drives started throughout the country, the clothing thus contributed to be distributed from the community centers according to individual needs. A special effort will be made to supply every youngster with a pair of shoes. COFO will attempt to have local people handle this program. Local volunteer people will decide which individuals are most in need and distribute the clothing to them. Local people will all be responsible for the unpacking, sorting and discarding unusable clothing. The needs for this program thus seem to be 1) space in the center from which clothing can be distributed, 2) recruitment of local people to administer the program.

Dietary Program:
COFO is going to attempt to have food donated to Mississippi for the purpose of distributing it to needy families. Where food is insufficie in quantity, andattempt will be made to undertake a massive vitamin-pill distributing program. Workshops will be held weekly in the community center on how to get maximal nutritional value from the food that is prepared in the home. The needs for this program are somewhat similar to those for the clothing distribution programs: space and local volunteers. In addition, COFO will need one person with a knowledge of dietary requirements and nutritional content of food to direct the workshops.

Infant-care Program:
COFO believes that the high infant-mortality rates that low-income persons have can be reduced if a field worker can travel from home to home visiting pregnant women and instructing them in proper eating habits during the months of pregnancy as well as other basic informatic that pregnant women should have in order to insure the life of their child through infancy. The field worker who is used for this program can be the same worker who operates the dietary program for the center.

Housing Repair Program:
The community center will have a tool-loan bank where persons who want to borrow tools for house repair can do so. Nails, screws and other minor supplies will be provided free. To carry out this endeavor tools and a small continuing budget are needed.

On Saturdays two work corps of 17-19 year olds will make needed improvements such as painting, roof repair, etc., on the dilapidated and deteriorating homes of low-income families.

The program require a male worker to oversee the lending of tools and the organizing of the work corps.

General Information:

The U.S. Congress has devised and passed legislation specifically designed to help low-income rural people. The main tendency has been to concede to the wishes of the Southern politicians and leave the implementation of any program up to local authorities in Mississipp Local authorities are reluctant to act, and when they do, the benefits from their actions are not usually to those for whom the programs were designed to help. Consequently, from the community center a field worker who will: 1)establish contact withnall the low-income farmers in the area, 2) explain to low-income families what the proble of their particular area are and what generates these problems, 3) in- from them of all the various federal programs for the rural poor, 4) assist them by filling our applications and even taking the farmers to the local governmental agencies, 5) attempt to secure representatio for low-income farmers on the ABCS committees, 6) secure from unemploy farm workers and farm youth groups of participants for job training under the Manpower Development and Training Act.

SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATIONAL FACILITY

The Need

In the context of a modern technological society--such as ours--the education provided many rural Mississippians is all but worthless. Massive reform in the entire educational system is imperative; but such action is unlikely in the near future. In many schools in rural Mississippi and for Negroes in the urban areas the student is merely attending school. He learns little and picks up not even the basic tools that one is expected to obtain. He acquires no knowledge of the correct usage of the English language--this is manifested in his speech and writings. His knowledge of mathematics or even basic arithmetic is is nil. This in twentieth century America! Unbelievable, but true!!

The following are quotes from the Biennial Report and Recommendations of the State Superintendent of Public Education to the Legislature of Mississippi:

> "In many counties, particularly in rural areas, Negro children are forced to attend school in mere shacks or in church houses."
>
> "There are 3345 Negro public schools in Mississippi Nearly one half of these schools are housed in churches, tenant houses or any other type of building available. In such schools the equipment is nil."
>
> "...recommend sufficient funds be budgeted during next biennium to allow equal amounts to be allocated according to density formulas for Negro and white.. Our best estimates indicate that approximately 1.2 million annually would be needed to close the gap that now exists between white and Negro allocations."
>
> "There was a serious shortage of textbooks in some Negro schools."

Of the total number of public high schools in Mississippi, only 27 are accredited by the SACCS. There are three reasons why so very few schools are accredited, however, the chief reason in almost all instances is that the library facilities in the high schools are inferior.

To top all of this off, despite the fact that the Supreme Court ruled in Johnson v. Virginia, 373 U.S. 61 (1963) that "it is no longer open to question that a state may not constitutionally require segregation of public facilities;" Negroes are not permitted in over 90% of the public libraries in the state.

The COFO Answer:

CORE and SNCC book drives have brought over 50,000 books to Mississippi The Northern book drives are going to continue and COFO intends to establish libraries primarily for teenagers and youngsters in all of its community centers. Hopefully, each center will have a minimum of 10,000 books.

Any type of tutorial training that high school or younger group childre request will be provided.

An area of the center will serve in the after-school hours as a study hall in order that the youths of the area will have a place which is conducive to studying and to doing homework.

For school dropouts COFO is planning a work-study program which will employ 24 school dropouts who have potential but do need guidance and additional training. It is desired to have 12 boys and 12 girls. They will work in the center four hours a day as library aids, typist (they no doubt will have to learn how to type), file clerks, people who reply to correspondence, custodial assistants. They will also be required to study, primarily, those things which they need most (based on tests given to them) four hours a day with assistance from a center staff worker. They will be required to read one book a week (of their own choosing) and write a report on it.

Leadership Training

The Need:

Southern rural areas, particularly in Mississippi, are besett with a number of problems of all types: economic, health, social, housing, educational, etc. One of the reasons that more self-help programs are not developed locally is that those who are most capable of doing anything at all do not want to risk loosing what little position that they have by an attempt to "disturb things." Those who have the greatest desire to see changes made and would work deligently at getting self-help programs started have very little knowledge of what needs to be done or how to do it.

The COFO Answer:

COFO wants to offer from the community centers to young adults who seem to be potential community leaders the required training in order to impart to them the necessary skills needed to become effective leaders.

COFO will thus offer from the center instruction on 1) the basic principles of community leadership, 2) how to call, organize and conduct effective community meetings, 3) how to use audio-visual aids, 5)duplicating techniques: use of mimeo, ditto, various photo-copy methods, hectograph, etc., 6) preparation of political leaflets and handbills, 7)remedial writing and speaking for effective leadership.

RECREATIONAL FACILITY

Recreational facilities for rural youth in Mississippi are practically non-existent. To meet this need COFO wants to offer recreational programs that have an educational flavor and not strictly fun-type recreat For example; 1) a world discussion hour where teenagers and adults can get together twice a week in order to discuss current events, 2) readi clubs: weekly meetings where teenagers can be told about a book for the purpose of stimulating them to read it. 3) art classes, 4) drama groups 5) record hour: weekly meetings where classical and folk record will be played and interpreted for those who attend, 6) movies: weekly educational films will be shown with films shown for entertainment when available, 7) pen-pal hour: writing of letters to persons in foreign countries, 8) Others: depending on the ingenuity of the staff.

POLITICAL ACTION FUNCTIONS

Voter registration:
Attempts by SNCC and CORE workers will not cease despite the beatings, jailings and acts of violence that SNCC and CORE workers have sustained

Needed now is to establish in the minds of the people in the communities where SNCC and CORE field workers are located that the voter registration program is a permanent one and not a hit or miss affair wherein the canvasser is here today and gone tomorrow. The center will serve as a headquarters for voter registration programs.

Political education:
The masses of poor rural folk have absolutely no conception of how the governments (state, local and federal) function. They are neither aware of the economic factors that determine many of the political decisions made. In an attempt to overcome this enormous amount of political and economic ignorance the center will offer:

1. Second-step political education classes in U.S. economic and political history.

2. Citizenship classes, qualifying persons to be able to pass registration tests.

Assembling Facility:
The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee began its work in Mississippi in an attempt to get people registered to vote. Since the end of reconstruction, any and all stirrings of Negro political organization have been deliberately and violently stifled. The State of Mississippi, through its white citizens council members, its State Sovereignty Commission, still attempts to follow the policy. Encouraging political action in Mississippi, to put it mildly, is a rather dangerous business, and it is often difficult to find a private building willing to allow political meetings on the premises.

The centers will thus:

1) Serve as a meeting place for all civil rights agencies, political clubs and ad hoc groups.

TRAINING PROGRAMS

Many thousand farm workers, tenants and share croppers can no longer obtain employment in agriculture due to the increased mechanization of the farm. It is difficult for many of these folk to find employment elsewhere because they are not trained for anything--as stated th are for the most part unskilled and training classes that have been designed are above their level--again, as stated for the most part they are also uneducated.

What to do with these people thus is an ever looming problem increasin in degree daily because it is compounded by the racial problem. From the community centers it is desired to have:

1) Instructors who will be able to give instruction in fundamenta subjects to prepare people so that they will be able to take advantage of training programs offered.

2) Training programs set up under the Manpower Development Training Act (MDTA).

3) Re-training programs where local citizens can learn differer trades (mechanics, upholstery, clerical work, cabinet making etc

NEEDED RESOURCES (Human and Financial)

Administrator:

A director or administrator for all the centers will have to be selected. His duties will include:

1. securing property for the various facilities,
2. recruiting staff personnel for the centers,
3. securing funds from foundations, labor unions, etc., in order to meet the center's budgets.
4. selling the idea to the nation at large.

A suggested salary for this peson is $10,000 in addition to automobile with a gasoline allowance for traveling. Such an individual could be based in Jackson working out of the COFO office which would save immensely on a telephone bill.

Staff Personnel:

COFO feels that four semi-trained persons could adequately manage each center. COFO would like to utilize Peace Corps-type persons as staff members. The emphasis would not be working in the center as a job but more because the persons have services to render.

A subsistence salary of $1500 is suggested in addition to providing housing for the four staff members. One staff member would have to have training in nutrition and pre-natal care.

Outside Volunteers:

COFO plans to bring hundreds of students fo Mississippi during the summer of 1964. It is hoped that many of the students will be able to work out of the community centers that are established at that time. These students can thus be utilized to expand the Centers' existing programs as well as create a greater variety of programs. The number of students used in each center will depend on the number who do come to Mississippi for such a purpose and the number of established centers.

Local Volunteers:

COFO is primarily concerned with developing local leadership and making local people accept responsibility. Consequently, with each program the centers offer, a number of people will be utilized from the local area. These local volunteers will be those who reside in the area in which the center is located and have an interest

In making the center function. It is hoped that staff workers will provide guidance for the programs only until the volunteers are able to take over themselves.

WORK STUDY PROGRAM:

For the 24 teenagers on the work-study program a salary of $100.0(per month for ten months is suggested. ($24,000 total).

PHYSICAL PLANT STRUCTURE:

There will be a problem of getting the physical facility into shape. The cost of this will obviously vary in individual cases, depending largely on the condition of the bldg. that is chosen for the Center. It would seem that $5,000.00 should be a maximum for getting any one pace into shape.....

PLANT FUNCTIONING:

The centers will also have to be equiped with furniture and othe: items in order that the Center will be able to function (Off-hand it can be said that lounge type furniture, 3-6 easy chairs, 2-5 lamps three dozen folding chairs, 2 large study tables are basic, also a good record player).

Items for Programs

These we feel can best be supplied by getting three colleges to adopt the Centers as their "baby" and dividing among them the items we feel are needed for the programs. They (the schools) can then have "drives" or what-have-you in order to obtain the items. As there shouldn't be but 15-20 items in all, each school would only be respons for 5-7 items. Needless to say the implications from such an approach are encouraging, because once the schools get the ball rolling, labor unions, church groups and other organizations who don't have "friends for SNCC groups" might adopt a center and can be tapped in this manner

What follows is a listing of some of the things that will be needed immediately--some to be supplied by us and some to be supplied by the schools chosen to adopt a Center.....

PROGRAM	STAFF MEMBERS	VOLUNTEERS	EQUIPMENT
Library	A	1-5	tables-chairs-magazines and newspaper racks-book pockets and cards-book mer tape-2 drawer filing cabir (letters)- 2 drawer filing cabinet (index cards)-book marking supplies (for cata louging) date stamp and ir pad.....
Tutorial	all staff	unlimited	no foreseable ones at this time
Movies	A	1 - 3	Projector-screen-(films or movies can be obtained fr gov't sources or our "fri in Hollywood.)

School drop-outs	all staff	3-6	literature (I will specify late
Art classes	C	1-2	temera paint, all colors-pads of newspring paper (all sizes useful particularly large 18"X 24"--brushes (mostly medium la blunt scissors (for children t use-heavy thread-easels (simpl childrens type)-construction paper-finger paints and paper- DUCO- If we could get a good sized set: 1. leather 2. gimp 3. shears 4. punch 5. patternt and mallet 6. patterns also, if gotten in abundance clay, plasticene.....
World events hour	B	1*	subscriptions to maybe three or four good newspapers.
Pen-pal hour	D	1-2	supply of adequate ball-point pens-paper and envelopes for foreign mailing.....
Record hour	C	1-2	folk and classical records.
Food and Clothing Distribution		2-4	food-clothing-vitamins
Voter Registration	D	existing personnel and present or projected budgets.	
Housing Repair	C	unlimited	house paint-nails-hammers-saws-paint brushes-screws and carpentry tools.
Pre-Natal Care and Nutrition Program	B		Audio-visual aids

EXISTING CENTERS

COFO has started two community centers. One in Greenwood, Mississipp and the other in Meridian, Mississippi.

The following are reports by Jane Stembridge and Rita Schwerner on these two centers:

THE GREENWOOD COMMUNITY CENTER

What is the Greenwood Community Center, how does it function, who does it serve and why is it necessary? These are questions that are constantly being asked by people who have heard of the Center in Greenwood and desire more than a vague understanding of what it is doing, what it intends to do- people who desire a knowledge of the long-run implications which the Center presents.

It might be best if I put this into the first person and offer a picture of the Center as I see it, thus giving you my impressions of what the Center is...and why it is so needed. First, I would tell you about our library...

I am writing this in the library...am sitting in the middle of thirty great children. Schools out. When school lets out, the children come here to our office...because it's warm here and because we have books for them.

This is 708 Avenue N, Greenwood, Mississippi-combination voter registration office, dining hall, food and clothing center, and library. When the Negroes of Greenwood are hungry or cold, which is most of the time these days, they come here. The children come too. For books.

Right now, we have four shelves of books just for them. They pretty well clear these shelves every day. We let them take as many as three books each and, of course, they all take three. First they will want books about rockets and jets...because they are American children. Then, they will want to read about other children and animals...because they are just children.

The Gordons and the Salters come in every single day...they're here now...Ruthie May Gordon, Evelyn Gordon, Dorothy Faye Gordon, Deborah Gordon...Jacqueline Salter, Jerry Salter, Loretta Salter. The Gordons live right around the corner - at 607 Broad Street, and the Salters at 608. Together, they cover first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades.

Tiny Mildred Moore wants books about puppies. If you could see this child, you'd wish for a library full of books about puppies...and you'd wish for a real live puppy to give her.

Some afternoons, the arguments run hot - especially among the fifth and sixth grade boys. They all want a book about Cape Cod, the one with the sail boat on its cover. There's only one copy. This takes some management. These are kids, though, who never had nothing. They are accustomed to waiting. They are mostly just happy with "all those books..."

What we want to do is bring in, not thirty, but a hundred of this city's children. We want not four shelves, but a roomful of books for them. Most of all, we want to be able to respond in every possible way to their enthusiasm and their hunger for knowledge. We must offer a program creative enough to match their tremendous energies, answer their great needs.

At the present time, we can offer these children good books and guided use of them. We have, on Wednesday and Friday mornings, a story-time hour for pre-school children. On Saturdays, we have a story hour for the older children and, whenever possible, a children's movie. There is so much more to be done and we must do it. For example, we need a room for these children, at least part of a room. Children who eat and sleep, play and study in crowded shacks, should have a place of their own - sometimes. We need tables and chairs, desks and curtains. And we want some of the exciting materials that white children have - like aquariums and sand tables, science kits, good art materials. We want these children to be able to hear good music, to make music, to see films.

We want these things because these children are our children - children of the South, and of tomorrow. The Salters and Gordons and Moores... will inherit the South. Unless we let them learn, they will not learn - not enough. They must learn because, while we are breaking down the old ways, it is they who will create the new.

When you spend the long morning hours out in the dirt roads of this town, trying to explain the political process to poor and frightened people...when you have to tell at least one person a day that there is no more food...when you write pages and pages of police brutality and face it yourself...then, by three o'clock on any afternoon, you are tired and sometimes, a little bitter. But, at three, the children come...if you should happen in some afternoon around three, you would see thirty children waiting in line for books...especially about rocket and jets and other children. That is the Greenwood Community Center.

It is the library and these children. And it is the line of beautiful spatter paintings that the children did in art class. The paintings line the walls of our library...red, yellow, blue, happy. Richard Frey wants to start the art classes again and we need materials. It is something of joy to watch children stand before a shelf of good books...and something miraculous to see them work with color.

In an office like this, a lot of things go up on the walls - press releases, clippings, notices, posters, maps, charts, and children's paintings. We get tired of press releases and charts, but the paintings remain on the walls...because they are beautiful. Barbara Johnson, our librarian, doesn't want to take them down. None of us do...

The Community Center is the library - children asking for books about puppies, high school students looking for Camus, Negro teachers reading civil rights books. It is spatter paintings and it is leaving spatter paintings on the wall for a long time. Children and youth. And parents. It is the parents too...

esterday morning, three mothers from nearby Itta Bena were waiting when we arrived at the office. They came to see if we had any food or children's shoes. We did not have food...but what happiness it was to dump a barrel of good shoes out for their choosing. One of the ladies was named Mrs. Jones. In our records, it says that Mrs. Jones lost her job and house on a well-known plantation...because she went to the courthouse to try and register to vote. She lost her job and, with her eleven young children, was evicted from the plantation shack. The children are of school age, but they are not attending school. They do not have shoes to wear. Nor do they have enough food, nor heat to warm them against the winds that sweep this Delta in winter, nor a decent house, nor money to buy medicine for the flu.

What I could do for Mrs. Jones yesterday morning...was to help her find eleven pairs of shoes and, when she left, gave her a bottle of vitamins and a box of aspirin. She was deeply grateful...for very little. Mrs. Jones has no work now. Because of automation and because of our voter registration drive, she and thousands like her will not have work for a long time, if ever. They will come to this office and we will have to be ready to supply their needs. That is the reason, the function, and the goal of the Center.

Trying to feed and clothe the people is not a new responsibility. Many months ago, when SNCC first initiated voter registration here, people began losing their jobs and we began trying to help them survive these hard years. In that same sense, our office has always been a community center. But we have never received enough food nor enough warm clothi Since the State of Mississippi has taken these people off welfare, we must undertake and organize welfare programs. Unless we are prepared to feed and clothe them, they will not be fed nor will they be kept war

Two weeks ago, we had Food and Clothing Day at 708 Avenue N. From our records, we had gotten names of all those families whose heads are unemployed because of attempting to vote. To these people we sent letter announcing Food and Clothing Day to begin on Friday at nine in the morning By seven, the line began to form at our doors. It was a very col morning...parents with babies came upstairs and sat huddled around a little gas heater waiting for their names to be called. Others stood in line outside...clutching the letters we had mailed them...waiting... silent. At six that night, people still waited. Some went away happy- with warm coats and children's shoes, and a few cans of beans. Some went away with only two or three thin shirts, because nothing else was left.

Downstairs today, we have two boxes of shoes...one box of clothes, half a dozen cans of beans. It is not enough. The people will come. They came already. We are not caring for them as we must. Until we have a real Center receiving regular shipments of food, clothing, and medicine we will not have served this community and not for long will the community continue to exist, as community.

Mississippi has to be felt to be understood. To feel Mississippi is to watch a line of children waiting for books...a line of mothers and fathers waiting for food and clothes, especially on a very cold morning in the Mississippi Delta.

There is more, always there is more. Many children do not have the money to buy hot lunches at school...they eat two cookies from the corner store. We have to give them hot food. Many of our high school students are dropping out to get jobs...but there are no jobs and there never will be jobs for school dropouts. We have to help them learn. We have to help....

GREENWOOD COMMUNITY CENTER: SCHEDULE

LIBRARY

3:30 P.M. - 9:30 P.M. Monday through Friday
9:30 A.M. - 9:00 P.M. Saturday
12:00 noon - 5:00 P.M. Sunday

Librarian - Miss Barbara Johnson

TUTORIAL

For those students who would like help in certain subjects, we have staff members to provide this help. We are concentrating right now on algebra, geometry, and English grammar and composition.

Geometry: Monday & Wednesday 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.
Algebra: Thursday & Friday 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.
English: Monday & Thursday 4:00 - 5:30 P.M.

CULTURAL

ART CLASSES (1st through 6th grade)

4:00 P.M. Wednesday
10:00 A.M. Saturday

ART (for high school and young adults)

7:00 - 8: 00 P.M. Monday and Wednesday

WORLD EVENTS (for high school and adults)

8:30 - 9:30 P.M. Monday and Wednesday

RECORD HOUR (For high school and adults)

7:00 - 8:00 P.M. Tuesday and Thursday

PEN PAL HOUR (for high school students)

8:30 - 9:30 P.M. Tuesday and Thursday
(for high school and adults)

MOVIES (for high school and adults)

7:00 - 9:30 P.M. Friday

MOVIES (for children) 2:00 P.M. Saturday

Meridian Community Center--Later Report

I. Programs in operation

1. The library, from which children, teenagers, and adults have all drawn books. There are about 10,000 volumes now up, and additional shelving is being put up for more books not yet received. Shelves were built by local young men: Marshall and David Sims, and James Chaney. The books have been catalogued on a simple basis, and books are therefore checked out in a systematic way. No fines are charged for overdue books, yet books have been coming back on time. The reasons for not fining are that if children especially, have overdue books, we do not want to discourage their coming to the center by having a fine due. Some people, too, have never owned a book, and if they want a book that badly (not many, of course), it is felt that it would help them more than it would hurt the library. All books but the reference works may be taken out.

2. Story hour, held every Saturday afternoon for children five-ten years old. At this time children have stories read to them, songs are sung, refreshments served, and time is given for them to wander around and pick out their own books to take out. Children are given transportation to and from the center where necessary. Growth of this program has been due to leaflet distribution and word of mouth.

3. For those people who need voter registration instruction, evening classes have been set up twice a week. The center will also serve as a training location for those who wish to teach others to fill out registration forms. Publicity due to posters, leaflet distribution and word of mouth.

4. Teen room: One of the rooms in the center has been set aside for teens and young adults. A ping-pong table has been constructed by the boys previously mentioned. A phonograph is in the room and records are being collected. Games and other activities for teens will be provided. We now have a movie projector and are in the process of obtaining films. Aside from the recreational and social activities, we hope to involve teens in educational and civil rights participation. Publicity through leaflets distributed at high school basketball game, and largely word of mouth.

4. Reading and remedial help for all that want it. Although this is primarily aimed at the child still in school, anyone can use the service. After numbers of people become involved, regular classes will be set up on a more formal basis.

II. Projected Programs

1. Sewing classes for girls who would like to make their own clothes are now being set up. Material will be obtained through national CORE from the ILGWU, and a machine is being solicited from various sources. The need for this is apparent and can probably expand into a highly successful program. If patterns are needed, the girls will be asked to purchase that and everything else will be available free.

2. Because of high infant mortality rates, a prenatal class for expectant mothers and mothers of infants will be given by a trained nurse. General health problems will also be discussed.

3. Films will be shown once a week--discussed above.

4. Other programs which are projected for the future would include arts and crafts programs with good materials and trained instructors, work corps to assist people in repairing their homes, job retraining and training programs which might be handled by interested unions. Many of these ideas fall into the realm of summer programs, depending upon how much staff is assigned to us here in Meridian. We might also have use for someone trained in teaching foreign language, as none is taught at the local high school and we have had several requests; no one on the present staff can give such lessons.

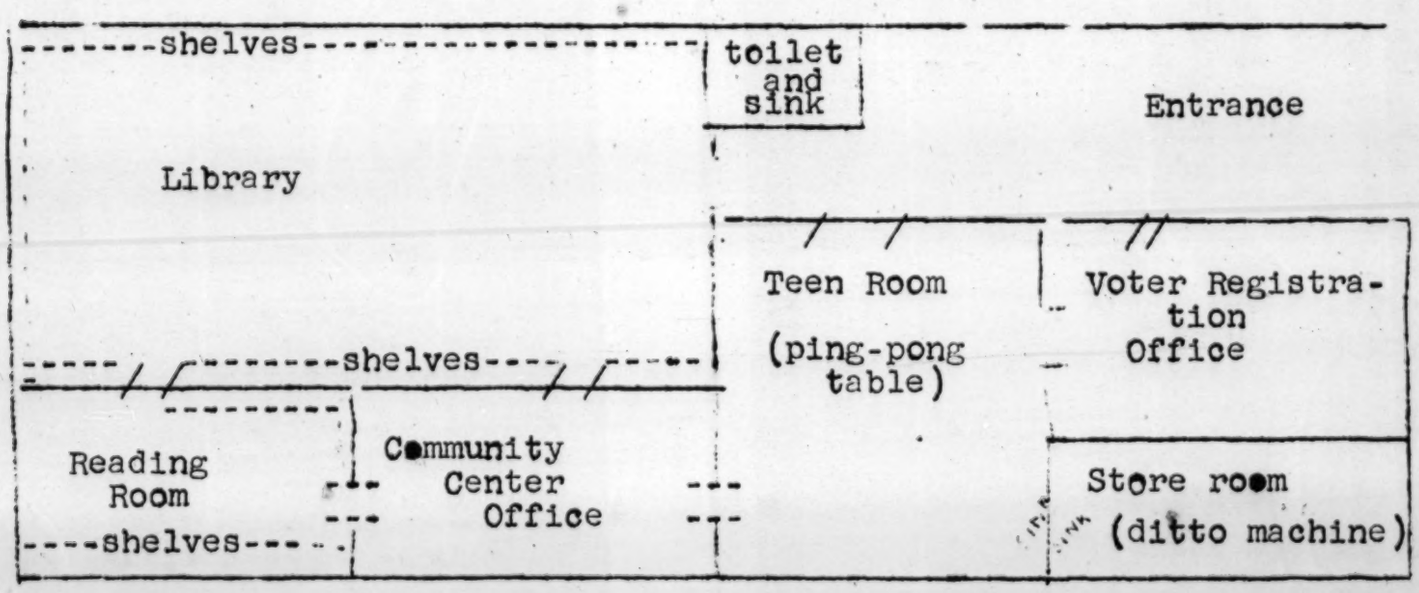
Because of the utter lack of almost all social services within the city, one could go on and on. As for expansion into churches and other facilities, more research will have to be done.

IV. Publicity has been carried out by several means:

1. Ministers were contacted by letter, and attempts made to speak with as many as possible personally.
2. Church services have been attended.
3. NAACP youth council has been involved in door-to-door canvassing for voter registration.
4. Leaflets have been distributed on the street and at a local high school basketball game.
5. Posters have been placed in store windows.
6. Our greatest publicity has come from people who have come up to see the center and then told their friends about it.

Psychologically the center is filling a need among the people for recognition, for a place to come and talk, for something that is for them. At first there was some suspicion of us as whites, but we believe that most of this has passed. Before we came there had been other workers in and out of Meridian, and the people are anxious to know that we intend to stay. They feel important to have workers assigned to their city. We believe that the Negroes will accept more white workers in the summer program, though the white community is already jumpy--but this is to be expected, and does not bother us.

IV. Sketch of the physical layout of the center:



FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT
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U.S. Commission on Civil Rights
Washington, D.C. 20425

Phone: 382-1228

FOR RELEASE - A.M. THURSDAY
JANUARY 7, 1965

WASHINGTON, D.C. --The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights announced today that it will hold a hearing in Jackson, Mississippi, beginning February 10, 1965. The Commission will hear testimony concerning denials of voting rights to the State's Negro citizens and discrimination in the administration of justice.

In accordance with the statute governing the Commission's hearings, the hearing in Jackson will begin with an executive session during which persons who may be defamed, degraded or incriminated by testimony to be presented at the public session will have an opportunity to be heard. The public session of the hearing, which will follow the executive session, is expected to begin February 16, 1965.

In 1960 and 1961 the Commission staff conducted field investigations in Mississippi. The 1961 Commission Report brought to the attention of the President and the Congress serious questions concerning the civil rights status of Mississippi's Negro citizens. A hearing scheduled in Mississippi in 1962 was postponed at the request of the U.S. Attorney General. In 1963 the Commission, in a special report, found that there had been "open and flagrant violation of constitutional rights in Mississippi."

Since that time the Commission has conducted further field investigations and has continued to receive reports of voting denials, and of serious and unredressed incidents of violence principally against Negroes. More recently, some indications of progress, particularly in the area of law enforcement, have come to the attention of the Commission.

In conducting the hearing, the Commission will avoid interference with any criminal or civil proceeding in the State.

Today, Dr. John A. Hannah, Chairman of the Commission, issued the following statement:

"The Commission's purpose in holding this hearing is to obtain a balanced picture of the status of civil rights in Mississippi. The Commission is not a prosecuting agency; it cannot and does not seek to punish anyone. Our job is to find the facts and to report them to the President and Congress, with recommendations for any corrective action which seems necessary. To this end, the Commission intends to call a broad range of witnesses, so that all the facts pertaining to civil rights problems in the State may be appraised objectively and in context. Information collected at the hearing will be evaluated in the Commission's report to the President and Congress in accordance with the Commission's responsibilities. The Commission also hopes that a hearing conducted in this manner will assist responsible Mississippians in finding solutions to the problems in their State."

Since its establishment in 1957, the Commission has held hearings in Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Illinois, Michigan, California, Arizona, New Jersey, Tennessee, Indiana and Washington, D.C.

Members of the Commission are: John A. Hannah, President of Michigan State University, Chairman; Eugene C. Patterson, Editor, The Atlanta Constitution, Vice-Chairman; Mrs. Frankie Muse Freeman, Associate General Counsel, St. Louis Housing and Land Clearance Authorities; Erwin N. Griswold, Dean, Harvard University School of Law; Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President, Notre Dame University; and Robert S. Rankin, Department of Political Science, Duke University.

MSS CORE - Research Reports- Government- 1962, Dec; 1965, August
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SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[1962, Dec]

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

SRC: 23

December, 1962

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SRC: 23

December, 1962

A STUDY OF NEGRO FARMERS IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Part I

Introduction

This report seeks to give brief but accurate description of the meaning which federal agricultural programs have for Negro farmers in the Deep South. For this purpose, nine rural counties of South Carolina have been studied; these are: Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Calhoun, Clarendon, Hampton, Jasper, Lee, and Williamsburg. Although practices and conditions may differ throughout the South, these particular counties are valid illustrations of prevailing situations within the Black Belt.

The study was based on official records, supplemented by interviews of Negro farmers in each county.

The study had these aims: 1) to determine the degree of Negro employment in programs sponsored by the Department of Agriculture; 2) to discover what exclusion, if any, there was of Negroes from such programs; and 3) to gauge the degree of participation of Negro farmers in the decision-making and advisory committees which help administer federal benefits.

In all but one of the counties selected Negroes constitute more than 50 per cent of the total population. In five of the counties, more than 50 per cent of the farmers are Negro, according to the 1959 Census of Agriculture. In none were Negro farmers less than 39 per cent of the total. Furthermore, each of the counties had a very low Negro voter registration, ranging from a high of 22 per cent to a low of 6 per cent of the total registration.

Data as to Negro farmers and land operation are shown in Table III.

As background for this study, interviews were held with 20 Negro farmers in each of the nine counties. They were questioned about their attitudes toward the federal

programs, toward the people administering them, and about their knowledge and use of these programs. Little of a specific nature came from these interviews, but they did reveal certain consistently held opinions and feelings. The reports of these interviews show a group of persons, representative one can believe of a great many Black Belt Negro farmers, whose chief views toward the federal programs are the following:

(a) Generally, they have a confused picture of the agricultural agencies and of the benefits they administer.
(b) Some were aware of their right to participate in community and county elections, just as many others were not.
(c) Some feel that they have been unfairly treated in crop allotments, but either did not know of their appeal rights or saw no advantage in exercising them.
(d) There was general awareness and resentment about the non-employment of Negroes in agency offices.
(e) Those interviewed who were registered voters seemed to vote freely and without hesitation; of those not registered many indicated a vague but real feeling that voting was the white folks' affair, and that they were not expected to register.
(f) Underlying virtually all interviews was a pervasively expressed feeling of alienation from the rest of the farming community and the agencies of power.

The next five sections of this report are devoted to brief discussions of individual programs administered by the Agriculture Department and of their application in the nine counties. A final section discusses some of the findings.

Table I

Selected Population Characteristics*

Population	White	Negro	Total Median Family Income (dollars)	Negro Median Family Income (dollars)
South Carolina	2,382,594	1,551,022	831,572	3,821	1,699
Allendale	11,362	4,178	7,184	2,188	1,326
Bamberg	16,274	7,187	9,087	2,380	1,418
Barnwell	17,659	10,004	7,655	3,266	1,239
Calhoun	12,256	4,058	8,198	1,766	956
Clarendon	29,490	9,360	20,130	1,945	1,241
Hampton	17,425	8,038	9,387	2,487	1,502
Jasper	12,237	4,619	7,618	2,401	1,555
Lee	21,832	7,459	14,373	1,680	912
Williamsburg	40,932	13,716	27,216	1,631	916

*U.S. Census of Population 1960

Table II

South Carolina Voter Registration

Counties	*Total Registered	**White	**Negro	Per cent Registered Negro	Per cent Population Negro
Allendale	2,980	2,760	220	8	63
Bamberg	4,253	3,666	587	14	56
Barnwell	6,974	6,260	714	10	43
Calhoun	2,177	2,049	128	6	67
Clarendon	4,736	4,211	525	11	68
Hampton	4,773	4,147	626	13	54
Jasper	3,077	2,399	678	22	62
Lee	5,328	4,168	1,160	22	66
Williamsburg	7,827	7,347	480	6	67
South Carolina	666,694	575,793	90,901	14	35

*Secretary of State's Report, Aug. 15, 1962

**Estimates.

Table III

South Carolina Farm Data 1959

Counties	Average Acres Per Owner White	Average Acres Per Owner Negro	Average Acres Per Operator White	Average Acres Per Operator Negro
Allendale	388	71	634	65
Bamberg	216	70	262	54
Barnwell	238	64	269	63
Calhoun	273	64	315	55
Clarendon	165	53	182	40
Hampton	304	45	372	36
Jasper	231	41	462	37
Lee	186	61	245	37
Williamsburg	199	46	201	35

Part II
Farmers Home Administration

The Farmers Home Administration of the U.S. Department of Agriculture administers a program known as the supervised credit system. This program, which dates back through several modifications to 1934, is intended to help small farmers of poor credit standing acquire and sustain family-size farms by providing easy credit and technical assistance. Direct federal loans are made.

The FHA has an office in each agricultural county, headed by a county supervisor. He and his staff, if any, are members of the U.S. Civil Service. In some southern counties, there is an assistance agent, a Negro, to aid in processing loan applications of Negroes. But to insure local control, each application is passed on by a committee of three local farmers, selected by the state FHA director from panels recommended by the county supervisor. Thus, to the small farmer seeking assistance, this committee may be the most important governmental body with which he deals.

Loans are of various kinds: operating, ownership, disaster, water development and soil conservation, rural housing. In all types, the committee considers, without firm guidelines and hardly any administrative review, the applicant's character, reputation, and the economic soundness of the desired loan.

In the nine South Carolina counties studied, no Negro has ever been county supervisor. No Negro has ever held a clerical job in a county FHA office. In official correspondence, the office seldom if ever addresses a Negro farmer as "Mister."

The accompanying charts show the distribution of loans within each of the counties over the last three years. As will be noted:

(a) there are great variations, year to year, and county to county, in the proportion of assistance going to Negroes;
(b) Negroes fare relatively well in receiving operating and disaster loans, but fare relatively poorly in receiving ownership and housing loans.

Over the three year period ending June 30, 1962, there were only nine loans under federal programs in the entire nine counties to Negroes for the purpose of enabling them to acquire their own farms. And five of these loans were made in fiscal year 1961. Either to build or improve farm housing there were only 14 loans to Negroes, five of these having been made also in the past fiscal year. Moreover, out of the $1,222,630 advanced by the Farmers Home Administration for farm land acquisition in these counties during this period only $55,550 went to Negro farmers; out of the $1,328,915 advanced for farm housing only $81,955 went to Negroes.

While Negroes have received a fairer share of the operating and emergency loans made by the Agriculture Department, the figures for this three-year period indicate that a group which could reasonably be expected to constitute 75 to 80 per cent of the farmers needing aid received only about one-third of the aid actually given. Of the $3,615,240 advanced for operating loans Negroes received $1,241,380; of the $358,330 advanced for emergency loans Negroes received $142,160. No Negro in these counties has ever had a soil conservation loan from the department.

Table IV

Farmers Home Administration Program for South Carolina

Fiscal Year	Operating Loans				Farm Ownership				Farm Housing				Soil & Water Conservation			
	Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made		Applications Received		Initial Loans Made	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	919	1,377	570	1,135	287	53	68	3	539	59	298	17	25	0	9	0
1960	773	929	516	670	292	63	76	12	354	47	158	15	36	0	21	0
1961	928	1,259	564	985	365	60	81	4	491	50	299	22	37	1	9	0

Table V

Farm Housing Administration Programs
in Nine South Carolina Counties

llendale

Operating Loans

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	7	16	7	21	10,430	22,755
1960	8	17	7	34	7,670	33,020
1961	5	17	8	31	12,020	32,590
Emergency Loans						
1959	0	8	0	6	0	6,350
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	0	0	0	0	0
1960	6	1	0	0	0	0
1961	5	2	1	0	4,860	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	2	1	0	8,500	0
1960	4	0	2	0	19,000	0
1961	18	2	5	1	54,000	5,000
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Bamberg

Fiscal Year	Applications Received White	Applications Received Negro	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) White	Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent) Negro	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) White	Funds (Initial & Subsequent) Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	36	25	23	17	86,010	11,740
1960	58	27	26	24	64,415	18,025
1961	31	22	21	20	80,800	16,920
Emergency Loans						
1959	25	14	10	11	28,620	7,500
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	8	1	4	0	69,620	0
1960	1	0	4	0	63,650	0
1961	4	0	1	0	21,700	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	3	3	2	25,300	3,730
1960	7	1	3	1	9,130	2,000
1961	15	3	3	0	16,680	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Barnwell

Operating Loans						
1959	20	32	19	28	44,000	28,525
1960	34	30	31	30	72,080	31,165
1961	29	33	29	28	66,500	35,785
Emergency Loans						
1959	6	2	5	2	5,320	1,000
1960	1	0	1	0	1,500	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	1	2	1	1	7,450	2,890
1960	2	1	1	1	26,500	2,500
1961	7	0	4	0	38,470	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	1	5	0	30,135	0
1960	7	0	7	0	53,250	0
1961	17	1	9	0	98,000	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Calhoun

Operating Loans

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
1959	26	48	24	45	94,195	40,850
1960	37	65	34	65	45,110	46,710
1961	43	60	38	53	146,970	40,010
Emergency Loans						
1959	14	22	14	22	19,140	7,460
1960	1	3	1	3	6,000	1,380
1961	1	0	1	0	6,000	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	3	1	1	0	33,600	0
1960	4	0	2	0	39,130	0
1961	4	2	3	2	40,500	12,050
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	1	3	1	3	4,925	23,525
1960	5	0	5	0	39,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	1,370	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Clarendon

Operating Loans						
1959	18	113	32	82	81,700	75,000
1960	30	189	56	172	168,955	137,975
1961	36	161	57	139	245,880	120,695
Emergency Loans						
1959	26	120	22	145	59,940	88,505
1960	0	0	2	1	6,000	500
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	9	1	4	0	94,360	0
1960	9	3	3	1	75,650	8,200
1961	14	1	7	1	110,330	17,000
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	2	3	0	36,900	0
1960	7	1	6	1	55,750	6,500
1961	20	4	9	2	72,000	12,800
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Hampton

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	20	6	21	4	63,230	3,100
1960	22	15	34	20	110,325	19,630
1961	9	10	40	21	121,905	12,715
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	4	6	4	7,350	3,300
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	4	1	1	0	7,200	0
1960	7	1	1	0	13,500	0
1961	6	1	1	1	10,500	1,310
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	1	0	12,000	0
1960	7	0	4	0	34,000	0
1961	24	1	4	0	30,500	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	1	0	1	0	1,000	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	2	0	0	0	0	0

Jasper

Operating Loans						
1959	20	8	18	7	51,460	8,250
1960	24	17	23	11	75,210	7,655
1961	28	9	22	5	77,730	3,350
Emergency Loans						
1959	10	9	9	6	20,100	5,500
1960	3	0	3	0	1,600	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	2	0	1	0	20,500	0
1960	1	1	0	0	0	0
1961	4	1	1	0	4,040	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	4	0	2	0	28,980	0
1960	3	0	0	0	0	0
1961	23	1	10	0	108,860	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	1	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	1	0	3,500	0

Lee

Fiscal Year	Applications Received		Loans Made (Initial & Subsequent)		Funds (Initial & Subsequent)	
	White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
Operating Loans						
1959	13	20	21	32	55,500	27,110
1960	28	43	51	48	141,030	42,910
1961	32	32	72	57	239,860	45,030
Emergency Loans						
1959	11	23	17	21	47,500	13,100
1960	0	0	2	1	4,750	200
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	5	1	4	0	49,370	0
1960	8	1	0	0	0	0
1961	21	3	13	1	194,350	1,700
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	13	0	5	0	35,150	0
1960	17	6	15	2	91,900	6,350
1961	29	3	10	0	100,900	0
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0	0	0	0

Williamsburg

Operating Loans						
1959	40	186	41	174	73,680	119,320
1960	42	185	41	166	80,985	126,995
1961	36	189	38	166	66,310	133,550
Emergency Loans						
1959	2	14	2	13	3,350	7,365
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farm Ownership Loans						
1959	11	3	6	1	120,200	9,900
1960	11	1	4	0	59,500	0
1961	12	2	5	0	62,100	0
Farm Housing Loans						
1959	8	0	6	0	66,000	0
1960	11	1	9	0	90,650	0
1961	25	8	12	2	125,850	22,050
Soil and Water Conservation Loans						
1959	0	0	0	0	0	0
1960	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961	0	0	0	0	0	0

Part III
The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Agency carries out various programs in the fields of production adjustment, conservation assistance, and price and market stabilization. Included within it are the ASCS state, county, and community farmer committee systems as well as most of the operations of the Commodity Credit Corporation.

In some regions, however, notably in the South, leadership in local ASCS administration has been shared with county agents and other officials of the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service. But since the Agricultural Extension Service in the South has been from its inception a segregated institution whose policies and operations were carried out by whites, Negro farmers are handicapped by the same pattern in the ASCS operations. In the nine counties covered in this survey, it is apparent that the farmer-committee system has not benefited the Negro farmer specifically or the Negro generally.

The state committee is composed of three to five farmer members appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture, plus the state director of the Agricultural Extension Service. County committeemen are elected annually by the farmers of the county, with the county agricultural agent also serving as a committeeman. County committees are under the general supervision of the state committee.

The county ASCS office is the farmer's point of contact in the case of most price-supported commodities. For example, office personnel assist the farmer in the preparation of price support documents and check his eligibility for price support. Each committee employs an office manager, but the committee itself is responsible for all programs, policies, and decisions at the county level. To assist it, community committees of three farmers each are elected annually by local communities within the county.

Today some 90,000 farmers throughout the nation are serving as county or community committeemen. Inquiry at departmental level indicates that in the entire history of these committees only one Negro has ever served as a county committeeman. That gentleman was from Vermont and is now deceased. Negroes have served as community committeemen in the past, but the only known instances in South Carolina were in Beaufort County and in Jasper County, and that was some time ago. At the present time there seem to be no Negro community committeemen in the state of South Carolina.

The ASCS county committees are vitally important to southern farmers for this reason: in the last analysis, they control the distribution of crop allotments for most of the basic crops. Since those public and private agencies which extend credit to small farmers base their line of credit on the amount of alloted crops, any lack of concern for the small farmer on the part of local committees greatly affects his eligibility for Department of Agriculture loans and all other types of loan. And since the state committee operates in close cooperation with the local committees, the crop allotments directly under the jurisdiction of the state committee are influenced by the policies and attitudes of the local committees. Thus, unless these local committees operate fairly in setting crop allotments, the small Negro farmer suffers a severe economic handicap. True, there is a review committee, consisting of farmers independent of all county and community committees and appointed for various localities by the state committee, to which a farmer can appeal allotment decisions made on the local level. There are, however, no Negroes on any of the review committees currently operating in South Carolina.

Theoretically at least, elections for county and community committeemen are conducted in the best democratic tradition. But many Negro farmers in the counties under study do not participate in these elections. If they did, it could normally be expected that at least some Negro committeemen would have been elected.

Moreover, like the Farmers Home Administration, the local offices of the ASCS could make clerical, blue collar, and supervisory jobs available to Negroes. Yet, in the known instances where Negroes have applied for jobs in the area under survey, they have been turned down; indeed, no Negro has ever been hired for such jobs in these nine counties. In fact, throughout South Carolina, there seem to be no regulations, policies, or procedures established by the state committee (which, as noted above, is appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture) to implement fair employment practices contained in the civil service regulations or in the pledges made by the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunities.

Part IV
Cooperative Farm Credit System

The cooperative farm credit system is administered by an independent agency known as the Farm Credit Administration. Its credit facilities play an important role in American agriculture and are closely related to the other sources of credit available to farmers generally.

The three main branches of cooperative credit are: 1) the federal land bank, long-term farm mortgage credit system; 2) the production credit association, a short-term credit system; and 3) banks which finance agricultural cooperatives (this branch, however, plays no role in the nine counties involved in this survey).

Some 370,000 farmers are currently members of the 800 or so Federal Land Bank Associations in this country. Members of each association elect their own board of directors from among their fellow members. In turn, each of the boards of directors select two of their members for appointment to the Federal Farm Credit Board, whose directors are selected by the President to determine policy on a national level. As far as can be ascertained, no Negro has ever served as a member of any of these boards, local, regional, or national.

The production credit associations are organized in more or less the same way as the Federal Land Bank Associations. Despite the fact that many Negroes in the South Carolina counties under study have borrowed through the local production credit association, they have not usually participated in elections for board members or in any policy-making procedures. Nor has any Negro ever been hired as a staff worker for the local association.

Part V
Department of Agriculture Extension Service

The Extension Service was established in 1914 to bring better incomes and better living to farm families. The land grant colleges and universities in the agricultural states have long been employed to carry out the purposes and policies of the Extension Service. One half of the extension funds used in South Carolina come from the federal government.

In the South, however, the land grant college was -- and largely still is -- a segregated institution. In South Carolina, for example, all-white Clemson College has been the main institution used. Any Negro extension or home economics work has been done through the all-Negro state college at Orangeburg and through all-Negro high schools. But a regular reading of South Carolina newspapers suggests that the activities of the Extension Service are primarily devoted to white farmers. There is no breakdown of funds between white and Negro extension work, but all indications are that the Negro farmer is not receiving a fair or adequate share of the funds expended in this field.

In the entire nine counties there are only five Negro men acting as extension service representatives and six Negro women as home demonstration agents. On the other hand, in each of the nine counties there are full staffs of whites acting as extension service personnel. 4-H Club enrollment figures show that three of the counties have no Negro 4-H Club members whatsoever. Because of the shortage of trained Negro extension service agents and the fact that they must cover far more territory and deal with far more people than their white counterparts, it seems fairly obvious that their work cannot begin to compare with the extension work being done in the white communities.

Again, as has been noted previously of other Agriculture Department agencies in this area, secretarial and clerical jobs with the extension service are available. But, again, no Negroes in the nine counties -- or, so far as it can be determined, in the entire state of South Carolina -- have ever been hired for these jobs.

Table VI
South Carolina
4-H Club Enrollment for 1960

Counties	White	Negro
Allendale	264	248
Bamberg	645	859
Barnwell	480	495
Calhoun	129	0
Clarendon	1061	880
Hampton	429	638
Jasper	435	0
Lee	271	0
Williamsburg	577	785

Part VI
Rural Areas Development

The newly-established rural areas development program seeks to bring about a better balance between farms and industry in economically depressed areas and thereby to create new jobs. At present, the program is being administered by the state and local representatives of the Farmers Home Administration. But, as noted previously, the state and local FHA offices in South Carolina are almost entirely staffed by whites. Thus there is virtually no Negro representation to improve the chances that new jobs created by the program will go to Negroes.

Several projects in South Carolina have already been approved. Yet not one additional Negro operative job has opened up, though it is possible that Negroes may eventually be hired to fill a few menial positions.

The program also calls for the establishment of training schools to teach new skills for new jobs. At the moment, there is no way of determining whether these schools will be segregated or integrated. Nor is it possible to tell whether qualified Negroes will be allowed to participate in all of the training courses offered or just in those for semi-skilled and less remunerative jobs. It is fair to say, however, that there is pressing need for the positive safeguards of Negro rights.

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Part VII
Conclusions

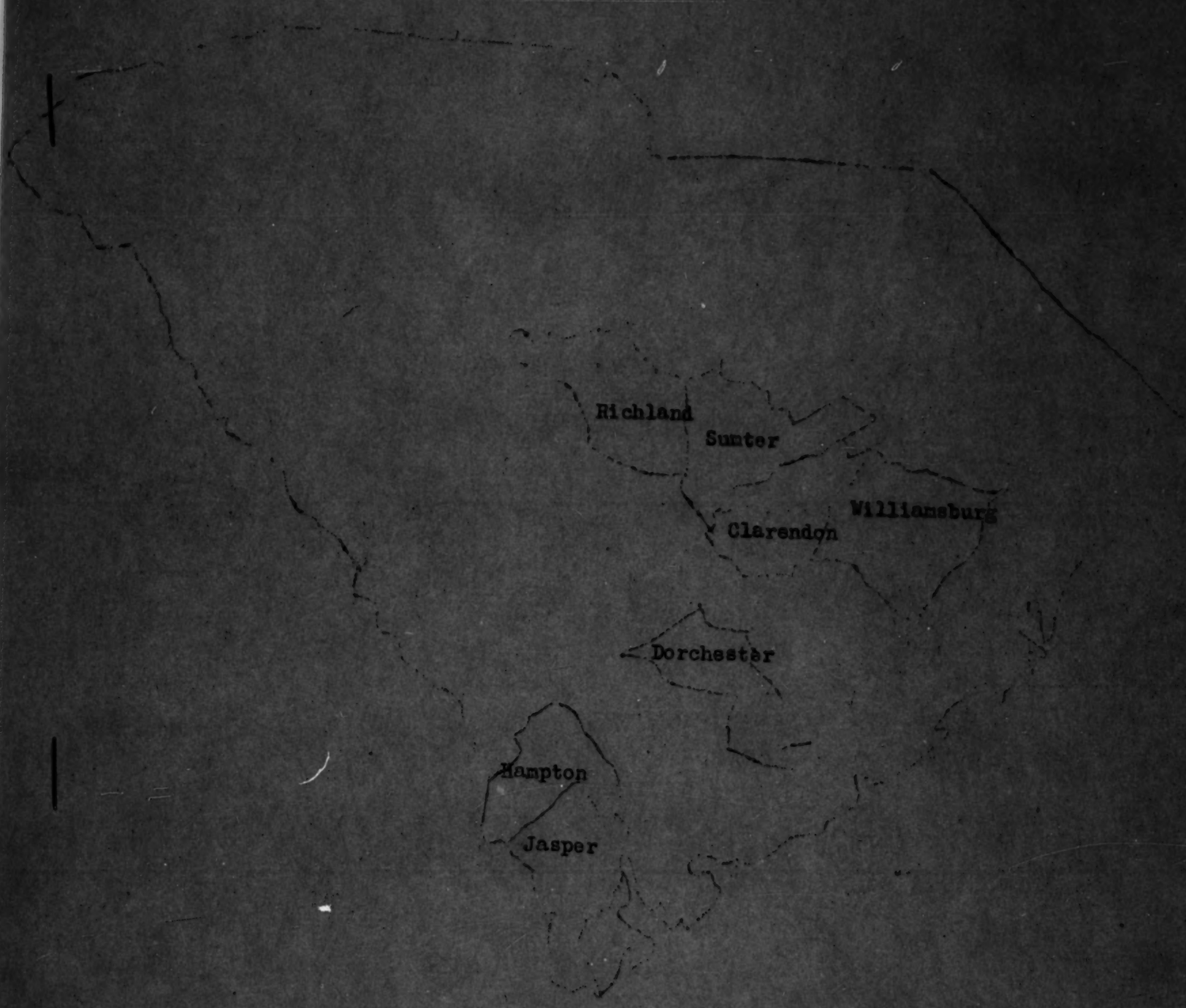
The Negro farmer in these nine South Carolina counties seems not to receive anything like a fair share of funds appropriated for the aid of the small farmer, and receives shockingly little in the way of help for the acquisition of additional farm land to make his farming more viable, or for housing to give him and his family an incentive to stay on the land. The extension service takes no more than a passing interest in his problems.

No agencies of the Department of Agriculture nor of the organizations over which it has general supervision have afforded South Carolina Negroes anything like equal job employment. The only jobs available, besides janitors, have been those within the segregated practices of some of the agencies. There have been no clerical or administrative jobs made available to Negroes in South Carolina. Since the federal government provides virtually all the funds for all of these operations, it could be expected to insist upon the same pledges and practices required of private contractors doing business with the government.

Area redevelopment programs which do not from the outset provide for equal job opportunities for Negroes will only strengthen and perpetuate the present system of inequalities. It is ironic that Negro unemployment and under-employment is counted to determine area eligibility for area redevelopment assistance, while the resulting projects exclude Negroes from any direct job benefits.

SEVEN COUNTIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

August, 1965



All statistics in this report are from the 1960 census, unless otherwise indicated.

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE/RESEARCH

FACTS ABOUT SEVEN COUNTIES OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Clarendon		Richland
Dorchester	Jasper	Sumter
Hampton		Williamsburg

POPULATION FIGURES

CLARENDON COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	9,360	20,122	8
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISIONS			
Alcolu Division	940	2,091	1
Manning Division	2,036	1,881	-
Manning East	580	1,607	1
Manning West	987	3,646	3
Paxville	663	1,551	-
Sardinia	1,014	1,588	-
Summerton East	963	2,997	3
Summerton West	285	3,866	-
Turbeville	1,892	895	-
RURAL POPULATION	7,290	18,283	-
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	778	1,380	-

PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 68.3 %

POPULATION FIGURES

DORCHESTER COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	12,480	11,892	11
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISIONS			
Harleyville Division	1,880	2,417	-
Reevesville Division	1,029	1,321	-
Ridgeville Division	1,173	1,501	-
St. George Division	1,833	2,463	2
Summerville Division	6,565	4,190	9
RURAL POPULATION	10,014	10,731	5
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	2,066	2,027	-
PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE		48.8 %	

POPULATION FIGURES

HAMPTON COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	8,038	9,382	5
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISION			
Brunson Division	581	652	-
Estill Division	1,766	3,050	3
Furman-Scotia Division	465	1,924	1
Hampton Division	2,911	1,256	-
Varnville Division	1,657	1,102	1
Yemassee Division	658	1,398	-
RURAL POPULATION	8,038	9,382	5
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	1,248	1,248	-
PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE		53.9 %	

POPULATION FIGURES

JASPER COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	4,619	7,616	2
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISION			
Grays-Tillman Division	1,202	2,700	1
Hardeeville Division	1,124	2,053	-
Ridgeland Division	2,293	2,863	1
RURAL POPULATION	4,619	7,616	2
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	637	1,001	-

PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 53.9 %

POPULATION FIGURES

RICHLAND COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	134,930	64,845	328
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISIONS			
Blythewood Division	1,197	1,378	-
Camp Ground Division	853	1,160	- -
Columbia Division	67,789	29,488	156
Columbia North Division	29,124	15,364	60
Columbia South Division	11,275	3,613	36
Dutch Fork Division	5,156	1,783	1
Eastover Division	937	3,793	-
Hopkins Division	413	3,811	1
Horrell Hill Division	1,099	1,081	-
Pontiac Division	17,087	3,371	73
RURAL POPULATION	37,100	23,990	81
FARM POPULATION	1,723	1,492	-

PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 32.6 %

POPULATION FIGURES

SUMTER COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	39,846	34,997	98
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISIONS			
Horatio Division	4,310	1,677	41
Mayesville Division	330	1,884	-
Pinewood Division	618	1,647	-
Privateer Division	1,793	1,239	-
Rembert Division	410	2,273	-
Shiloh Division	690	1,898	-
Sumter Division	15,003	8,041	18
Sumter Northeast Division	1,657	2,337	-
Sumter Northwest Division	6,622	4,230	30
Sumter Southeast Division	4,475	7,802	4
Sumter West Division	3,938	1,969	5
RURAL POPULATION	23,390	21,349	76
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	3,067	10,932	-

PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 46.8 %

POPULATION FIGURES

WILLIAMSBURG COUNTY

	WHITE	NEGRO	OTHER
POPULATION TOTALS FOR COUNTY	13,716	27,171	55
POPULATION BY CENSUS DIVISION			
Cades Division	1,466	2,124	35
Greeleyville Division	1,056	3,266	2
Hemingway Division	2,895	2,651	-
Indian Division	533	2,083	-
Kingstree Division	2,269	1,578	1
Kingstree Northeast Division	487	2,396	-
Kingstree Northwest Division	1,293	2,458	-
Kingstree Southeast Division	626	1,636	4
Lone East Division	508	2,863	1
Lone West Division	248	1,603	-
Nesmith Division	817	1,598	-
Turkey Division	390	1,524	2
Williamsburg Division	1,128	1,391	
RURAL POPULATION	11,434	25,551	45
RURAL-FARM POPULATION	5,945	16,460	71

PERCENT OF COUNTY POPULATION NON-WHITE ..... 66.5 %

VOTING POTENTIAL

	WHITE	NEGRO
CLARENDON	4,923	7,735
DORCHESTER	7,121	5,370
HAMPTON	4,711	4,052
JASPER	2,689	3,333
RICHLAND	79,350	32,670
SUMTER	22,004	15,380
WILLIAMSBURG	7,560	10,535

VOTER REGISTRATION
September, 1964

	WHITE	NEGRO
CLARENDON	4,708	523
DORCHESTER	7,864	1,750
HAMPTON	4,706	1,025
JASPER	2,580	1,200
RICHLAND	58,750 *	8,750 *
SUMTER	9,800 *	4,200 *
WILLIAMSBURG	?	?

* Unofficial figures

EDUCATION - NON-WHITE POPULATION

	MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS COMPLETED
CLARENDON	5.1
DORCHESTER	5.3
HAMPTON	4.4
JASPER	4.5
RICHLAND	7.1
SUMTER	6.2
WILLIAMSBURG	5.5

EMPLOYMENT - NON-WHITE POPULATION

	Male Labor Force	Number Unemployed	Female Labor Force	Number Unemployed
CLARENDON	3,691	230	1,913	288
DORCHESTER	2,302	119	911	26
HAMPTON	1,733	74	877	46
JASPER	1,352	193	588	25
RICHLAND	10,244	489	8,611	358
SUMTER	6,407	334	3,967	234
WILLIAMSBURG	4,978	155	2,549	135

FAMILY INCOME - NON-WHITE POPULATION

	Median Family Income
CLARENDON	$ 1,241.
DORCHESTER	1,488.
HAMPTON	1,502.
JASPER	1,555.
RICHLAND	2,325.
SUMTER	1,595.
WILLIAMSBURG	916.

MSS CORE -
SOUTHERN
REGIONAL

Research
Office

Reports - Government -
Tennessee

1957, January
1960
1961, November

[1957, Jan 23]

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NASHVILLE'S HOUSING CODE

What it means to you–

This law was enacted by the City Council on January 23, 1957 and sets up MINIMUM standards for every dwelling in the City of Nashville. To protect your health and safety it tells you what your house should contain in the way of equipment, facilities, space, sanitation and many other features.

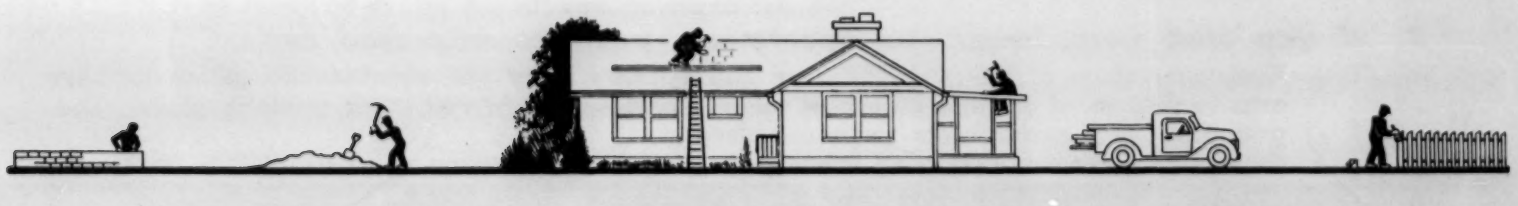
The Housing Code also tells you which of these standards are the responsibility of the landlord or owner, and which are the responsibility of the tenant or occupant.

Your house will be inspected by thoroughly trained Housing Inspectors to see if it meets these new standards. You will know, therefore, what your house must include to meet the MINIMUM requirements of the new housing regulations; and what duties are expected of you as landlord or tenant.

Here, briefly, are the main points in the Housing Code. This is only a digest, not the complete and official code itself. Use it as a check list to see if your house meets these MINIMUM requirements of the new law.

While every effort has been made to insure that this pamphlet conforms to the code and the regulations, the City cannot guarantee its complete accuracy and in the event of any conflict between this pamphlet and the code and regulations, the latter, of course, govern.

If you have any doubts or questions, please contact the Nashville Housing Code Rehabilitation Officer. Phone ALpine 5-0361, Extension 249, or come to Room 302 City Hall. He will be happy to be of service to you.



for Better Living in Nashville

UNDER THE 1957
YOUR HOME

1. *In Your Bathroom*

A flush toilet, a bathtub or shower, and a washbasin with hot and cold running water.
A floor surface that is reasonably impervious to water and is kept in a clean and sanitary condition.
It must be a separate room, properly ventilated, with a door on it, inside the house. If you live in a one or two room apartment, containing not over 250 square feet of floor space, this bathroom may be shared with one other family in a one or two room apartment, containing not over 250 square feet of floor space, in the same dwelling. Provided, all who use it, can reach it without going through a sleeping room of another family.

2. *In Your Kitchen*

A kitchen sink with taps connected to both hot and cold running water. A floor that is reasonably impervious to water and is kept in a clean and sanitary condition.

3. *Your Windows*

A window in each habitable room, of which at least one half of it is easily openable and the minimum total area of such window equals 10% of the floor area of said room. The window to face directly out of doors. A skylight is considered a window and it must equal 15% of the floor area. It must be easily openable.

4. *Electricity*

All dwellings within 300 feet of a power line must have electricity and: Two separate electrical wall-type outlets or one such wall-outlet and one ceiling-type light fixture, in each habitable room.
A ceiling or wall-type light fixture in each bath, laundry or furnace-room and public hall.

5. *Heating*

A heating system, or heating facilities that will keep every habitable room and bathroom at least 70 degrees F. on a cold winter day (0 degrees F.). All chimneys and flu liners must be kept in good repair (such as raking joints, re-pointing, etc).

6. *Protection from Fire*

In 2 or more story, multi-family, (3 or more families) dwellings, there should be two safe exits from each story above the first floor.
All spaces must be kept free of all combustible rubbish, junk or waste.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF LANDI

1. *If you own your own house, you are expected to:*

Keep your house and yard clean and sanitary.
Provide adequate 30 gallon garbage cans to dispose of or store all garbage, etc.
Exterminate rats, insects, and other pests.

2. *If you rent your house, or apartment, you are expected to:*

Keep your share of the property clean and sanitary. Provide adequate 30 gallon garbage cans to dispose of or store all ashes, waste, garbage, etc. in your own dwelling place. Dispose of all such garbage, etc. in proper places.
Exterminate rats, insects, and other pests found in your rooms.

3. *If you are a landlord, you are expected to:*

Keep the public parts of the house and yard clean. Maintain clean and sanitary common storage and disposal facilities.

HOUSING CODE MUST HAVE:



7. *Space and Size*

The overall floor area of habitable rooms in your house must add up to at least:
150 square feet for a family of 1*.
100 square feet for each additional person.
Your bedroom floor area must add up to at least:
70 square feet if 1 person sleeps in the room.
If more than one person sleeps in the room, at least:
50 square feet for each person over 12 years of age.
35 square feet for each person under 12 years of age.
Babies under 1 year of age, do not count as additional occupants.
Each habitable room must have a ceiling height of 7½ feet for at least one half of its floor area.
**Square feet is measured by multiplying the length of a room by the width.*

8. *Cellars and Basements*

A cellar MAY NOT be used as a dwelling.
A basement — where more than half of the room height is above ground — may be used for living purposes ONLY if the floors and walls are water tight and the windows are above the ground level.

9. *Safety Measures & Sanitation*

Foundations, outside walls, windows, roofs, and exterior doors that are:
Weathertight.
Waterproof.
Rodent-proof.
In sound condition and good repair.
Inside walls, ceilings, and floors that are:
Rodent-proof.
In safe condition and good repair.
Plumbing fixtures must be properly installed and maintained in accordance with the City's Plumbing Code.
All gutters and downspouts must be kept in good repair.
All accessory buildings and/or fences must be kept in good repair OR demolished and removed from premises.
All doors and windows that open directly to out-door space, must have screens, in good repair, from May 1st. through September 30th.

LORDS, TENANTS & OWNERS

Exterminate rats, insects, and other pests in shared parts of the house, in rental units where two or more are affected, and in the yard.
Supply adequate heat or heating facilities.
See that no services, equipment or facilities required by this code are shut off, discontinued or removed except for repairs, emergencies, etc.
Tell tenants in writing how many people may live in any rental unit under this code.
Maintain all dwelling units which are to be RENTED-OUT, in a clean, sanitary condition, FIT FOR HUMAN OCCUPANCY.

4. *For everyone*

All ZONING LAWS *MUST BE* OBSERVED, and any *VIOLATIONS MUST BE CORRECTED*. No contract between tenant and landlord, or owner and occupant with regard to compliance with this Housing Code can relieve any party of his DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY under this code.

Responsibilities of the City under the Code

1. Inspections

The Housing Code Inspectors will inspect dwellings between 9:00 A.M. and 4:00 P.M. on weekdays.

Inspectors must properly identify themselves.

Contact the Rehabilitation Officer for SPECIAL INSPECTIONS.

2. Notices

Written notices of any violations of this code must be sent to the owner or landlord whose dwelling or property violates the provisions. This notice must specify the violation, and give a reasonable time within which to correct it. It may also recommend remedial action.

SUGGESTIONS

1. A city permit is required for most building, plumbing and electrical work. See that your contractor has the required permits BEFORE he starts to work.
2. Make a written contract with your contractor, giving the sizes, quality of materials to be used, number of coats and grade of paint, etc. Keep a copy of this contract.
3. If your improvements are to be financed, consult a local lending agency. They will be able to advise you regarding conventional financing, Title One F.H.A. loans, Section 221 F.H.A. loans and Section 220 F.H.A. loans.
4. If the recipient of this pamphlet is a tenant, please read it and turn it over to the owner or agent of the property.

SPECIAL REPORT

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta 3, Georgia

[1960]

MEMPHIS

BY

BENJAMIN MUSE

POPULATION

	1950		1960	
	Memphis	Shelby County*	Memphis	Shelby County*
Total	396,000	482,393	497,524	627,019
Negro	147,141	180,002	184,320	227,445
Percent, Negro	37.2	37.3	37.0	36.3

General

In view of its heavy Negro population and its Deep South location, the progress of Memphis toward the elimination of race discrimination is remarkable. Memphis lies only eight miles north of the Mississippi line; it is the metropolis of a large northern section of that state. Memphis is the apex of a strip of country along the Mississippi River, with Vicksburg at its southern extremity, known as "The Delta." The Delta is one of the regions of deepest anti-Negro prejudice and most stubborn resistance to change in the South. Memphis State University, which, without

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incident, has enrolled 250 Negro students along with whites, is only 60 miles from stormy "Ole Miss."

Memphis has made conspicuous, though still token, strides toward desegregation and equality of treatment in schools and employment. In the desegregation of public cultural and recreational facilities, of places of amusement and of public accommodation, Memphis desegregation has gone well beyond the token stage. A dozen Negroes sit on official boards or hold other responsible positions in the city government. Furthermore, the movement toward equality of opportunity in Memphis is going forward with increasing momentum and with the support of the dominant white leadership and the approval of a large element of the white public.

The traditionally large Negro vote in Memphis, always present in the calculations of the political confraternity, has done much to lubricate the wheels of race-relations reform in that city. Negroes have been encouraged to vote in Memphis for many years. As a leading citizen remarked to the writer: "No one even thinks of interfering with Negro voting here." Today 82,000 Negroes are registered to vote in county and city out of a potential 119,000. This is a consideration which tends to liberalize all attitudes and decisions by public officials in matters affecting Negroes. Negro leaders are frequently consulted. Racist

demagoguery has been practically eliminated from Memphis politics.

A certain unity in the movement toward equal opportunities for Negroes, the prevailing policy of quiet, unsensational advance and rigorous, but generally fair law enforcement, have been mainly responsible for the accomplishments of the past three years. The turmoil in Little Rock and the damage to that city's economy in the late 1950's had a salutary effect upon the thinking of Memphians; Little Rock is only 139 miles away. A further helpful circumstance is the fact that Memphis, though lying in Tennessee's Deep South southwest corner, is in a state with a relatively liberal official attitude. Desegregation moves in Memphis run no risk of being repressed, but are rather encouraged by the state administration. Tennessee on January 1, 1964 established an official Commission on Human Relations, the only such body in any of the eleven former Confederate states.

Notable too is the high caliber of the leaders of the white community who are active in the Memphis movement. Former Mayor Edmund Orgill is conspicuous among them. E. B. LeMaster, president of the chamber of commerce when desegregation was getting under way, gave it strong support. Arthur W. McCain, president of the Union Planters Bank, now retired, and Edward J. Meeman, editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar,

have served successively as chairmen of the MCCR. George W. Grider, prominent attorney, now a candidate for Congress, is president of the Council on Human Relations; a former president of this group, Hunter Lane, is a member of the City Commission.

It is noteworthy, incidentally, that the most conspicuous white champions of racial justice in Memphis today, with a few exceptions, are over 50 years of age. Chairman Meeman is 74; many active leaders are in their 60's. Some who have retired from business or, like former Mayor Orgill, from politics are making a new career of furthering the city's peaceful transition to the new order. It is an interesting answer to those who fancy that liberalism is a monopoly of youth, and expect Southerners of the older generation to be chained to the traditions of the past.

Memphis has been free in recent years from organized segregationist activity of strength. A feeble Citizens' Council has an office and five so-called "chapters" in the city, with a not very prominent attorney, Richard T. Ely, as president. None of the higher echelons of business or community leaders are identified with it. It is making a rather furtive effort to embarrass integrated restaurants, but this campaign is making little impression on the general public. "The Citizens' Council doesn't amount to much here," is a common remark.

A recently-discovered Black Muslim temple in Memphis is generally regarded as a joke or a curiosity by both whites and Negroes. As many as 30 were reported to have attended one meeting in its small, shuttered, and tightly-guarded building at 364 Beale Street. Its leader, a young man calling himself "Nathaniel X," is voluble on the philosophy and theology of the group, but evasive as to practical details.

While Memphis has its full share of political controversy and rivalry, there is notable unity in the steady trend toward the elimination of discrimination against its Negro citizens. Motivations vary. A growing number support the change because "it is right." However, very many white people go along with it merely because "it is inevitable," and because it is better than having demonstrations or turmoil. There are differences of opinion as to the desirable tempo of change and on the question of race itself. But the city's course is set in a liberal direction and there is no strong effort in any quarter to bring the advance to a halt.

The mayor is gratified at the progress made and hopes it will continue. The press and the chamber of commerce are giving effective cooperation. The Restaurant Association, more than any other group, feels that it is "the sacrificial lamb" in the desegregation process and some of

its members are bitter, but for the most part they are anxious to hold the line for a united posture of non-discriminatory service. The Memphis Committee on Community Relations, whose leaders include some of the city's most respected citizens, is devoted to orderly adjustment to the new order. The Memphis Council on Human Relations, a biracial group, frankly committed to racial integration and working for interracial friendship and understanding, cooperates with the MCCR, and the two organizations have overlapping membership.

On the Negro side the unity is even more noteworthy. Only one of the principal action organizations is represented in Memphis and it completely dominates the field. White negotiators do not have to deal with rival Negro groups. When they have talked with the leaders of the NAACP, they "know where they stand" with the Negro community. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest NAACP membership of any southern city. It formulates the Negro objectives, prods the white community, and marshals the Negro advance. The MCCR is the body in which the NAACP objectives receive biracial consideration and, generally, support. The Urban League, a Community Chest organization, is closely linked with both the white and the Negro communities. It cooperates smoothly with both the NAACP and the MCCR with efficient, but more routine, service in the employment field.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations itself is preeminently an element of unity. The Chamber of Commerce, the churches, business and professional groups, civic organizations -- as well as the Council on Human Relations, the Urban League, and the NAACP -- are all strongly represented in it, and most public officials cooperate with it.

The Committee on Community Relations was established as early as 1958. Memphis Negroes, sharing the rising spirit of Negro militancy in the South, moved aggressively in agitation and demonstrations in 1960. But it was in 1961 that the walls of segregation began to crumble in a substantial way.

1960 and most of 1961 was a period of protest on the part of the Negro community, expressed in sit-ins, picketing, meetings, public statements, and law suits. Negroes protested their exclusion from the Memphis Automobile Show in a spirited meeting and urged a boycott of local automobile dealers. Since the annual Mid-South Fair was traditionally for whites only, the separate all-Negro Tri-State Fair was suspended "because of the spirit of the times." (The Automobile Show has since been discontinued, and the Mid-South Fair has been desegregated.) In a meeting with the City Commission in March, the Committee on Community Relations urged "constructive steps.... in the direction of desegregation" and the appointment of Negroes to various boards and agencies.

Meanwhile Negroes pressed in court litigation for desegregation of schools, buses, the municipal auditorium, museums, art galleries, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, parks, and boat docks. The school integration "breakthrough" was effected with surprising tranquility in October 1961, when 13 Negro children were admitted to previously all-white public schools without incident.

The "Freedom" movement, as it was designated by the NAACP, continued and reached a crescendo in early November 1961. Regular picket and sit-in schools were held. Picketing and sit-ins were being staged daily; "Freedom Marches" and "Neighborhood Freedom Rides," weekly. Then, on November 14, the NAACP announced the suspension of demonstrations -- "as a result of favorable negotiations with downtown merchants." Some desegregation of eating places occurred shortly afterward. Desegregation of public facilities and places of public accommodation continued, under persistent prodding, and improvement was made in the employment situation and other areas during the ensuing two and a half years. November 14, 1961 was a milestone date. Since then demonstrations have been rare; the progress has been made by negotiation and conference and broad community effort.

Negroes in Public Office and in Politics

Although no Negro has been elected to public office in Memphis, a number hold appointive public offices. A milestone

was passed in 1961, when A. Maceo Walker, a Negro insurance company executive, was appointed to the important three-member Memphis Transit Authority; he was succeeded by another Negro upon the expiration of his term of office. The present city commission, elected last November, has given official responsibilities to no less than ten Negroes, as follows:

T. H. Hayes, Jr., member Transit Authority.

S. A. Wilbun, Assistant City Attorney.

Robert Lewis, member Alcohol Licensing Commission.

A. A. Latting, member Civil Service Commission.

Harold Whalum, member Traffic Advisory Committee

Whittier A. Sengstacke, member Memphis-Arkansas Bridge Commission.

Hollis F. Price, member Inter-Agency Health Committee.

Mesdames Calverta Ishmael, Margaret Rivers, and Ophelia Byas, members City Beautiful Commission.

Among Negro officials serving by earlier appointment are B. L. Hooks, assistant public defender (county), and Charles L. Dinkins, a member of the Memphis Hospital Board.

(At lower levels of city employment in Memphis, although statistics are not available, Negroes are heavily represented. Negroes have served the city from time immemorial in manual-labor capacities. Garbage collection, for instance, is largely a Negro activity.)

Three of the Negro appointees listed above, Hayes, Wilbun, and Latting, were nominated by William B. Ingram, the new mayor. In Mayor Ingram's election last November he is said to have had the support of both the Citizens' Council and the Negroes! In his former position of city judge he had been little identified with the desegregation movement, and the Citizens' Council, which has difficulty in finding sympathy with its aims in any political leader, decided that Mr. Ingram was more congenial than either of the other two candidates. Negroes in the lower income brackets were impressed with Mr. Ingram's record as judge and gave him their votes. Most Negro leaders supported the other candidates.

Interviewed in his office in City Hall, the mayor expressed pride in Memphis's progress in race relations and praised the work of the MCCR, which he hoped would go on to greater accomplishments.

A number of Negroes have run for public office in Memphis. Two received record-breaking votes last November, but none was successful in winning election. Assistant Public Defender Ben L. Hooks, running for judge of the city court, Division 3, was endorsed by the Memphis Commercial Appeal. He received 41,948 votes to 43,209 for Ray W. Churchill, a white attorney, the remaining 30,000 votes being divided among seven other candidates for the position.

Another Negro candidate, Dr. Hollis F. Price, running for a seat on the public school board, was endorsed by the Memphis Press Scimitar. In this two-man race, Dr. Price received 40,518 votes to 61,019 for his opponent, a white man. Three other Negro candidates, one for commissioner of public works and two for school board seats, received each from 30,000 to 35,000 votes.

Dr. Price, who is president of LeMoyne College and highly respected in both white and Negro circles, is an astute observer of the Memphis scene. He did not conceal his gratification at recent civil rights progress in that city. "Many Negroes avoid saying that things have improved," he said, "because so much more needs to be done and we don't want anyone to feel that we can stop where we are. But everybody knows we have come a long way in three years. I don't mind telling you I think it's tremendous!"

In public accommodations he felt that the battle had been practically won. The greatest danger now was that some of the gains might be lost by default. He said few Negroes were patronizing the newly desegregated restaurants, and he feared that some restaurants might drop back to segregation again. He was seriously considering a program under which LeMoyne students would visit desegregated restaurants systematically during the summer. "It might cost $700 or $800," he said.

Dr. Price attributed the civil rights progress in Memphis to the large Negro vote and to an unusual unity in the movement in both its white and its Negro leadership. The white business community was supporting the social change; its cooperation had "helped enormously" in the areas of public accommodations and employment opportunity and in city government and police attitudes. The agencies and individuals propelling the movement worked smoothly together.

There was virtually no dissension among Memphis Negroes, he said. An ably led NAACP was the dominant, and, in fact, the only action organization and the Negro community was united behind it. CORE, SNCC,and SCLC were practically non-existent as local entities. In the Memphis Committee on Community Relations Negro leadership and white leadership joined in an effective partnership; the NAACP often found it effective to work through the MCCR in pursuing its objectives.

Individual clergymen, both white and colored, had worked valiantly in the movement, he said, but the ministerial association as such had been of little help. The National Conference of Christians and Jews in Memphis, which earlier concentrated entirely on religious tolerance, had moved into the field of interracial brotherhood, especially in

connection with religious worship. Negroes are included in its Memphis Round Table and are invited to its annual dinners. It is putting on Sunday afternoon TV programs, with Negro participants, emphasizing brotherhood.

Dr. Price expressed a high opinion of the Memphis Council on Human Relations, of which he is a member. The MCHR is overshadowed by the MCCR as a reform mechanism, but the members of the former are more frankly dedicated, not merely to community harmony, but to the cause of racial justice and brotherhood.

Dr. Price said he had "great respect" for Claude Armour, the Memphis police and fire commissioner, a public figure who looms large in all civil rights discussion.

Schools

Memphis has had token public school integration since the fall of 1961. This year, 287 Negro children are enrolled in the four first grades of 14 predominantly white schools. No notable disorder has attended the mingling of white and colored children in the schools.

A suit seeking desegregation of the Memphis public school system was filed in federal court in March 1960. In a ruling of April 1961 District Judge Marion S. Boyd refused to order the immediate desegregation of the entire system, noting that the school board had expressed a desire to integrate

the schools through compliance with the state pupil assignment law. The case was appealed; but without waiting for further court action the school board proceeded with the first admission of Negro children to predominantly white schools the following October.

The public school "breakthrough" was typical of the insistence upon quiet procedure and the avoidance of sensation which has characterized the advance of Memphis on the whole civil rights front. The operation was carried out with a minimum of preparation or previous notice to the public. During the previous month the cooperation of the city's political and civic leadership and of the press was quietly secured. Brief public statements conveyed the suggestion, but not a formal announcement, that some school desegregation might be in the offing. The news media were definitely informed at a briefing the evening before the event; the president of the school board made it clear that full news coverage was desired afterward, but secured a promise from the press to withhold announcement until the children had entered school. The plan went off without a hitch. Neither reporters nor spectators were allowed in the vicinity of the schools during the first few days, but, on the critical first day, a press headquarters, set up across the street from the school board offices, was relayed information as fast as it came in from school authorities and police.

On March 23, 1962, the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that the state assignment law could not serve as a desegregation plan, and the Supreme Court refused to review this decision. Judge Boyd then ordered the school board to submit a new plan, and the board came forward with one for biracial classes in the first three grades, which the court approved. The school board proceeded to put its plan into effect the following September, enrolling eleven Negroes in the first grade, 21 in the second, and twelve in the third in schools with whites, bringing the total of Negroes in formerly all-white schools to 53. Judge Boyd rejected a NAACP plan for the desegregation of all grades by 1965 and he refused to order faculty desegregation. An appeal by the Negro plaintiffs from this ruling is still pending before the Court of Appeals, but in 1963 the school board extended desegregation further in accordance with its plan.

In the Shelby County public schools, six Negro children were admitted to one previously all-white elementary school in September 1963. A suit had been filed in June seeking desegregation of the county's school system, including the teaching staff. In February 1964, the court approved a county school board plan for the desegregation of all twelve grades in all schools in the fall of this year, with limited transfer privileges. Judge Boyd rejected a proposal of the

NAACP to require a 68-32 racial balance in all the county's schools. The public school enrollment in Shelby consists of 28,084 white and 13,216 Negro pupils.

Memphis State University has 250 Negroes among its 8,215 students, having admitted its first Negro students (eight) in 1959. The city's two Roman Catholic Colleges, Christian Brothers and Siena, are both integrated, each with three Negro students in attendance. The Presbyterian Southwestern College in Memphis has announced that it will be integrated in the fall of 1964. The Memphis Technical School, for both adult and high school students, has one Negro along with whites in day classes and ten in night classes. The area Vocational School, with classes from 4 to 10 P. M., is integrated.

Approximately 8,000 Memphis and Shelby County children are enrolled in Catholic parochial schools, including 612 Negroes, most of them in two all-Negro schools. Four grades were desegregated in September 1963, as part of a four-step plan to extend biracial classes through the ninth grade in 1966.

The limited nature of integration at Memphis State University has been a constant source of complaint by the NAACP, which contends that Negroes are still excluded from some recreational and other extra-curricular activities.

Only in April 1964, were Negro students admitted to full participation in the university's athletic program. Dissatisfaction with the public school situation has also simmered; last September it produced the only Negro demonstrations that Memphis has seen for the part two years.

There is growing impatience with the slow pace of public school integration, which is under litigation. In addition to that a dispute arose over a double-shift schedule at five Negro schools and over other school board policies. Several hundred Negro pickets paraded around the school board office repeatedly over a nine-day period before a truce was reached. The school board,while continuing the double-shift schedule, made a slight revision for greater pupil convenience and agreed to study its policy of hiring Negro teachers, to add distributive education courses to the Negro high school curriculum, and to consider the employment of Negroes in administrative offices.

The Negro demonstrations last September were orderly. There was no violence -- due in the opinion of some, to a large deployment of police. It was reported that the demonstrations had cost the city $9,000 in overtime pay for patrolmen.

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations

The Memphis Committee on Community Relations is a voluntary and unofficial group of civic leaders, with no

office and no paid staff, but its prestige is such that it is almost as effective as an official human relations commission. It has, in fact, accomplished more than some so-called "Mayors' Committees."

Originally the MCCR was not devoted to civil rights; it was even regarded by some of its early members as a means of arresting the Negro advance. It sought to preserve order and interracial harmony in the city, and -- with an increasing recognition of the necessity for change -- that remains its stated purpose.

The evolution of the MCCR is an interesting study. Its forerunner was a "Race Relations Committee," set up, with prompting from several city officials, in 1956. This group was biracial in composition, but it is a commentary on the earlier interracial climate that some of its white members were unwilling to meet with Negroes! It became necessary to divide the Race Relations Committee into two subcommittees, which met separately and then negotiated through chosen delegates. The emissaries from the white and Negro subcommittees met frequently and gradually became the committee itself.

The Race Relations Committee had become sufficiently "moderate" to arouse suspicion in the emotional atmosphere of 1958. When a prominent banker became its chairman, he was threatened with dismissal by his board of directors and,

in the ensuing unpleasantness, the Committee itself dissolved. After only a brief lapse, however, the new and stronger Memphis Committee on Community Relations was formed. The purpose of the MCCR, as stated in its charter and constitution when it was incorporated on January 26, 1959, is "to provide a meeting place for calm discussion and such responsible action as may be agreed upon to preserve order, under law, as interpreted by courts of competent jurisdiction and the peace, happiness and continued progress of the great and growing city of Memphis and all of its people."

When the sit-in movement erupted around the South in early 1960, the executive committee of the MCCR arranged a meeting with the mayor and commissioners of Memphis. The nature of this Committee's activities was forecast better in a formal statement, presented to the city's governing body at that time. This said in part:

> During the past year committees from our membership have been studying various phases of our community relations and have held meetings of our members and the Board of Directors. Concerned about the recent outbreaks and sometimes violent occurrences in other southern cities, and convinced that some prompt, positive steps must be taken to forestall the probability of similar occurrences in Memphis, our Board of Directors met on March 10, 1960. This meeting by resolution instructed the Executive Committee to request this meeting with you, to say to you that as you seek solutions for community problems our organization is ready now and in the future to serve you in any way that it can within the limitation of its charter.

The Committee believes that goodwill and understanding in our community can best be promoted by planned, voluntary and constructive change. It is the feeling of our Committee that steps should be voluntarily taken in Memphis in the direction of desegregation. We believe that this is necessary for the ultimate welfare of our community.

Furthermore, we feel that the Negro segment of our population is inadequately represented in local government and toward the end of rectifying this condition we respectfully request that the City Commission give consideration to the appointment of qualified Negroes to membership on the various boards of agencies which operate under the jurisdiction of the Commission.

We were also instructed to assure you that when such appointments are made our organization will not only give its own full support, but will also use its best efforts to explain to all the citizens of the community the desirability and wisdom of such action.

Lucius Burch, the MCCR's first chairman, and the Rev. Paul Tudor Jones, a Presbyterian minister, Arthur W. McCain, a retired banker, and Edward J. Meeman, the men who have followed Mr. Burch, are four of Memphis's most prominent civic leaders. Former Mayor Orgill has been an active worker, as have Frank R. Ahlgren, editor of the Commercial Appeal, who is chairman of the subcommittee on public accommodations, and other outstanding citizens.

Mr. Meeman, the present chairman, is editor emeritus of the Press Scimitar, and he presides over the committee from his office in the Press Scimitar building. Rabbi James A. Wax, of Temple Israel, is the Committee's dedicated secretary. There are five vice-chairmen: former Mayor Orgill;

Mr. Ahlgren; Carl Carson, a businessman; Dr. Price; and Dr. Vasco Smith, Jr. The last two named are Negroes; Dr. Smith is also vice president of the NAACP.

Membership in the MCCR is open to all; approximately 150 members are now enrolled at a fee of one dollar a year. Meetings of the full membership are held only rarely and meetings of its board of directors are infrequent. An executive committee, meeting once a month, and various subcommittees do most of the Committee's work. There are, or have been, subcommittees on schools, libraries, hotels, restaurants, and employment. Meetings of these are held once a week or oftener while a project is under way, and are more or less suspended afterward. The employment subcommittee is now the most active, and it is permanent for the forseeable future. Approximately one-third of the 28 executive committee members are Negroes, and include both the president and the vice president of the NAACP.

The emphasis of the MCCR has been on quiet work behind the scenes. Many point to this fact as the secret of its success in the delicate matter of race relations. Much planning and negotiation take place without publicity. Substantial progress is often made in the fields of public accommodations and employment before the fact is generally known. This quietness of operation, of course, would not be possible without the cooperation of the news media, but

in Memphis the editors of the daily newspaper are leading exponents of the "quietness principle."

Mr. Meeman said that the Committee serves as an arena of compromise, with everyone speaking frankly. Once a decision is made, the group unites in the effort to put it into effect and the city and county governments usually cooperate.

He said also that firm and fair law enforcement and the absence of disorder had made everything easier. He had high praise for Police and Fire Commissioner Claude Armour.

In 1963 Mr. Meeman received the National Human Relations Award of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. In accepting the honor at a Memphis meeting, he said in part:

> We have come to the next phase in race relations in Memphis.
>
> We have already accomplished more difficult tasks. We have desegregated buses, schools, libraries, and the art gallery, a university, parks and playgrounds, restaurants; what is now our task is less of a break with our traditions.... Our task now is to widen the opportunities for employment of our Negro citizens... Everyone is now agreed that Negroes should have the opportunity to obtain an education as good as that which is available to whites. Having been prepared to hold good jobs by this training, they should not be shut out from the opportunity to get them.
>
> When we upgrade a large portion of our population, the South will raise its standard of living, improve the labor supply, become an area with greater attractions to industry and

distributive commerce, and provide a greater prosperity for all of us who live here and the peace of mind that comes from friendship and cooperation between the races.

THE NAACP

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the spearhead of the Negro push. Though it works through the Committee on Community Relations in the pursuit of many of its objectives, it furnishes a constant and necessary spur to that organization. The Memphis branch, with approximately 7,000 members, boasts the largest membership of any NAACP unit in the South. The figure for 1963 membership was 6,900; the initial success of the drive now under way suggests that the number will exceed 7,000 in 1964.

The Association's well-ordered Memphis office is run by Mrs. Maxine Smith, executive secretary, with several clerical assistants. Mrs. Smith is the wife of Vice President Vasco Smith. It is the busy office of a busy organization.

In addition to steady pressure in the areas of public accommodations and employment, the branch's regular reports describe an endless variety of activities: continuing litigation over public recreational facilities, schools, etc.; complaints to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity; voter registration drives; and intervention in innumerable incidents and situations involving discrimination

against Negroes. Letters of congratulation are regularly sent to individuals and agencies making favorable moves, such as the appointment of Negroes to responsible positions. When congratulations are not in order, communications of a different kind go forth; for example, the NAACP protested to the Social Security Administration the ommission of courtesy titles in dealing with Negroes at its Memphis office, leading to prompt corrective action. Complaints of police mistreatment of Negroes, numerous during the agitation of 1961, are still handled from time to time.

Even as the situation improves, lingering prejudice against Negroes is manifested in public functions and in many small incidents spotted by a vigilant NAACP. In 1962 a receptionist at the out-patient clinic of the John Gaston Hospital erased "Mrs." from the identification card of a Negro patient in her presence, politely explaining that this was necessary to distinguish her from white patients! When the NAACP reported the incident to the hospital chief of staff (whom it finds cooperative) the latter took immediate steps to have the practice stopped.

Officially, city hospitals are now operating on a nondiscriminatory basis, but the NAACP finds much still to be done in this area. It has secured the removal of "WHITE" and "COLORED" signs from hospital toilets, desegregation of cafeterias and nurses' rooms, and the upgrading of some Negro

hospital employees. Yet discrimination remains in ward segregation, nurse training, and higher-level employment. The NAACP reported in January 1964 that "segregation is still deeply entrenched in city hospitals."

The prestige of the NAACP among the public in Memphis, both white and colored, is enhanced by the personality and stature of its president, Jesse H. Turner. Mr. Turner is firm and militant in the Negro cause, and at the same time, courteous and understanding. White persons remark that Mr. Turner, who is president of Beale Street's Tri-State Bank, "knows the businessman's problems -- he's a man we can talk with." Even restaurant operators, many of them resentful of the pressures which they feel forced them to desegregate, find comfort in the attitude of the NAACP president. They say that Mr. Turner could be relied upon to make the change gradual and to see that judicious use was made of the desegregated facilities, protecting them from being overrun by irresponsible persons.

Mr. Turner concedes that Memphis has made unusual civil rights progress in comparison with other Deep South communities. He expresses admiration for various white leaders of the MCCR. But his emphasis is on the shortcomings, on the mass of prejudice and discrimination still to be overcome. He says that much of the desegregation that has taken place has been only token and halfhearted.

The 287 Negro children in school with whites are only a handful out of 54,407 Negroes in Memphis public schools. (NAACP lawyers are pressing in the federal courts for complete desegregation.) Hotel desegregation is limited to rooms and eating facilities, and "not too many Negroes at a time"; Negroes are still excluded from bars, ballrooms, etc. City swimming pools are still closed to prevent desegregation. (This matter is also under litigation in federal courts.) Negro advances were being made on the employment front, but a steady unremitting campaign was necessary in that area. In the situation as a whole there was still a long way to go, but Mr. Turner was prepared to keep on fighting every step of the way.

The Press

The daily newspapers, the morning Commercial Appeal and the afternoon Memphis Press Scimitar, are not unqualified champions of civil rights. Both are opposed to the civil rights bill, although the Press Scimitar favors some kind of federal legislation in this field. (The latter applauded the Supreme Court decision denying jury trial to Mississippi's former governor and lieutenant governor.) On the local scene the two papers -- both in their editorials and in their news coverage -- have followed a policy of constant cooperation and of skillful encouragement in the campaign against race prejudice and discrimination.

Mr. Meeman described the press policy as one of keeping the public fully informed, but discreetly, without sensational reporting and with judicious timing of some announcements. Negotiations to secure the desegregation of places of public accommodation were not embarrassed by premature news of each individual move; likewise the opening of employment in one establishment is not made public while negotiations with a group in the same business are in progress. Instead, articles are published from time to time giving summaries of desegregation, and these are presented in language tending to make the public proud of the progress Memphis is making.

An article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal of May 21, 1963 is an example of this kind of reporting. Headed "Memphis Group Quietly Widens Negro Horizons," it said in part:

> Quietly during the last few months there has been a gradual increase in the number of job opportunities available to Negroes here, as well as a general upgrading in Negro employment.
>
> Without fanfare, Memphis' Committee on Community Relations has been holding conciliatory talks between white and Negro leaders, securing additional employment for Negroes in sales and other areas in large retail and specialty stores; in bread, soft drink, and beer distributing firms, and in similar fields of work.
>
> The new employment positions are in addition to a general increase in the status of Negro workers in areas in which they have long held jobs.
>
> There are now 16 Negro bus drivers employed by the Memphis Transit Authority. The Memphis

Police Department has 28 Negro officers, and interviews will be held tomorrow to select members of a training class expected to furnish 25 more.

The Sheriff's Department has three Negro deputies, and others are being added from time to time. Other agencies of city, county, and state governments are constantly upgrading employment opportunities for Negroes.

These changes in the community social structure have been achieved without incident, a major contrast with other Southern cities such as Birmingham and Nashville.

The following (May 20, 1963) is typical of the helpful reporting in the Press Scimitar.

> Memphis has been outstanding in its peaceful desegregation.
>
> The latest development in the peaceful change in Memphis, improvement in job opportunities, was preceded by gradual desegregation of public facilities, step by step, without discussion or violence.
>
> Downtown theaters have been desegregated this year, quietly and smoothly. Patrons now see Negroes sitting where they wish in theaters and seem to think nothing of it. Negroes sat with whites when the Metropolitan Opera came to the Auditorium recently.
>
> The Memphis branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been strong in desegregation demands, but also reasonable. There have not been many demonstrations, and these were done peacefully. There have been none recently, despite demonstrations in Birmingham and other Southern cities. ....Among the first facilities to be desegregated in Memphis were the two railroad stations. This was done on federal order. It was done smoothly, and there are no longer separate waiting rooms or eating places. This dates back to 1955.

There has been much desegregation since:.... The bus stations.... city passenger bus service.... Some city schools, libraries, the zoo, some public golf courses and other recreational facilities.... Many downtown eating places....

A number of citizens have given and are still giving their time to help Memphis desegregate peacefully.

This has helped make Memphis a model in peaceful desegregation.

Some events call for prompt reporting. Mr. Meeman recalled, for instance, that, when the city buses were desegregated, it was necessary to advise the public at once that the change had been officially made; otherwise the spectacle of Negroes suddenly taking seats where they had not been allowed before could easily have led to serious interracial disorder.

On the other hand, when the theaters were desegregated, the fact was not mentioned in the press until long afterward. The downtown theaters merely agreed privately to cease excluding Negroes; when the next Negroes applied they were to be sold tickets and admitted without discrimination. A few Negro leaders were quietly informed and Negroes began gradually to attend the theaters that had been previously barred to them.

Two Negro newspapers, the Tri-State Defender and the Memphis World, serve the Negro community. Edited respectively by Thaddeus T. Stokes and J. A. Beauchamp, they are staunch

supporters of the NAACP and the civil-rights cause.

Municipal Facilities and Public Accommodations

Federal court rulings impelled most of the earlier desegregation in Memphis, reflecting aggressive work on the part of the NAACP. Railway, airline, and bus terminal facilities, municipal parks, and other city-operated recreational facilities were desegregated in compliance with court orders. Public schools were desegregated in the shadow of federal court litigation in which NAACP lawyers were asking, and are still asking, for more extensive action.

In the matter of municipal facilities the Memphis litigation drew from the Supreme Court on May 27, 1963, a somewhat famous opinion, expressing impatience with the slow response generally to the condemnation of segregation in its 1954 Brown decision. In Watson v. Memphis the high court recalled that "it was almost eight years ago -- in 1955, the year after the decision on the merits in Brown -- that the constitutional proscription of state enforced racial segregation was found to apply to public recreational facilities." (Dawson v. Baltimore)

A suit was filed in May 1960, seeking desegregation of the city's auditorium, museums, art galleries, parks, golf courses, tennis courts, playgrounds, boat docks, and other recreational facilities. Some desegregation in this area

had already taken place at the time and the city authorities indicated an intention to continue the process over a period of years, at the slow pace it considered necessary to prevent public turmoil. More progress had been made by the time the Supreme Court dealt with the case in 1963.

The high court noted in its ruling:

> ....Memphis owns 131 parks, all of which are operated by the Memphis Park Commission. Of these, only 25 were at the time of trial open to use without regard to race; 58 were restricted to use by whites and 25 to use by Negroes; the remaining 23 parks were undeveloped raw land. Subject to exceptions, neighborhood parks were generally segregated according to the racial character of the area in which located. The City Park Commission also operated a number of additional recreational facilities, by far the largest share of which were found to be racially segregated. Though a zoo, an art gallery and certain boating and other facilities are now desegregated, about two-thirds (40) of the 61 city-owned playgrounds were at the time of the trial reserved for whites only, and the remainder were set aside for Negro use. Thirty of the 56 playgrounds and other facilities operated by the municipal Park Commission on property owned by churches, private groups, or the school board were set aside for the exclusive use of whites, while 26 were reserved for Negroes. All 12 of the municipal community centers were segregated, 8 being available only to whites and 4 to Negroes. Only 2 of the 7 city golf courses were open to Negroes; play on the remaining 5 was limited to whites....

The case was remanded to the District Court for appropriate action, and all of the public facilities mentioned above have now been desegregated. There was no turmoil or disorder. Only municipal swimming pools were closed; the constitutionality of that action is being challenged in federal court.

Incidentally, the Supreme Court uttered a reproof heard widely across the South: "Brown never contemplated that the concept of 'deliberate speed' would countenance indefinite delay in elimination of racial barriers in schools, let alone other public facilities not involving the same physical problems or comparable conditions."

Restaurants at railway, bus, and airline terminals were also desegregated under federal court orders, but for the most part privately operated facilities in Memphis -- theaters, hotels, restaurants, etc. -- were desegregated as a result of Negro pressure and the work of the MCCR and other liberal groups. After 18 months of sit-ins, etc., and the negotiations of November 1961, racial barriers were dropped at 28 lunch counters in various branches of ten department stores in February 1962. Prodding continued, and the targets broadened to include hotels, restaurants, and theaters. 1963 saw a wave of desegregation of such places.

The theater problem was approached in a spirit of general good will on the part of theater operators, but with great wariness of white protest and possible disorder. The NAACP addressed letters to the theaters in September 1962, asking them to cease barring Negroes. The theaters referred the matter to the MCCR and indicated a willingness to negotiate. All of this was handled discreetly, and a satisfactory agreement was reached.

Desegregation began in January, four theaters at first and then others, on an unpublicized "controlled" basis. The NAACP undertook to control the attendance of Negroes; it was asked to send a designated number to a designated theater at a designated time. No unpleasantness occurred; little attention was paid to the Negroes in the theaters, and the operation expanded. By February 25, Negroes were completely at home in ten downtown theaters which they had previously been forbidden to enter. The principal downtown hotels and motels removed racial barriers (though some of their facilities are still closed to Negroes) in concert, following an agreement negotiated under the auspices of the MCCR.

Restaurants began to desegregate slowly, only a handful at first. A long struggle and much controversy developed in this area, not only between the restaurants and the NAACP, but among the restaurant operators themselves. Each of these feared that upon opening his doors to Negro customers he would suffer from competition with the establishments which continued to serve whites exclusively. The dissension within the Memphis Restaurant Association reached such a point that by the end of 1963 the Association decided to have nothing more to do with the matter. But by then the battle for desegregation had been practically won. Forty

previously all-white establishments had opened their doors to Negroes. Five more restaurants took the step during the next two months and 30 moved simultaneously on February 27, 1964 bringing the total of desegregated restaurants to 75. By April the number had reached 100.

Few restaurant operators made the change cheerfully. In spite of an unmistakable trend toward a more liberal attitude toward civil rights in Memphis, many businessmen are supporting the trend because they consider it better than racial turmoil and because they do not want to resist a very respectable civic movement. Most restaurant operators are serving Negroes merely as a "lesser evil" than harassment from civil rights agitators and out of a sense of solidarity with their associates.

A prime example of this is Harlon Fields, proprietor of The Flame and The Pancake Man and president of the Memphis Restaurant Association. Mr. Fields expressed strong disapproval of restaurant integration in principle; he said "every one" of the Association's members was against it. Yet he had worked energetically to bring about united action in opening Memphis restaurants to Negroes. The Association had made a survey last year of a representative group of restaurants, and the study had led to a realistic conclusion that the loss of trade caused by Negro demonstrators was greater than the loss which could be expected to result

from removing racial barriers. It was a matter of dollars and cents.

The restaurants have also been under pressure from the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and, of course, from the influential Memphis Committee on Community Relations. As Mr. Fields saw it, "it was the people who had nothing to lose" who were pressing for restaurant desegregation.

The restaurants have lost money -- "all of them," he said -- both by exposure to demonstrations and by integration, and he added: "It is hurting business now." The damage was only slight in many cases -- a white customer walking out in a huff now and then; in other cases, he said, white trade had fallen off considerably and the loss had not been offset by Negro trade. According to Mr. Fields, "a well-dressed Negro alone" or mixed white and Negro parties did not matter, but the sight of a party of a dozen Negroes was sure to alienate white customers.

However, Mr. Fields found the influence of Jesse H. Turner, the NAACP president, effective and Mr. Turner cooperative. He said you could depend on Mr. Turner to "regulate the thing," if he was informed in advance.

Mr. Fields' main concern was the effort to secure united action by the Memphis restaurants. All, he felt, should be "in the same boat." It was unfair for a few restaurants to

profit at the expense of others by clinging to the white-only policy. The "hold-outs" in restaurant desegregation seemed to arouse his wrath as much as the civil rights movement.

He was also disturbed over the action of the Memphis Citizens' Council in circulating lists of still segregated restaurants. He had heard that it was preparing to distribute lists of the desegregated places also. He only hoped they hadn't enough money to give these lists wide circulation!

In other quarters there was little mention of the Citizens' Council restaurant guides; they did not appear to have had much impact. Restaurant integration seemed to be going much more smoothly than Mr. Fields indicated and was being increasingly accepted by the Memphis public.

Employment

Comprehensive data registering progress in the field of equal employment opportunity in Memphis are not available, but the progress has been large. Many business and industrial establishments have hired their first Negroes, or placed their first Negroes in superior positions, during the past several years. Most of this has happened during the past twelve months, and the opening of new employment opportunities for Negroes is still going on with increasing momentum.

This phase of desegregation businessmen like. Many employers, who were nervous and apprehensive of white

reaction at first, nevertheless welcomed the systematic effort to open jobs to Negroes in their industries. Those who have employed or upgraded Negroes are almost invariably pleased with the result.

Under the headline, "MEMPHIS PROVIDES MORE AND BETTER JOBS FOR NEGROES," the Memphis Press Scimitar reported on May 20, 1963:

> Increased employment opportunities are being given Memphis Negroes through action taken by many employers throughout the city.
>
> This includes upgrading of Negroes already employed and making jobs available that generally were not given Negroes in the past.
>
> The employment committee of the Memphis Committee on Community Relations has been working on this problem for more than a year, and the rate of increased employment has been stepped up recently.
>
> Most downtown stores have given better jobs to Negroes, including jobs as sales personnel. Some 25 to 30 stores are already participating, doing more than 60 per cent of retail business, a spokesman for the committee said.
>
> A number of other businesses, including soft drink bottlers, bakeries, supermarket groups and others are participating. The spokesman said more than 100 firms are participating, and already several hundred Negroes have received new jobs or been promoted in jobs previously not available to Negroes.
>
> The spokesman said that almost all firms are employing on a basis of character, aptitude and ability regardless of race. He said a check with participating firms reveals that they plan to add more Negro employees, and that they

are well pleased with Negro employees so far. He said the companies have had few complaints about Negro employees.

It was a surprise to the employment committee to find out that a number of firms had already started upgrading Negroes, before they were asked to do so by the committee. Some already had Negroes in supervisory capacities.

The upgrading is expected to continue gradually, and expand until Negroes are giving their fair share of jobs for which they are qualified.

An example of employment of Negroes is at the city-owned bus service, which put on one Negro bus driver two years ago, and now has 16, all doing satisfactory work.

There are now approximately 25 Negro bus drivers. In industrial plants, International Harvester, Otis Elevator, Southern Bell Telephone and other corporations have opened new positions to Negroes. Banks have employed a Negro here and there in a clerical capacity; the Memphis branch of the St. Louis Federal Reserve Bank has two Negro clerks. American Airlines now has a Negro young lady at its ticket counter. A recent Retail Merchants Association survey showed these stores with Negro sales clerks: Graysons (1); Three Sisters (1); Perel and Lowenstein (4); Goldsmith's (9); Sam Shainberg Co. stores (9); and Pantage Drug Stores (14). These are in addition to Katz, Woolworth, and other variety stores. (A NAACP survey at the beginning of 1963 had found that Negro employment in such stores was almost completely confined to janitorial and related jobs.)

The Rev. J. A. McDaniel, who combines the duties of pastor of Bethel Presbyterian Church with those of executive director of the Memphis Urban League, is one of the Negroes who is frankly elated over the progress being made. The change in the employment picture is particularly impressive when viewed from an office which had struggled for so long for small Negro gains. Mr. McDaniel finds that "things are moving now."

"I lost my secretary yesterday to the American Airlines," he remarked. "Of course I was glad. She will earn twice as much there, and it is a breakthrough for American Airlines."

The Urban League has a spacious office in a former residence on Beale Street, where Mr. McDaniel is assisted by Mack Arnold, assistant director, and Mrs. S. A. Owens, Jr., secretary. Mr. McDaniel is enthusiastic about the NAACP - MCCR - Urban League team work. He had high praise for the white leaders in the movement, who are heavily represented on the Urban League Board. "Seven or eight members of our board are members of the MCCR, including Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR employment subcommittee," he said.

Incidentally, Mr. McDaniel praised the Memphis police: "They don't use dogs or firehose here." Referring to Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner, he

said: "Claude has gained the respect of both races; he relies on the Negro vote, and he gets it." However, he added: "White and Negro leaders have worked together, so we haven't needed police too much."

Carl Carson, chairman of the MCCR's employment subcommittee, is at the center of the busiest and most fruitful phase of the movement for equal opportunity in Memphis now. He is the head of several Carson companies in the automobile rental field, and he begins with heavy employment of Negroes at all levels in his own enterprises. "Every one of them," he said, "is doing a bang-up job. You see that fellow at the counter? I can go away and leave him in charge." He said he had had some fear at first of losing white customers, that "some customer might walk out rather than do business with a Negro clerk." But he had lost very little business on account of his Negro employees at any time, loses none now.

Mr. Carson uses the hard-headed business approach in his persuasion of other employers. He emphasizes the advantages of interracial harmony in the community and the efficiency of Negro personnel. But his own motivation is on the basis of conscience and morality. A deeply religious person, he loves his fellow man and he joys in the crusade to break down the racial barriers which prevent Negroes from working in the capacities for which they are qualified.

The colored Carson employee who drove me back from his office to my hotel obviously idolized his boss. I remarked that Mr. Carson was a "fine man." "Whoo-e-e-e!" he exclaimed, as if he had no words to fit his own sentiment. "You think so too?"

Mr. Carson likened Memphis acceptance of racial integration to customer acceptance of mechanical improvements in earlier years of the automobile. He remembered when many customers refused to pay the extra charge for cars with self-starters; they thought "any able-bodied man ought to be willing to crank his own machine!" People are afraid of change, but they often liked it when they got used to it. He said employers who hired Negroes were almost invariably glad afterward that they had done so.

Mr. Carson said his committee occasionally meets with unpleasantness on the part of one or two "hold-outs" in a particular line of business after general agreement has been reached. These were sometimes angry at "all the pressure." Then a few weeks later one of them would call him up and ask if he could come and talk about hiring some Negroes!

The employment subcommittee approaches its problem systematically, with constant adherence to the principle of united action. Individual establishments are not approached at random but through negotiation, industry by

industry. Mr. Carson's committee concentrated first, for example, on the soft drink bottling industry, and a conference was held with representatives of all of the bottling firms. Similarly the milk dealers, bread suppliers, chain stores, etc., were tackled, each group in turn. Mr. Carson found that this plan works wonders. The employer is much readier to hire Negroes when he knows that the policy is being adopted at the same time by all his associates in the same line of business.

The Police

In a summing-up of civil rights progress in Memphis, the Press Scimitar aptly displayed as photos of the three key figures those of Arthur W. McCain, then president of the MCCR, Jess H. Turner, president of the NAACP, and Claude A. Armour, the police and fire commissioner. Commissioner Armour and law enforcement, which he directs and symbolizes, have had an extraordinary part in Memphis's adjustment to the new order in race relations.

In some cities the police have won notoriety by the mischief which their brutality and ineptitude have caused. In Memphis the police and their commissioner have achieved distinction of a different kind. In few cities have the police been so largely and so favorably identified with the civil rights advance. Public order has been maintained in Memphis -- tranquility in which negotiations could quietly

proceed and insurance against disorder which enabled desegregation steps to be confidently taken. With small exceptions, police brutality, which is incompatible with any durable public order, has been absent, but the police "mean business," and the public knows it.

Nearly everybody likes this. Segregationists say approvingly that Armour has kept the Negroes from getting out of hand. Negroes feel that he has protected them from racist fanatics. There are no bombings or cross-burnings in Memphis. Negro demonstrators are kept within bounds, but they are not harassed by white hoodlums.

Mr. Armour is a "tough guy." Again and again at signs of unusual agitation or of impending disturbance the police commissioner has sounded the stern warning:

"No law-breaking or violence will be tolerated. Anyone who attempts it, white or colored, will be arrested."

Memphis has learned that Mr. Armour means what he says, and would-be trouble-makers abstain. Incidentally, the commissioner takes no chances. He deploys police in numbers that some consider excessive. One hundred and sixty patrolmen were assigned as a precaution against interference with public school desegregation in 1961.

Some Negroes were handled roughly during the sit-ins of that year. Mr. Meeman recalled that the Negroes were not so fond of Armour then. There have been cases subsequently in which the treatment of Negroes by individual policemen

has aroused complaint. Editor Stokes cites instance after instance of "police brutality" from the files of the Tri-State Defender. But Mr. Stokes thought Commissioner Armour was "doing a good job" on the whole and that Memphis Negroes were fortunate in having him for police commissioner. NAACP President Turner -- in the midst of some argument with the commissioner -- was "not sure Negroes will support him again," but he believed that police behavior had been better in Memphis than elsewhere in the Deep South. Negroes generally express "respect" for the police commissioner and find no cause for complaint.

Paradoxically, this man, to whom the civil rights movement appears to owe so much in Memphis, may not be in sympathy with it. Some who know him say that he is privately opposed to racial integration (though the police force is integrated). His conversation throws no light on this point. He sums up his philosophy in the simple statement:

"I am a policeman."

And that is all that is necessary. For is it not the policeman, in the highest sense of the word, who makes all progress possible?

"I don't necessarily believe in this stuff," he told this writer. "But that doesn't make any difference. I'm a policeman." And a policeman he is, every inch of him. He has never been anything else. He entered the force as a patrolman in 1941, rose through various ranks to be chief of

police in 1949, at the age of 29. He was elected police and fire commissioner in 1950 and has been regularly re-elected since. Now he is also vice-mayor.

The sit-ins of 1960-1961 raised some new police and legal problems. Incidentally, those demonstrations were larger and more disruptive than many realized -- owing to the policy of the Memphis press of minimizing the publicity. Some say that Memphis had more sit-ins than any other southern city. Police action was harsh. Hundreds of Negroes were arrested, though nearly all of their cases were ultimately dismissed. In 318 cases in city court, 163 defendents were convicted and 155 of the cases were dismissed; 119 more of these cases were dismissed on appeal to the circuit court. Of 123 cases with state charges, 93 were dismissed.

Many Negroes, despite their kindly feelings toward Commissioner Armour now, look back upon his performance during the sit-in agitation with resentment. Some observers say that the commissioner's attitude toward Negroes has changed since. The attitude of many white leaders has changed during the past three catalytic years. Mr. Armour said that sit-in demonstrators were arrested only on warrant from the proprietors of affected business establishments. He was not quite clear on the legal points involved.

He expressed relief that "the police don't have this problem any more, because nearly all of the places are integrated."

The largest single mobilization of police was directed against possible white trouble-makers -- at the time of the initial public school desegregation in October 1961. Mr. Armour recalled that in a preparatory lecture to the 160-man detachment he directed them to arrest anyone who "gets out of line -- I don't care who it is." Speaking to men most of whom were themselves probably opposed to school integration, he added sternly: "Anyone who can't carry out this assignment, can hand in his badge." Public school desegregation was carried out with exemplary order and tranquility.

Incidentally, Mr. Armour remarked that three United States marshals appeared in his office the day before the event. He told them they would not be needed, and added: "If ever I ask for federal marshals, don't send me three, send me 300!"

The commissioner objected to "so much talk about race. To us," he said, "people are just violators or law-abiding citizens." Conversation with the assistant chief of police in charge of personnel and with several other officials confirmed the impression that the Memphis police department is permeated with the spirit of rigorous but even-handed law

enforcement. There is no instruction in race problems as such, only in the various types of disorder and the policeman's duty in the circumstances, whoever the offenders may be.

Referring to the MCCR, Mr. Armour said he cooperated constantly with it; he had helped to set up its forerunner, the Race Relations Committee. But he was careful to point out that his encouragement of negotiation was not because of any personal feeling about the race issue. It was because negotiation lessened the police problem.

The Memphis department has ten police dogs, none of which has ever been used in a civil rights disturbance. Mr. Armour did not say that none ever would be used in such situations, but that they would be used only as a "last resort." He told of a case when dogs were used to beat off Negroes who were trying to prevent police from arresting one of their number in a drunken brawl. (But most Negroes seem unaware the police dogs are ever used.) There have been Negro policemen in Memphis for the past 16 years; there are now 42 on the 900-man force.

The Press Scimitar in reviewing civil rights progress in Memphis said: "The conferences of citizens and officials were indispensable and invaluable to keep peace and order in a time of inevitable change, but these conferences could not have been enough. We had to have a police commissioner who would not play the demagogue but would enforce

the law without fear or favor. We had it...."

Approximately 1,000 persons attended a "Claude A. Armour Recognition Dinner" on April 30, 1964. The organizations working for race relations progress were heavily represented on the sponsoring committee which aimed at an attendance of 1,000. Former Tennessee Governor Buford Ellington was among the speakers for the occasion, who included also the president and the secretary of the MCCR and Negro leader A. Maceo Walker.

Memphis has not gotten around to the housing problem, though housing is becoming more segregated every day. Dr. Price remarked: "We haven't touched the housing problem. Nothing whatever is being done about that." White and Negro firemen serve in separate companies. Bowling lanes are segregated. There are imperfections in all phases of desegregation. The civil rights advance is still far short of the open society. But Memphis nonetheless has begun to shine as a beacon of reason and decency for the Deep South.

The cotton capital of song and story, the great port of "Ole Man River," is moving into the new era in race relations irrevocably and with a speed which almost startles anyone returning to the city after a lapse of years. The change in three years has been striking, that in 20 years almost unbelievable. Among the letters to the editor of the Commercial Appeal of April 12, 1964, was one from an Ohio lady which said in part:

My last trip to Memphis was in 1945, when I flew in as a hostess with Eastern Airlines. I cannot believe that the same people who lived there then, live there now....

I travel with my husband and as a stranger in town you can become aware of the underlying 'tone' of the town....

Although the Negro population surrounding the activities of the hotel bespeak a passing generation, the young generation of Negroes display the eager excitement of their new life.

Congratulations! Your city is beautiful, your buildings are exciting and your high moral conduct is apparent.

At Goldsmith's I tried on a hat. Sitting next to me was a beautiful Negro lady, trying on hats also. I laughed at my image in a strange piece of headgear that I had tried on. Simultaneously she placed a hat of strange proportions on her head and she laughed at her image in the mirror. We looked at each other and understood the reason for the laughter and we laughed together....

- END -

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Nov 1, 1961

Report on Washington meetings concerning
Economic Development, Fayette County, Tenn.

Several meetings attended by an economic development committee from Fayette County, Tennessee, officials of the Area Redevelopment Administration and U.S. Department of Agriculture agencies, and concerned private organizations, took place in Washington on October 30th and 31st. The purpose of the meetings was to discuss problems encountered in implementing an Area Redevelopment program for Fayette County, explore additional sources of economic and technical aid, and to discuss next steps.

Fayette County was designated eligible for aid under section 5(b) of the Area Redevelopment Act, because its median family income is less than 25 per cent of the national average ($1156). Its population is 28,000, of whom 21,000 are Negroes. It is an area of low-income row-crop (cotton) farming, 70 per cent under sharecrop and tenant arrangements. Seventy per cent of its 3,451 farms are operated by Negroes. Since the winter of 1960, when 700 sharecropper and tenant farmer families were evicted for registering to vote, national attention has been focused on the area. This summer, despite previous opposition from state and local welfare officials, 4,000 persons have been receiving federal surplus food.

The first meeting was held in the office of Harold Williams, Administrator for Area of the Area Redevelopment Administration. Present were Mr. Williams, Daniel Goldy, Deputy Administrator of the ARA, Mr. McBryde, ARA Field Coordinator for Virginia and Tennessee, Messrs. Yancey, Redfearn, Jamerson and Paradise of Fayette County, Tennessee, Dr. Lewis Jones of Fisk University, and Fay Bennett and Michael Munk of the National Sharecroppers Fund.

The meeting was a follow-up of a discussion between Mr. Williams and Mr. Munk in August on methods for implementing the ARA program in Fayette County. Noting the problems that Fayette County represents as an area of low-income sharecroppers and tenant farmers, Mr. Williams suggested that as representative a committee as could possibly be formed meet and discuss specific economic projects for which ARA aid might be available.

The committee from Fayette County is bi-racial, and consists of a college instructo a former businessman, and two farmers. (The committee has since been expanded to 15 members, including several businessmen and ministers.) They proposed a co-operative vegetable cannery to be built in Fayette County to provide small farmers with a market for their crops -- now mainly cotton -- as well as employment for cannery workers.

Mr. Williams noted that the financing requirements of the ARA act include: at least 35% of the total construction cost must be obtained from non-ARA sources, of which 15% must be private capital raised locally. Other sources of aid were liste as: loans from the Rural Electrification Administration for electrical installations and electric-powered machinery, Small Business Administration loans for working capital, and state industrial development loan programs. Capital could be funneled through a local economic development committee, possibly composed of members of the official Area Redevelopment Committee.

In view of the nature of the proposed project for Fayette County, the ARA official suggested that the REA is in the best position to provide technical assistance to the Fayette Committee for drawing up a detailed proposal for a development project and also for providing assistance to the group in preparing the OEDP (Overall Economic Development Plan) required of all areas before actual financial aid is to be granted. They hoped that the committee could be expanded and made more representative before official approval of the Tennessee Industrial Development

Commission is requested for the OEDP and committee composition. The prospects for formal recognition would be greatly enhanced, according to the ARA people, if the Fayette committee would submit its project request and OEDP at the same time.

The following day, a meeting was held in the office of John A. Baker, Chairman of the USDA's Rural Development Board. In his absence, Dr. Turley Mace, Director of the Office of Rural Development, presided. Those present are listed on the attached sheet.

The Fayette County committee presented its proposal and discussed the problems encountered in establishing a local ARA committee. Mr. Yancey described his meetings with the County Judge, nominal head of the ARA Committee, and representatives of the REA and Extension services. It was the opinion of the Fayette County committee that not only were the existing business and government leaders in the area non-responsive to the formation of a local committee, but that they were in fact opposed to any local development program that would change the status quo.

Dr. Mace said that he was asking the REA to assume responsibility for extending technical assistance to Fayette County, both in drawing up the necessary economic statistics required for the OEDP, and the development of a sound initial project, such as the vegetable cannery.

The desirability of bringing local business and government leaders into the committee was discussed as well as the desirability of working with and through existing representatives of the USDA in the area.

Several persons from private agencies stated that in such areas as Fayette County, due to the political and social conditions existing there, a contradiction exists between the implementation of development programs for raising the living conditions of the low-income farmers there, and the requirement of working through an existing power structure that has a vested interest in these conditions and is largely responsible for them. It was pointed out that the County Judge, for example, is now under indictment for fraud in the recent elections which were contested by Negroes. The Department of Justice won an injunction to prevent continuing evictions of tenant farmers as reprisals for registering to vote. They stressed that in the South such conditions are usually the rule and that if federal programs are going to succeed the government must work through "can-do" committees willing to work for development. Dr. Mace agreed that if local officials will not cooperate on such programs, the USDA must seek a wider popular participation.

A final meeting between Mr. James Sullivan and Mr. Richard Housler of the Rural Electrification Administration and the Fayette County committee resulted in the understanding that after a request for technical assistance is made, the REA will send a representative to the area to survey conditions and advise on a specific project for submission to the ARA. Several other possible projects were suggested at this meeting, including a low-cost housing materials plant to take advantage of the provision in the new federal housing bill for farm workers' housing, and a children's clothing factory.

Meeting in J. A. Baker's Office, USDA, on October 31, 1961

E. W. Aiton
Federal Extension Service
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

P. G. Beck
Office of Rural Areas Development
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

Howard Bertsch
Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

Mrs. Wilma Connell
Office of the Secretary
U. S. Department of Agriculture

C. B. Gilliland
Office of Rural Areas Development
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

J. V. Highfill
Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

John Lovorn
Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

A. T. Mace, Director
Office of Rural Areas Development

James F. Sullivan
Rural Electrification Administration
U. S. Dept. of Agriculture

- - - - -

Daniel S. Bedell
United Auto Workers
Washington, D.C.

Russell R. Benedict
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
Washington Bureau

Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

Clay L. Cochran
Industrial Union Dept.
AFL-CIO

Walter Davis
Civil Rights Dept.
AFL-CIO

John W. Edelman
Textile Workers Union of America
AFL-CIO

Miss Jean Fairfax
American Friends Service Committee
160 N. 15 Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Elizabeth Herring
National Council on Agricultural Life
and Labor
1751 N Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Harpman Jamerson
P.O.Box 75
Williston, Tenn.

Lewis W. Jones
Race Relations Dept.
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Ira Kaye, Attorney
South Carolina Council of Human Relations
P.O.Box 768
Sumter, S.C.

Stewart McBryde
Area Redevelopment Administration
U. S. Dept. of Commerce

Michael Munk
National Sharecroppers Fund
112 East 19 Street
New York 3, N.Y.

T. P. Paradise, Somerville, Tenn.

L. T. Redfearn, Somerville, Tenn.

Don Slaiman, Civil Rights Dept., AFL-CIO

Rev. J. L. Vizzard, National Catholic
Rural Life Conference, Washington, D.C.

Allen Yancey, Jr.
Route 3, Box 61
Somerville, Tenn.

MSS CORE - SOUTHERN REGIONAL

Research Office

Reports - Judi Nussbaum

1964, October - 1965, June

From: Ed Hollander October 28, 1964
To: Haley, Dennis, Moore, Jewett, Rich
Re: Initial outline of public relations for southern regional office

Daily news On real "news" that is an event which must be reported the same day or never to radio, TV and newspapers, it would be best to have this done by a state public relations director or even from the local project itself, rather than to rely on the SRO to do this. On calls to media outside of the state in which the event occurred the SRO could make calls when advisable and of course could call the New Orleans media WHEN merited. In a state with a project of any size it seems to me that there should be a state pr director; there are many jobs for such a person. They would include handling the day to day news, dealing with reporters who visit the state, survey his whole state to keep up on coming news events and feature material and to work with the SRO to bring reporters in for them, to watch the same kind of material for pamphlet and other pr material.

Weekly news and feature material A function of the SRO should be to send out press releases nation-wide, which means chiefly to the Negro press most of which are weeklies, and to send material to the national office. It is too early to determine how often releases should go out but I would prefer to do it as close to the event as possible and not, as the national office does, on a set day of the week. The SRO and the state driectors should write and prepare, to whatever extent it is possible, feature material such as a photo-text story for Ebony, etc. or an article for the Progressive, etc.

Display materials The SRO should have a collection of display materials and circulate them for use in fund raising, chapter use of all sorts, exhibits and booths, educational purposes such as in the lobby of a benefit or a bank (northern chapters have been offered space by white, downtown banks) or a streetcorner, or in connection

with a speaking engagement, the campus coordinator's tours, etc, etc. mainly these materials would probably be photographs, but could include slides, tape recordings, paintings by freedom school students, KKK crosses, relics from a burned church, etc. There are numerous uses ~~for~~ for these kinds of material Dave Dennis has suggested an art show of freedom school paintings, I have suggested selling Neshoba County cotton still in the pod as a fund raising and publicity device; in the same vein we might be able sell small pieces of charred boards from a burned church. On tape recordings, the chapters could take the tapes to their local radio stations to get us on the air and vice-versa, they could use the tapes as a means to get themselves on the air: ask for a half hour of air time and use 15 min for the southern tape and 15 min for their local activities, the idea being the southern tape would be an inventice for the station.

<u>Relating staff and projects to outside groups</u> A job of the SRO should be to, on a somewhat regular basis, send materials to workers' hometown news media, and sympathetic groups in their hometowns, colleges, etc. We should do the same thing for a worker to the group that is supporting him. A couple of photos of him or her on his project and a letter from the state director on how good a job he is doing could continue the interest and money of the supporting group. The same kind of material could be used to have a group who didn't want to or didn't have anybody to send down adopt a project: a church group in Des Moines might take a special interest in the project in Harmony (especially if we had materials to arouse and continue their concern), a woman's club in Seattle might want to assist a freedom school in Monroe, a college group in Buffalo might take a special interest in the registration drive in Quincy. Without too much trouble the appearances many of us make to groups outside the south could be changed from one-shot

fund raising affairs to continuing sources of support. It would also seem to me that this kind of program and materials could be of use (as separate from the fact that we would want their help in spreading these programs) to northern staff, such as an ice-breaker when going into a new community, a project for a floundering chapter, and other uses which they would know better.

Newsletter I think it is important for the SRO to put out a newsletter, probably every two weeks or monthly, but every two weeks would be much better. But beyond that, I haven't any further specific plans.

Pamphlets When it is really established, the SRO should be much better able to produce pamphlets about this region than the national office and I think pamphletry should be one of its jobs. I would like to see more variety and frequency but smaller printings than done by the national office.

Print shop A printing press is included here as a function rather than just a means to accomplish pamphlets and newsletters because it could ~~xxxxxx~~ serve the function of doing all, or nearly all, of the region's printing, such as letterheads, leaflets, voter registration forms, etc. It can be argued that this is just a way of spending money because groups and projects that did without or mimeographed will now have stuff printed just because there is a press. I disagree with this because a group with a letterhead is better off than it was without one; a group with a reasonably attractive boycott leaflet or rally leaflet is better off than it was with a makedo mimeographed one.

Comment This is a beginning outline and is subject to as much revision as necessary. While expertise in the movement is growing, at this point all of us are really workers with experience

in different lines. Therefore I expect to get suggestions and criticism from all sides.

This outline does not deal with the trivial questions of money, material and personnel. It also does not go into the question of how to provide pr service to the chapters in the southern region, and other such problems.

November 11, 1964

Subject: Federal monies to states for public libraries

A recent news release from the Dept of Health, Education, & Welfare states that Federal grants of monies are being distributed on a matching basis to these states :

Arkansas	$ 627,128
Florida	1,419,443
Louisiana	995,277
Mississippi	725,218
North Carolina	1,320,468
Oklahoma	762,801
South Carolina	776,396
Texas	2,577,924

We do not know which libraries within a state will receive the monies, but you should make a dossier of several affidavits proving discriminatory practices in a state's library system and send one copy to Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education, U.S. Dept of Health, Education, & Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20202, and one copy to the Honorable James Roosevelt, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. (ask Roosevelt to see that some action is taken by Keppel). Use the dossier to ask that the grant of funds to your state under the Library Services and Construction Act be suspended unless and until the libraries within the state are desegregated.

If you take prompt action on this, we can expect some good results.

CORE
SRO/RESEARCH

Is the state library segregated?
How many libraries are state operated? Locally operated?
Would enough segregated libraries on a parish basis prove decisive in a state system?

TO: Southern Staff
FROM: Judi Pusbalum

SUBJECT: Research Program
DATE: December 3, 1964

The first month of the research program was spent primarily in accumulating and evaluating information and material on federal programs, facts about Louisiana, etc. Since then I have begun to present material to the field staff. We now have a growing reference library, with at least some material on every major government program, and statistical information (including census reports) on Louisiana, each individual parish, and some on most other southern states. There is a complete publication indes - a card file on all publications in this office including the smallest pamphlets. This file is indexed by topic, and is cross filed. We have several good lists of contacts for all types of information, a large file of lists of local officials in Louisiana Parishes - usually in rural agencies. A file is kept on each parish in Louisiana, and each of twelve southern states. News releases from the U.S. Depts. of Agriculture, Commerce, Interior, and Health, Education and Welfare are selected for importance, filed by date and department, and listed on a special index.

A major problem has been selecting the material to send to the field, from the many items that have been accumulated. I don't want to send you a lot of irrelivent material and pass on to you the job of sorting and selecting, which should be done by this office. However, I find that I am limited by my lack of field experience, and so far have had to use guess-work in selecting the information to be distributed. I have been encouraging the field staff to communicate with me - to criticise, comment, request, etc. and hope to hear from you.

The following list includes all items sent directly to the staff in the field by the research office:

I. The following items were initiated by the research program and distributed to all Louisiana Staff -

a. Louisiana Data - 17 Parishes - a 31-page handbook of statistical and other information about 17 parishes of Louisiana (at the time the Handbook was prepared, CORE was working in only 17 parishes); includes names and addresses of local rural officials; population, education, agricultural and other statistics, and a large section on federal programs which includes several pages on ASCS
b. Information Letters No. 1, 2, and 3 - supplements to handbook; now contains information on 25 parishes; as relevent information comes in, I put it in the information letters rather than sending out too-frequent notices. These letters will be sent whenever a sufficient amount of material is collected, or when there is a time limit on a certain item. They include such information as voter registration statistics, ASCS information, Rural Area Development Programs, etc.

II. The following special notices have been sent to staff members from the research office:-

a. Notive on federal disaster relief to Louisiana parishes after hurricane (information received from U.S. Dept. of Agriculture press release; 500 copies distributed to workers in 15 involved parishes)
b. Notice on federal grants to libraries (information received from U.S. Dept. of HEW press release; sent to staff in several southern states)

(over)

c. Notice on special conservation aid to 10 counties in North Carolina (information received from U.S. Dept. of Agriculture press release; sent to Rev. Cox in N.C.)
d. Notice on applications being accepted in Public Housing Project in Ponchatoula, La. (information received from news article; sent to Ronnie Moore)

III. The following reports were prepared on request
a. Facts About Plaquemines - statistical information; supplement to handbook for parish not included in original 17 (requested by Ronnie Moore)
b. Facts About Caddo - statistical information; supplement to handbook for parish not included in original 17 (requested by Oretha Castle)
c. Facts About Bossier and DeSoto - statistical information; supplement to handbook for parishes not included in original 17 (requested by Oretha Castle, copy requested by Claudia Edwards)
d. Non-White Population - Statistics for Louisiana - information (voting potential and registration, population, etc.) for parishes having more than 25% non-white population (requested by Stu House, COFO)

All the above requests were made by people who were visiting the New Orleans Office - no written requests have come from the field.

The most immediate project of the Research Program is preparing a packet of material on federal programs for distribution to all southern staff. I have selected the best publications on the major programs, and have ordered multiple copies for inclusion in the packet. When multiple copies are not available, I am copying the material on stencils. A problem in this project is getting enough money for folders to put the material in. This packet will provide a good reference source on federal programs for field staff, and will also direct you to further information. More detailed information will also be available from this office. The packet will give you enough information to determine what programs you want to look further into so that your requests for information from me or the agencies involved can be specific.

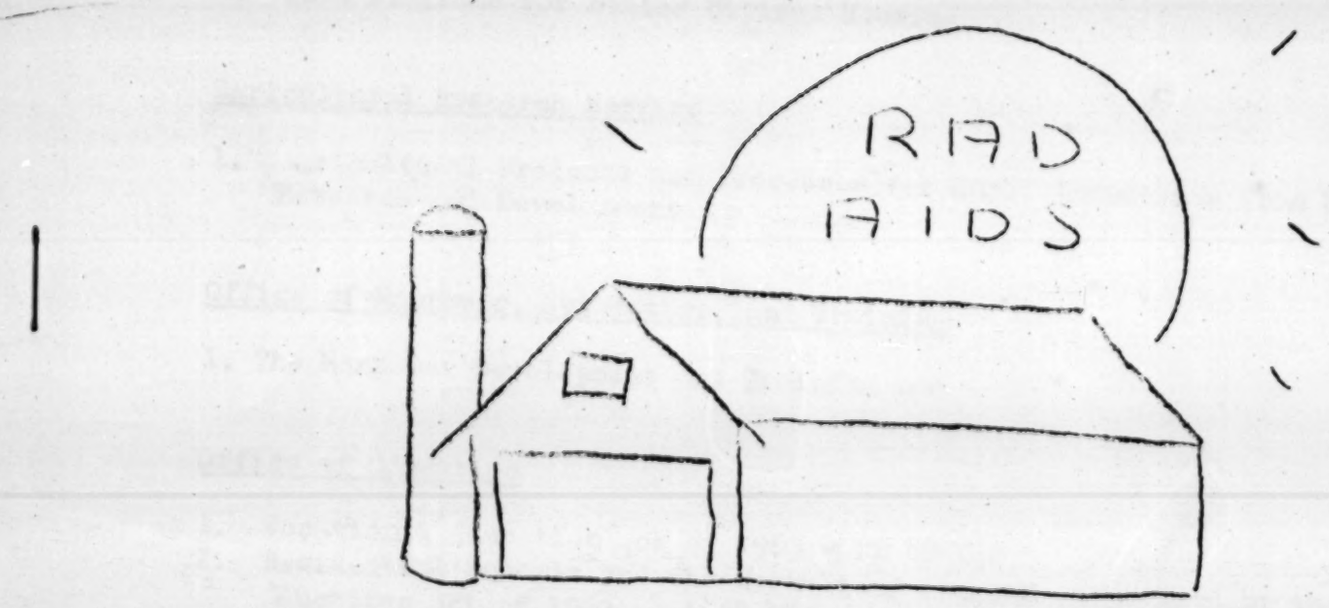
I am also preparing a report on Orleans parish for New Orleans CORE, for use in their effort to obtain funds under the anti-poverty program for the community center they plan to develop.

I am hoping to hold workshops on some of the most important programs, such as the Anti-poverty Program and ASCS, but have not made any definite plans.

I am also attempting to develop a file evaluating films that are available to us, but have only used one so far - a not-too-good film on co-ops in St. Francisville. I have several lists of films that are available for little or no charge which I will order on request, although I do not know how good they are. Field staff needing films on specific subjects, especially concerning farming, should notify this office.

At present, the direction of the research department has depended primarily on the information received here. I hope that in the future it will be more directly influenced by the needs of the field staff, but that, of course, is up to you.

Programs to aid in the Development of Rural American



CORE/Research
December, 1964



No. 1

LOANS TO RURAL TOWNS AND GROUPS
For Domestic Water Systems

Farmers Home Administration
U.S. Department of Agriculture

Loans are available to groups of farmers and rural residents to develop or improve water supply and distribution systems for household and livestock use.

These rural water system loans have a direct, immediate impact on a community's overall development. They not only provide a fundamental resource--ample, clean water supplies--to encourage rural businesses and industries, but also help bring a higher level of family living.

The answers to questions usually asked about such loans to associations follow:

Who May Borrow?

Organizations operating on a nonprofit basis, such as water supply districts, cooperative water users' associations, mutual water companies, municipalities, and political subdivisions are eligible for loans when:

1. They are unable to obtain needed credit elsewhere.

2. They propose improvements primarily for serving rural residents, farmers, ranchers, farm tenants, and farm laborers.

3. They have legal capacity to borrow and repay money, to give security for loans and to operate the facilities or services to be installed with loan funds.

4. They are financially sound and will be effectively organized and managed.

Who Is a Rural Resident?

He is a permanent resident of a rural area or small rural community or town with population of not more than 2,500.

How May Loan Funds Be Used?

Loan funds may be used to:

1. Install or improve rural water supply and distribution systems that furnish water for household, livestock, garden irrigation, and schools, churches, small businesses, and limited fire protection.

2. Refinance debts when the creditors are unwilling to give needed terms and the debys have been incurred for the facility or service to be completed or improved with the water development.

3. Pay engineers, attorneys, construction foremen and laborers needed in the planning and installation of facilities.

L I S T O F F A C T S H E E T S

Farmers Home Administration

1. Loans to Rural Towns and Groups - For Domestic Water Systems
2. Rural Renewal
3. Rural Housing Loans
4. Loans for Recreational Purposes
5. Rental Housing For Senior Citizens
6. Housing for Domestic Farm Labor

Soil Conservation Service

1. Watershed Projects, P.L. 566
2. Resource Conservation and Development Program
3. Technical Assistance for Income Producing Recreation
4. Soil Surveys for Land Use Decisions

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service

1. The Cropland Conversion Program

Housing and Home Finance Agency

1. HHFA Programs for Senior Citizen Housing

Agricultural Research Service

1. Agricultural Products and Processes for Rural Industries From Utilization Research and Development

Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training

1. The Manpower Development and Training Act

Office of Education

1. Vocational Education Act of 1963 - PL 88-210
2. Residential Schools and the Work-Study Program Authorized by the New Vocational Education Act of 1963 - PL 88-210



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1. Install or improve rural water supply and distribution systems that furnish water for household, livestock, garden irrigation, and schools, churches, small businesses, and limited fire protection.

2. Refinance debts when the creditors are unwilling to give needed terms and the debys have been incurred for the facility or service to be completed or improved with the water development.

3. Pay engineers, attorneys, construction foremen and laborers needed in the planning and installation of facilities.

4. Purchase a water supply or a water right.

5. Pay other costs related to the improvements, including the acquisition of rights of way and easements, relocation of roads and utilities, and construction of service lines.

What Are The Dollar Limits and Terms?

The maximum term is 40 years. However, no repayment period may exceed any statutory limitation on the association's borrowing authority nor the useful life of the improvement to be financed. Each borrower must refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain credit at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

The interest rate on a direct loan is 4½ percent. The interest rate on insured loans varies but may not exceed 5 percent.

An association's total indebtedness cannot exceed $500,000 when the loan is made from appropriated funds and $1,000,000 when made from insured funds.

What Security Is Required?

All loans to associations will be secured in a manner which adequately protects the interest of the Government. Mortgages are taken on association facilities when state laws permit. Bonds or notes pledging taxes, assessments or revenues may also be accepted as security if they meet statutory requirements.

What Water Rights Are Required?

Applicants must comply with the laws or regulations of the state. The applicant must also furnish evidence that (1) the supply of water will be adequate and (2) the use of the water will not interfere with the rights of other water users and will not likely be contested by other users or owners.

Where And How Are Applications Made?

Applications for loans are made at the local county offices of the Farmers Home Administratio

Example of a Recent Loan Made

In Henryville, Indiana, lack of an adequate community water supply was putting a damper on the development of the entire area. Families were moving away. Businesses requiring large supplies of clean water could not expand. Churches, schools, and other community institutions all suffered the blight of scarce and polluted water. They lacked water for fire protection. A $400,000 loan from the Farmers Home Administration changed all that. It financed pumping equipment, water lines, meters, storage tank, fire plugs, and labor necessary to provide central water service for 240 families and others in the community.



No. 2

RURAL RENEWAL

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Rural Renewal: The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorizes a program of technical assistance and loans to stimulate long-range economic redevelopment in rural communities where family incomes are abnormally low. During 1964 the program is being operated on a pilot basis in the following five areas: Little River County, Arkansas; Holmes, Walton, and Washington Counties, Florida; Appanoose and Monroe Counties, Iowa; Dallas and Hickory Counties, Missouri; Hardy and Mineral Counties, West Virginia.

Rural Renewal Area: A rural renewal area will be one or several counties where chronic underemployment on farms and unemployment in small towns are a serious problem and where agriculture or forestry makes a substantial contribution to the local economy. The area must also be one in which farm, business, professional and other leaders are willing to plan and carry out an organized development program.

Request by Local People: A local public agency in an area may request rural renewal assistance by submitting a letter to the Farmers Home Administration along with (1) an overall economic development plan (OEDP), (2) a description of the public body submitting the request, and (3) a map showing kinds and locations of needed renewal and redevelopment projects.

Local Public Bodies: Loans are made only in rural renewal areas to local public agencies named by the legislature or Governor of the State as having the authority to borrow, secure and repay the loans and the power to buy, sell, improve, develop and maintain property for the proposed purposes, and to secure tax or other revenues in order to repay loans and meet other obligations. An existing local public agency in a rural renewal area may be designated if it has the legal authority to receive such loans and carry out specific projects. In some areas it may be necessary to establish an entirely new local public agency. The State of Arkansas in 1963 authorized all counties in the State to create "Rural Development Authorities" with full powers to borrow, expend funds and transact business. The first such authority was set up in Little River County with the purpose of administering the rural renewal program in that area.

Rural Renewal Plan: A rural renewal plan will provide the basic information and guidance needed for the complete economic development on renewal of a designated area, including plans for individual projects.

Technical Assistance: When a request is approved the Farmers Home Administration will assign a program leader to assist the local public agency and development groups in preparing a rural renewal plan for the area. Grant funds may be available for obtaining services essential to the preparation of the plan or related projects such as surveys, feasibility and engineering studies. Such funds will be used to obtain services not normally available through other Federal and State agencies.

Rural Renewal Loans: Such loans may be made only to the designated local public agency in the rural renewal area to finance projects described in the renewal plan that are specifically related to land conservation and land utilization when funds for such projects are not available from other Federal and State agencies or non-government sources. Examples of some of the kinds of projects that a local public agency might finance with rural renewal loan funds are:

Purchase of tracts of land for subdivision or consolidation and resale as family-size farms or nonfarm use.

Development of a reservoir or system of reservoirs for flood control, conservation, recreation and water supplies.

Construction of water and sewer systems and service buildings when required to make possible a broad land-use improvement project.

Purchase and development of land for grazing areas for use by ranchers and farmers.

Rural Renewal Loan Terms: Rural renewal loans are made for periods up to 30 years with repayment of principal and interest deferred up to 5 years if necessary. Interest rate is the average rate paid by the U.S Treasury on marketable public obligations outstanding at the beginning of the fiscal year in which the loan is made and not due nor callable for 15 years. The present rate (1964) is 3.046 percent. The amount a local public body may borrow will be based on its needs and repayment ability. In determining the latter, all sources of income will be considered such as taxes, fees, assessments, leases, rentals, and the sale of security and property. Loans larger than $250,000 require approval of the appropriate committees of the U.S. Congress. Loans are secured in a manner that protects the Government's interest. Security is usually notes or bonds repayable from taxes, assessments or revenues pledged for repayment, or liens on property.

State Agency Review: Before a rural renewal loan is made, the rural renewal plan for the area must have been submitted to and not disapproved by the appropriate State agency or the Governor within 45 days.

Rural Areas Development: Services of the local Rural Areas Development committee and Rural Areas Development technical action panel will be utilized in all phases of rural renewal - preparing the overall economic development plan, developing the rural renewal plan, planning individual projects, securing financial aid and otherwise carrying out the program.



N 3

RURAL HOUSING LOANS

Farmers Home Administration
U. S . Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under provisions of Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, makes rural housing loans.

The rural housing loan program provides families in rural areas an opportunity to obtain the credit they need to finance a home that is modest in size, design, and cost. If the famil is engaged in farming, loans may be made for farm service buildings essential to the success of the family's farming operation.

Rural areas includes farms, open country, small country towns and villages and small rural communities of not more than 2,500 population which are not part of or associated with an urban area.

In addition to major construction, loans are avilable to modernize homes - add bath - rooms, central heating, modern kitchens, and other home improvements, as well as to enlarge or remodel farm service buildings.

Senior Citizens: Special provisions are available for rural senior citizens--persons who are 62 years of age or over. A senior citizen may obtain a loan to buy a previously occupied house or to buy a site on which to build his own home, as well as to build or repair a home on land he owns. A senior citizen with insufficient income to repay a loan may be able to qualify if another person with adequate repayment ability cosigns his note.

Owners with insufficient income to repay a loan may receive a grant up to $1,000 for minor repairs and improvements to make their buildings safe and to remove health hazards. These grants are made primarily to elderly and handicapped persons.

Eligibility: To be eligible, an applicant must:

(1) Own either a farm or nonfarm tract or be a senior citizen who will become the owner of a minimum adequate building site when the loan is closed.

(2) Be without decent, safe, and sanitary housing or without farm service buildings essential to the success of his farming operations.

(3) Be unable to finance the needed improvements with his own resources or with credit from other sources.

(4) Have sufficient income to pay operating and family living expenses, and meet payments on debts, including the proposed rural housing loan.

(5) Be a citizen of the United States.

(6) Have the legal capacity to incur the obligations of the loan.

Building Plans: Applicants are expected to furnish complete plans and specifications from a reliable source. Discussion of tentative building plans with the Farmers Home Administration is recommended before obtaining final plans and specifications.

Terms and Interest Rate: The interest rate is 4 percent per year on the unpaid principal. The maximum term is 33 years. Each borrower is expected to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Security: Each loan will be adequately secured to protect the interest of the Government. Small building improvement loans of not more than $2,500 may be made without taking real estate security.

Where to Apply: Interested persons should apply at the county Farmers Home Administration office serving the area in which the property he expects to improve is located. Anyone unable to locate the local office may write the Farmers Home Administration, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. 20250.

Examples

New home: The J. A.'s of Monroe, N. C., received a $7,500 rural housing loan to construct a 3-bedroom home for their family of six. They gross about $6,000 yearly from cotton and truck crops, coupled with some off-farm work. Although they obtained their loan only a few years ago, they are already more than $1,000 per year ahead of schedule on their payments.

Farm service building: A Granville, New York, family received a $13, 850 loan which, combined with $2,000 of their own funds, financed a new 36' x 100' dairy barn, new concrete stave silo, and new milk house. Previously, dairy herd was housed in 2 barns 1,000 feet apart. The family has been able to make a substantial increase in its gross income as a result of the new improvements.

Grant: A $900 grant was made to a 64-year-old widow to drill a well, install electric pump, repair porch floor, cover broken windows in attic, replace broken sash, and install inexpensive plastic storm windows. The prolonged illness of her husband, a farmer, had placed a severe strain on her financial resources. To meet some of the bills, she sold all but eight acres of her small hill farm. Now she is making needed home improvements long postponed because of meager income and more urgent expenses.



LOANS FOR RECREATIONAL PURPOSES

Farmers Home Administration
U.S. Department of Agriculture

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorized the Farmers Home Administration to make loans for recreational purposes to individual farmers and to groups of farmers and rural residents. The loans to individuals must be for the purpose of increasing their incomes by adding an additional enterprise to their farming activities. Loans to groups of farmers can be made only to organizations formed on a nonprofit basis.

Example -- Illustrative of the type of loans made to individuals is that of a Wisconsin farmer who secured a loan to expand his vacation farm enterprise. Major improvements will include more housekeeping units, developing campsites, and dredging a small lake for better fishing and swimming.

The Bolivar County Conservation League in Mississippi, a nonprofit association, secured a loan from the Farmers Home Administration for the purchase of 672 acres of land and the construction of a lake, campsite and picnic area as a recreation center to serve some 2,000 area residents.

The following are answers to some of the questions most frequently asked about this program:

1. Q. Where can I apply for a Farmers Home Administration loan for recreational purposes?

   A. To the Farmers Home Administration County Supervisor

2. Q. Do I have to be a farmer?

   A. Yes, or a person with a farm background and either training or farm experience sufficient to assure reasonable prospects of success in the proposed farming operation, and possess the ability necessary to carry out the proposed recreation enterprise.

3. Q. Why is farming experience necessary if I merely want to carry on a recreation enterprise?

   A. FHA is not authorized to make loans for recreation purposes unless the borrower, after the loan is made, will continue to receive some of his income from farming.

4. Q. What are some examples of recreational facilities that might be eligible?

   A. Vacation farms, hunting areas, shooting preserves, fishing ponds, marinas, golf courses, riding stables, ski courses, campgrounds, travel trailer parks, swimming pools, youth camps, nature trails, and bait farms.

5. Q. What is the most a farmer may borrow?

   A. A farmer may borrow for all farming purposes and recreation up to $60,000 for land purchase and development and $35,000 for livestock, equipment, and operating expenses.

6. Q. Would this be enough to develop a big recreation enterprise?

   A. Enough to give a farm family a good start in any outdoor recreation business. FHA is not authorized to finance any farming and recreation enterprise larger than the farmer and his immediate family can operate with their own management and labor except during seasonal peakload periods.

7. Q. What interest will I pay on a recreation loan?

   A. The interest on all loans to individuals for recreational purposes is 5%. Loans to associations bear 5% interest if they are in the insured category; 4½% if made from direct appropriations.

8. Q. What do you mean by loans to associations?

   A. FHA makes loans to nonprofit associations or public bodies consisting primarily of farmers and rural residents for shifts in land use to develop recreation facilities in rural areas and in towns of not over 2,500 population.

9. Q. What is the most an association may borrow?

   A. $500,000 if from direct funds; $1,000,000 if from insured funds.

10. Q. I know the kind of recreation enterprise I would like to develop. Where can I get advice on whether my proposal is economically feasible?

    A. The FHA county supervisor has information, or can tell you where to get it, that will assist you in working out a plan to test the feasibility of your proposed development.

11. Q. Do I have to have a certain amount of cash for down payment or a certain amount of equity in my farm or livestock and equipment to get a FHA loan?

    A. No.



RENTAL HOUSING FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, makes direct and insured loans to provide rental housing in rural areas for senior citizens, 62 years of age or older. The housing must be located in open country, small country towns and villages and small rural communities of not more than 2,500 population which are not part of or closely associated with an urban area. Services and facilities essential to daily living and health must be reasonable accessible.

Loan funds may be used to construct, purchase, improve or repair rental housing designed to meet the special needs of senior citizens who are capable of caring for themselves. Housing may consist of apartment buildings, duplex units or individual detached houses suitable for independent living by senior citizens. Funds may also be used to provide appropriate recreational and service facilities, to buy and improve the land on which the buildings are to be located, and to develop the water, sewage disposal, heat, and light systems needed for the housing. Loans may not be made for nursing, special care or institutional types of homes.

Occupancy of Housing: The occupant must be 62 years of age or over or be a family in which the husband or wife is 62 or over. The housing must be available to citizens of the United States who are rural residents.

Housing financed with a direct loan must be for senior citizens with low or moderate incomes. The maximum income level for occupancy will be established by the Farmers Home Administration. No discrimination will be permitted in the occupancy of the housing because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Applicants must be legally able to incur the obligations of the loan, give adequate security, and have sufficient income for repayment. They must also have the ability and intention of maintaining and operating the housing for the purposes for which the loan is made. Loans are made only to applicants who are unable to finance the housing either with their own resources or with credit obtained from private or cooperative sources.

Loan Limits: A direct loan may not exceed $200,000, less any other debts against the security, or the development cost, or the value of the security, whichever is least. An insured loan may not exceed $100,000, or the development cost, or the value of the security, whichever is least. The Farmers Home Administration will make an appraisal of the security property to determine its value.

Terms and Interest Rate: A borrower obtaining a direct loan pays 3-5/8 percent interest on the unpaid principal. A borrower obtaining a direct loan pays 5-3/4 percent interest on the unpaid principal. Maximum repayment period for a direct loan is 50 years and an insured loan 40 years. Each borrower is expected to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Plans and construction standards: The applicant is responsible for obtaining technical assistance necessary to plan and construct the housing to be financed with the loan. Planning guides are available at Farmers Home Administration offices.

The Farmers Home Administration reviews the plans and inspects the work as it progresses in order to help the borrower obtain sound and acceptable construction.

Building and water, sewage disposal, heating and electrical systems financed with these loans must be constructed in accordance with good building practices, and conform with any applicable laws, ordinances, codes, and regulations governing construction, heating, plumbing, electrical installation, fire prevention, and health and sanitation.

Making application: Additional details about the program and the information that will need to be submitted with the application may be obtained from the local county supervisor of the Farmers Home Administration.

Examples

An insured senior citizens loan was made to a business in New Jersey in a locality where a high percentage of the rural residents are elderly. A $100,000 loan together with funds contributed by the borrower financed 20 well-designed one and two-bedroom apartments especially suited for senior citizens.

In Missouri loans have been made to individuals to finance a four-apartment unit in one case and an eight-apartment unit in another.

A rural community in Minnesota working through a nonprofit corporation sold memberships to its local citizenry. With this money in hand as working capital, application was made to the Farmers Home Administration for a loan of $175,000. Plans call for building 15 duplexes on a 17-acre site. Twenty-two families have already applied to rent these units. Appropriate recreational and service facilities, including a park, are also being provided. The village has agreed to furnish to the project without charge power lines, sewage, and service roads. It will allow the association to provide adequate housing at rents varying from $40 to $65 per month.



No. 6

HOUSING FOR DOMESTIC FARM LABOR

Farmers Home Administration
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Farmers Home Administration, under Title V of the Housing Act of 1949, makes insured loans to finance the construction or improvement of housing for domestic farm labor.

Loan funds may be used to construct, improve, or repair housing designed to meet the needs of domestic farm laborers. Funds may also be used to provide appropriate recreational and service facilities directly associated with housing, to improve the land on which the buildings are to be located and to develop the water, sewage disposal, heat, and light systems needed for the housing. Loan funds may not be used to buy land or refinance debts.

Occupancy of housing: The occupants must be domestic farm laborers who are citizens of the United States and receive the major portion of their income as laborers on farms in the United States. No discrimination will be permitted in the occupancy of the housing because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Eligibility: Insured loans may be made to individual farmowners, an association of farmers, a state or political subdivision, or a public or private nonprofit organization.

Applicants must be legally able to incur the obligations of the loan, give adequate security, and have sufficient income for repayment. They must also have the ability and intention of maintaining and operating the housing for the purposes for which the loan is made.

Loans are made only to applicants who are unable to finance the housing either with their own resources or with credit obtained from private or cooperative sources.

Terms and Interest Rate: A borrower obtaining an insured loan pays 5 percent interest on the unpaid principal. Each loan is scheduled for repayment over a period not to exceed 33 years from the date of the note or the useful life of the security, whichever is less. Each borrower is required to refinance the unpaid balance of the loan when able to obtain such refinancing at reasonable rates and terms from other lenders.

Plans and construction standards: The applicant is responsible for obtaining technical assistance necessary to plan and construct the housing to be financed with the loan. Planning guides are available at Farmers Home Administration offices. The Farmers Home Administration reviews the plans and inspects the work as it progresses in order to help the borrower obtain sound and acceptable construction.

Buildings and water, sewage disposal, heating, and electrical systems financed with these loans must be constructed in accordance with good building practices, and conform with any applicable laws, ordinances, codes, and regulations governing construction, heating, plumbing, electrical installation, fire prevention, and health and sanitation.

Making Application: Additional details about the program and the information that will need to be submitted with the application may be obtained from the local county supervisor of the Farmers Home Administration.

Examples

The first farm labor housing loan was made to a 75-member nonprofit association of farmers in Idaho. With a $50,000 loan they financed 48 dewlling units for seasonal workers who harvest fruit and vegetables. The new quarters helped insure adequate labor for the areas expanded fruit and vegetable production.

In several states loans have been made to individual farmers to house seasonal workers used on their farms. Homes also have been provided for the year-round hired men on the farm.



No. 7

WATERSHED PROJECTS, P. L. 566

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act (Public Law 566) was passed by Congress in 1954 as a means of enabling local people to cope with destructive floods, siltation, and erosion damaged in upstream watershed areas up to 250,000 acres in size.

The Act, popularly known as the Small Watershed Program, has been repeatedly broadened and now provides for municipal and industrial water storage for present or future needs, agricultural water management, and public recreation and fish and wildlife development in addition to soil conservation and flood prevention.

Benefits of Multipurpose Projects

It is a valuable tool in the Department of Agriculture's Rural Areas Development effort. Where projects have been developed for multi-purposes, both urban and rural areas have benefited. Freedom from floods, erosion, and siltation have reduced the risks in farming, lowered maintenance costs on roads and bridges, and freed urban communities from the threat of costly damages.

Water impounded in upstream reservoirs offers exceptional opportunities to develop fishing, boating, hunting, swimming, picnicking, camping, and other recreation facilities. The same reservoirs can supply water for irrigation, and for municipal and industrial water development to meet the growing needs for water to attract new industries and allow for future expansion of existing industries and municipal and residential areas.

Projects Eligible for Loans

Projects approved by State and Federal agencies are eligible for technical and cost sharing assistance and for Farmers Home Administration long term loans. Local people initiate and help plan the projects, build them, help pay for them, and operate and maintain them. They own all the structures that may be built.

Projects may be sponsored or co-sponsored by any agency qualified under State law. These include soil and water conservation districts, municipalities, counties, conservancy districts, and other special purpose districts.

Application forms can be obtained from the State agency designated to approve applications for assistance or from the Soil Conservation Service, the agency charged with administering the program.

Cost-Sharing Arrangements

On approved projects, the Federal government pays the following costs:

For flood prevention, all the engineering and construction costs.

For irrigation and drainage and for public recreation and fish and wildlife development, it pays for all engineering services and up to 50 percent of the construction.

In certain circumstances, it pays up to 50 percent of the cost of land rights and of the minimum basic facilities for public recreation or for public fish and wildlife development.

All other costs -- including all costs for industrial and municipal water supply -- must be paid by the local organization.

In addition to technical help from SCS, other agencies assisting in the watershed program include the Farmers Home Administration, Forest Service, Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Fish and Wildlife Service, Bureau of outdoor Recreation, and many State agencies.

Status of Program

As of February 1, 1964, State agencies had approved and sent to Washington 2,056 applications for assistance in watershed development. Of these 948 have been authorized for planning assistance and 530 for construction. During the past year since the program was broadened to include recreation, 62 proposals have been received from the sponsors of 55 watershed projects to include recreation developments in their projects.

Rural and urban groups, communities and local governments have found a watershed project the ideal vehicle through which they can plan and develop their natural resources to meet immediate and future needs and stimulate economic opportunities in rural areas.

A Kentucky Example

In Kentucky, flood prevention, recreation, and municipal water supply have been combined in the multipurpose Mud River Watershed project. One of the 26 flood detention reservoirs was enlarged to create a 900-acre lake. The Kentucky Department of Fish and Wildlife Resources helped finance and will manage the lake for recreation purposes. This recreation area is expected to create new businesses and jobs for local people. One floodwater retarding structure, located above Lewisburg, includes 30 million gallons of water for the town's needs. Prior to the project, this rural community had no municipal water system. Already a small industry which manufactures hog feeders has located in Lewisburg. A wood products plant will expand and another wood working industry plans to locate in the community. A new nursing home is in the planning stages. In all, 170 new jobs are expected in the community as the result of an adequate water supply and the desire of local people to move ahead.



—RESOURCE CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Resource Conservation and Development projects are a new tool to assist rural communities in the full development and multiple use of land and water resources. They are in addition to and an intensification of going USDA programs in conservation and resource development.

RC&D projects are local projects with Federal assistance. They are one of the action programs designed to implement the Department's Rural Areas Development Program. They are designed to provide an opportunity for all local interests to work together to use USDA and other assistance to speed up development of land and water resources as a means of creating new jobs and new income.

Objective of Projects

Major objective is to strengthen family farms, create new income through recreational and industrial enterprises, and help to bring about new community facilities. Most project plans will include as major features the management of woodlands, development of recreation areas, and watershed protection and flood prevention to provide full use of water resources.

RC&D projects were authorized by Section 102, Title I of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962. The Soil Conservation Service has program leadership.

Projects Must Be Sponsored

Projects must be locally sponsored and initiated by organizations such as soil and water conservation districts, county governing bodies, municipalities, State agencies, local development corporations, and others that have authority under State laws to plan, administer and operate resource development projects.

What Projects Can Include

The RC&D projects may include watershed projects, such as PL 566 projects, within their boundaries. In addition, cost sharing under RC&D authorizations is available for community or group type enterprise for natural resource development outside feasible PL 566 watershed project areas. This authorization fills the gap between PL 566 projects and group enterprise projects. RC&D projects will include and make full use of all going programs related to resource conservation and development.

Under these and RC&D authorities the RC&D projects can include technical and financial assistance to individual land owners and operators and groups in planning and designing conservation measures on private lands; priority cost sharing for certain measures; loans; land conversion from surplus crops to recreation, wildlife, water supply, rural industry, and other uses; accelerated planning and application of conservation measures to improve land adn water resources; altering or redirecting existing programs to promote economic improvement; providing opportunities for nearby urban groups to work with project sponsors in developing new outdoor recreation facilities as part of the project.

10 Projects Selected

Since passage of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 the Department of Agriculture has received 21 applications from local organizations in 16 States seeking help through RC&D projects covering 29½ million acres. Secretary Freeman has selected 10 projects for planning assistance. Funds for these projects were included in Department appropriations for fiscal year 1964 and approved by Congress last December. The 10 projects cover over 14 million acres. The Budget Bureau has limited RC&D projects to 10 in fiscal years 1964 and 1965.

Example of Project

Illustrative of a RC&D project is a five-county area of Pennsylvania covering 2.5 million acres. The area is located on the Allegheny Plateau and is part of the Appalachian Region. Land use is about 38 percent cropland and pasture, 56 percent woodland and 6 percent urban and other uses. Soils on the long hill slopes and narrow steep valleys erode rapidly.

The Board of Directors of five Soil Conservation Districts and the Boards of Commissioners of the counties are sponsors of the project. As project objectives they list: (1) full development of water resources for multiple use (includes three presently active watershed projects under PL 566); (2) land use adjustment, particularly to income-producing recreation enterprises; (3) public and private recreation development; (4) woodland improvement and use of products; (5) pollution control; (6) speedup of land treatment and soil survey; (7) development of historic sites as tourish attractions; and (8) wetland development.

Among benefits the sponsors expect are: (1) increased rural income; (2) full development of recreational potential will attract visitors to the area; (3) recreation development as a part of farm business; (4) better land use planning and development through use of soils information and added technical assistance; and (5) improved woodland management to produce quality hardwood.



No. 9

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR INCOME PRODUCING RECREATION

Soil Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

The Food and Agriculture Act of 1962 authorized the U.S. Department of Agriculture to offer assistance to farmers, ranchers, and other landowners in developing recreation resources for profit. The Secretary of Agriculture directed the Soil Conservation Service to assume the responsibility and leadership in the recreation phase of the USDA Rural Areas Development effort in addition to providing technical assistance.

Assistance Through Districts

The SCS provides technical assistance mainly through existing soil conservation districts which number more than 2,940 and cover 96 percent of the Nation's farm and ranch land.

Kinds of Technical Assistance

The kinds of technical assistance in recreation that SCS provides varies with the type of enterprise being undertaken by the land owner or operator. In general it includes:

1. Supplying information on soils and their suitability for growing trees, shrubs, and grass; for road and trail construction; for building sites for recreation facilities; for septic tank filter fields; and for dams to impound water.

2. Supplying information on various recreation enterprises for which the land is suited and on the conservation measures needed for each use.

3. Appraising the physical suitability of sites for nature and hiking or riding trails, camping and picnicking, skiing and other winter sports, firebreaks and access lanes, ponds, small lakes, wells, wildlife habitat, parking areas, playgrounds, and shooting preserves.

4. Supplying information on plants and their suitability for protective cover on playgrounds, fields, roadsides, dams, and wildlife food and cover.

5. Assisting in developing, improving, and managing range and pasture for livestock and big game; farm woodlands for wildlife, hiking, and camping; water supplies; and fish and wildlife habitat.

6. Helping cooperators obtain standard construction plans prepared by other agencies for recreation facilities such as cabins, picnic tables, docks, rest rooms, bath houses, diving platforms, and parking lots.

7. Assisting soil conservation districts and other local groups appraise the potential for income-producing recreation in their area and supplying cooperators with information on the usual costs and returns of the different kinds of enterprises adapted to their area.

Recreation Need Near Urban Centers

There is presently a great demand for recreation areas, especially near urban centers. Publicly provided recreation facilities cannot keep up with the demand for more outdoor recreation. Much of this demand can be met, however, on privately owned lands--the farms, ranches and woodlands that make up nearly three-fourths of our land area. In addition, such developments in rural areas often bring about desirable economic effects.

The establishment of a recreation enterprise on a farm or ranch may increase the owner's income several hundred to several thousand dollars annually. Most popular enterprises include vacation farms, hunting areas, fishing, swimming, and boating waters, ski slopes, picnic areas, camping grounds, cottage sites, riding stables and the like.

Where To Get Information

Those interested in technical assistance in establishing an income-producing recreation enterprise may obtain information from their local soil conservation district of SCS office. The SCS conservationist will help the owner or operator make a conservation plan for the entire land area complete with soil and conservation plan maps and necessary layout for all practices including those for recreation areas.

Examples of Recreation Enterprises

- A dairy farmer near a metropolitan area turned part of his land into a camp where both children and adults can stay a day or a week. He has developed picnic areas and two ponds that are suited for fishing and boating. Ponies and horses are available to campers for riding over the trails on the farm.

- Another farmer entered the ski slope business as a sideline to his apple orchards. He built his first slopes on idle land and land occupied by low value woods. This venture was so successful that he has taken out some apple trees to make room for additional skiing facilities.

- An eastern farmer stocks his farm with pheasant and quail and charges a fee for the privilege of hunting on the land.



No. 10

SOIL SURVEYS FOR LAND USE DECISIONS

Soil Conservation Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture

There are at least 70,000 different kinds of soil in the United States. Some are suited to cultivated crops and some are not. Some can safely support a housing development or an airport and some cannot. A soil survey classifies and maps the soils so that predictions for specific uses can be made. The hazards and limitations of the soils are considered in making the predictions.

The National Cooperative Soil Survey, which began in 1899, is made cooperatively by Federal and State agencies. The Soil Conservation Service has leadership for the Federal part. The land-grant colleges and universities, primarily State agricultural experiment stations, are the cooperating State agencies.

Map 60 Million Acres Yearly

The SCS's 1,200 soil scientists are now mapping over 60 million acres each year. These men are backed by about 200 additional scientists. More than 40 percent of the Nation's land for which detailed soil surveys are needed has been surveyed to date.

Purposes of Soil Survey

The basic purposes of the soil survey are: (1) to determine the important characteristics of soils, (2) to classify the soils and name them according to a nationwide system, (3) to interpret the soils according to their capabilities for use under alternative management systems for crops, grasses, and trees, and according to the properties significant to engineering, (4) to show the distribution of soils on maps of high accuracy at scales appropriate to the landscape, and (5) to publich the results as soil survey reports including maps, the basic soil descriptions and the basic. interpretations.

A soil scientist examines the soil to depths of several feed, noting the differences in texture, color, stoniness, thickness of horizons, structure, internal drainage, consistence and other features of the various soil horizons. He examines the landscape--its slope, erosion, and vegetation along with its present use and behavior. He groups the soils into practical classes according to their capabilities.

Soil surveys provide detailed information useful in the management of the land for sustained agricultural production.

A soil scientist's interpretation of his survey includes yield estimates of cultivated crops, grasses, and trees that can be produced under certain systems of management. Interpretations show alternative land uses and conservation treatment needs.

Soil Survey Findings Published

The findings of a soil survey are published by county or other similar sized area. The published soil survey consists of a soil map and a printed text that describes each of the soils in the area, summarizes what is known about them, and explains their potential uses.

The notes taken by the soil scientists during the soil survey are used for reference as the soil survey is made. As soon as the work in an area is well underway all notes and information are used in the preparation of handbooks and technical guides that are used in farm conservation planning. Each farmer or rancher cooperator in a soil conservation district is given a copy of the soil map of his farm as a part of his soil and water conservation plan. Soil survey information provides the base for nearly every phase of the Soil Conservation Service program.

During the early years of soil survey activities, chief attention was given to the farmer's uses of the survey. But so much information is gained in making a soil survey that it serves a great many other purposes besides those required by agriculture.

The published survey is used to make soil and land use studies for selecting and developing industrial, business, residential and recreational sites, for locating probable sources of gravel and other construction material, for evaluating soil and ground conditions for highways, airports, and pipe lines, and for making preliminary estimates of the soils in planning agricultural drainage systems, farm ponds, irrigation systems, and diversion terraces.

Rural Development Soil Survey Examples

- In Danbury, Connecticut, city officials, using soil survey information, prepared a master layout to allocate housing, industry, schools, shopping centers, parks, and roadways for 30,000 additional residents expected in the future. With soils information, they were able to identify and locate areas that were poorly suited for housing and other types of construction.

- Soil survey information is being used by planning commissions and public health officials along the lake frontage in Hillsdale and Branch Counties, Mich., and elsewhere to help prevent further water pollution problems.

- City officials of Stamford, Connecticut, learned through soil survey information that they could turn a 30-acre swamp into a recreation center. instead of a dump as they had planned.

- The SCS made a detailed soil survey and special legend of the City of Wixom, Mich., for use in designing a city sewer system, determining location of installation, and needs for site borings.



THE CROPLAND CONVERSION PROGRAM

Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

As a part of the Food and Agriculture Act of 1962, the Congress authorized the Department of Agriculture to commit up to $10 million to assist farmers in the conversion of cropland to conservation and other income-producing uses.

Since this amount was not sufficient to conduct such a program on a national basis, a total of 41 counties in 13 States were selected as test areas. In these areas, primary emphasis was given the conversion of cropland to grass and trees.

In addition, one or more test projects aimed at the conversion of cropland to an approved type of recreation use are being developed in each State.

Program Responsibility: The Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, including State and county ASC committees, have responsibility for the program. In addition, farmers who plan to participate in the program must develop a farm conservation plan in cooperation with their local soil conservation district, with technical assistance from the Soil Conservation Service. Farmers who participate in either phase of the program may receive adjustment payments, cost-sharing payments, technical assistance, and in some States, forestry incentive payments.

Adjustment Payments Are Not Income Payments, but are designed to assist farmers in shifting cropland to alternate income-producing uses. The amount of assistance is based upon such factors as land productivity, type of conversion being made, use to which the land is being converted, changes in oporating costs, and increase in value under the new use.

Conservation cost-share payments provide a means for the public to share with farmers part of the cost of conserving and improving valuable soil, water, forest, wildlife, and recreation resources.

Farmer-Agency Agreements: In the cropland conversion program, needed conservation practices must be agreed upon by the farmer and the Soil Conservation Service technician. The county ASC committee will then determine which of these practices is eligible for cost-share payments.

In most cases, conservation practices and rates of cost-share payment under the cropland conversion program are similar to those already established under the Agricultural Conservation Program in each State and county. Practices and payment rates under the ACP may vary from one State or county to another. However, the following are types of practices most commonly approved for cost-share payment: tree planting; establishing and improving cover crops; contour strip cropping; replacing minerals; constructing dams; developing sod water ways; farm ponds; water management; stream bank protection; and wildlife conservation practices.

New Practices: Where new practices, not normally available under the ACP, are needed to meet the requirements of the cropland conversion program, county ASC committees may authorize payment for such practices. Following are categories of special practices which may be approved under the recreation phase of the program; Establishment of areas for picnic and sports, camping and nature recreation, hunting and shooting, fishing, summer water sports, and winter sports.

Test Findings: During the test period in 1963, 2,800 farmers in 128 counties signed agreements to convert 129,000 acres of cropland to other income-producing uses. Conversions included 114,000 acres to grass, 8,300 acres to development of recreational facilities, 5,900 acres to trees, and 256 acres to wildlife habitat. Recreational developments included facilities for fishing, hunting, boating swimming, hiking, camping, skiing, and similar outdoor activities.

Time Limits: Agreements with farmers are for periods of either 5 or 10 years, depending upon the type of land being converted and type of use after conversion.



HHFA PROGRAMS FOR SENIOR CITIZEN HOUSING

Housing and Home Finance Agency
Community Facilities Administration

A COORDINATED PROGRAM

The Congress has enacted--in Housing Acts of 1956, 1959, 1961 and 1962--legislation which authorizes a wide range of Federal aids in housing for the elderly. These Acts provide for:

- direct Federal loans to private, nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, and certain public agencies to provide rental or cooperative housing for elderly families and elderly persons;

- Federal assistance to local housing authorities for the construction of specially designed low-rent public housing units for occupancy by older persons (As a result of the Housing Act of 1937, low-rent public housing has been available for occupancy by low-income families of all ages.);

- mortgage insurance for both profit and nonprofit rental projects specially designed for the elderly;

- liberalized mortgage insurance to assist older people to finance the purchase of their own homes; and

- mortgage insurance for privately-owned nursing homes.

Administration of these programs is a responsibility of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.... The programs, however, are administered by three HHFA constituent agencies: The Community Facilities Administration, the Public Housing Administration, and the Federal Housing Administration.

COMMUNITY FACILITIES ADMINISTRATION

CFA makes low-interest long-term loans to private, nonprofit corporations, consumer cooperatives, and public agencies (except local housing authorities receiving Federal funds exclusively under the Housing Act of 1937) for new rental housing for lower middle-income persons, 62 years of age or older. Housing sponsors must show they are unable to obtain necessary funds from other resources upon terms and conditions as favorable as those under CFA's program.

The CFA direct loan program is intended to create housing for those older persons whose incomes make them ineligible for public housing, but who cannot afford the rents charged in the private market.

....

...

Loans for 100% of the development cost may be obtained by eligible sponsors for a maximun of 50 years at a below market interest rate - currently 3-5/8 percent.

PUBLIC HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

PHA administers the Federal program for low-rent public housing and furnishes financial, technical, and management assistance to local housing authorities for new or remodeled dwelling units specially designed for use by elderly persons. These units may be in public housing developments for younger families, or in separate developments for the elderly.... the cost of such units may exceed--by as much as $1,000 per room ($1,500 in Alaska)--the limits established for regular units. The annual Federal contribution to the local housing authorities may be increased by as much as $120 for each unit occupied by the elderly if necessary to permit low rentals and still operate on a solvent basis.

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION

RENTAL PROJECTS

FHA insures mortgages for financing the construction and rehabilitation of rental accommodations for the elderly. A rental housing project may be eligible for FHA mortgage insurance if it contains eight or more units of new or rehabilitated housing specifically designed for occupancy by persons 62 years of age or older.

The mortgage loan can be repaid over the number of years approved by FHA (usually 40 years) and can bear interest at not more than the rate prescribed by FHA, currently 5¼%....Projects may include mutifamily structures, row houses, semi-detached or separate dwelling units (provided they are grouped in a contiguous project) for both families and single persons. Dining facilities, community rooms, infirmary rooms for short-term illness can be included in the projects.

SINGLE-FAMILY HOME PURCHASES

FHA is authorized to insure a lender against loss on a mortgage for a house purchased by a person 62 years of age or over. The down payment may be paid by friends, relatives, or a corporation--if approved by FHA. Thus, if an elderly person should be unable to qualify as an acceptable mortgage risk, FHA may still insure the loan--provided a qualified third party becomes a cosigner of the mortgage.

The Housing Act of 1961 permits insurance of a loan up to $25,000 for purchase of a single family home....the loan to be repaid over a period as long as 35 years in the case of a new house (30 years for an existing house).

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ...

Write or visit the Office of Housing for Senior Citizens, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Washington, D. C. 20410



AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES FOR RURAL INDUSTRIES FROM UTILIZATION RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

Agricultural Research Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture

Purpose: To provide technical and related information for optimum development of rural industrial activities based on products and processes for farm commodities related to the Department's program of Utilization Research and Development (UR&D).

Eligibility: RAD Committees, Technical Action Panels, and other groups concerned with formulating proposals in the Rural Areas Development program.

Types of Assistance:

1. Background discussions of the wide range of UR&D products and processes that have been successfully commercialized as a basis for stimulating consideration of local potentials.
2. Pre-project evaluation of promising local situations relating to types of processing in the broad fields (see below) in which UR&D results may play a role.
3. Assistance with project proposals in development and review stages.
4. Technical advice in start-up of UR&D products and processes.

UR&D Fields of Work and Examples of Successful UR&D Products and Processes:

Cereals and Forages

1. Processed feeds
2. Wheat and rice "convenience" foods
3. Frozen bakery products
4. Improved rice drying
5. Useful products from corncobs

Cotton and Wool

1. Flame retardant cotton outer garments and household cotton products
2. Weather resistant (outdoor use) cotton products
3. Stretch and bulky cotton products
4. Wash-wear cotton products
5. Cotton opener-cleaner (equipment)
6. Cotton opener-blender (equipment)
7. Loom device for weaving water- and weather-resistant cotton fabrics (equipment)
8. Easy-care woolen products
9. Permanent creases for wool products

Fruits, Vegetables, and Tree Nuts

1. Pre-peeled potatoes
2. Stabilized shelled tree nuts
3. Sweetpotato flakes
4. Dehydro-frozen fruits and vegetables
5. Belt-through drier (equipment)
6. Cucumber pickle products
7. Peach products
8. Full-flavor fruit juice concentrate (includes 7-fold apple juice and others)
9. Country cider
10. Dehydrated fruit and vegetable powders
11. Dry bean "instant" products
12. High-moisture dried fruits
13. Dehydrated fruit and vegetable products (piece)
14. Industrial uses for nutshells and fruit pits

Oilseeds

1. Vegetable oilseed "foots" for processed feeds
2. Improved color of cottonseed oil
3. Tung oil products
4. Fermented soybean food products
5. Soybean flour for food uses
6. Foamed plastics for insulation and building uses

New and Special Plants

1. Maple syrup and products
2. Naval stores products (paper, size, etc.)
3. Products of sugarcane bagasse
4. Feed meal from mustard seed

Poultry, Dairy & Animal Products

1. Dehydrated egg products
2. Improved frozen poultry products
3. Leather products (glutaraldehyde tannage)
4. Animal fats in feed products
6. Yeast from cheese whey
7. Dried cottage cheese whey

Miscellaneous

1. Frozen pre-cooked food products
2. Emergency foods for civilian defense use (Bulgur wheat wafers, etc.)

Questions Most Frequently Asked UR&D RAD Representatives:

1. What kinds of manufactured products can be made from the agricultural commodities presently grown in this particular area? What are their market possibilities?

2. What processing facilities (equipment, buildings, grounds, storage and handling, etc.) are needed to make a specified manufactured product? What are the costs for such facilities?

3. How many different kinds of products can be made in a given plant, with only minor modifications in space and facilities? What provision should be made for increasing plant output in the future?

4. What are the requirements for water, waste disposal, fuel, electricity, and other utilities?

5. What kinds of labor and skills are needed to establish and operate a particular processing plant?

6. How much capital -- both fixed capital and operating capital -- is needed for a specified processing plant?

7. What assistance can UR&D give in formulating plans for a specific processing plant? Where can other needed assistance be obtained?

Who to Contact for More Information and for Assistance:

Agricultural Research Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D. C. 20250



THE MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT AND TRAINING ACT

Office of Manpower, Automation, and Training
U.S. Department of Labor

More than 120,000 Americans have been approved for Government financed free training programs since MDTA was launched in August of 1962. Of the first 17,000 who finished this training (through September 30, 1963), 70% have found jobs - 75% of the men and 63% of the women.

Recent amendments to this 1962 Act make it an even more flexible tool in preparing workers from farms and small towns for new job opportunities, both in thier own localities and elsewhere.

Q. Who administers the program?

A. The Department of Labor, through State Employment Services, is responsible for testing, counseling, selection for training and subsequent placement. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is responsible for the training, through State vocational education and other appropriate public and private agencies.

Q. What free services are available?

A. Testing, counseling, referral to training, training, in many cases a money allowance during training, in some cases additional subsistence payments of commuting costs, remedial basic education courses, placement help in finding jobs, and financing costs of moving to new jobs.

Q. Who is eligible?

A. For training, anyone is eligible who is unemployed or under-employed and who cannot reasonably be expected to secure appropriate full time employment without training. Workers belonging to farm families with less than $1,200 annual net family income are considered unemployed for purposes of this Act.

Q. What are the money allowances during training?

A. Cash payments are authorized up to $10 a week more than the average weekly unemployment compensation in the State where the training is done. These allowances can be paid for 52 weeks, except in cases where basic education courses (for example, literacy and arithmetic training) are required. In these cases a further 20 weeks of money allowances is authorized. Special provisions cover payments to youth.

Q. Who is eligible for these payments?

A. Unemployed persons who have had at least two years of gainful employment, and who are either heads of families or heads of households, or who are members of a household in which the head of the family or household is unemployed.

Q. What about youth?

A. The general rule is that only one person in any one household may be receiving training allowances at a given time. But youth selected for occupational training and further schooling--because they can't get jobs without such special help--may nevertheless be paid allowances of up to $20 a week. If these youths (17 or older) did not graduate from high school, they must have been out of school for at least one year.

Q. What about additional subsistence or commuting payments?

A. In appropriate cases (where training is held in facilities not within commuting distance) payments for subsistence of up to $35 a week (rate of $5 a day) or transportation (up to 10 cents per mile) can be made.

Q. Who decides who will be trained and in what occupations?

A. The Department of Labor through the local office of the State Employment Service. This office is required to make an official estimate that there is "a reasonable expectation" of jobs in the field for which training is offered. Training has been conducted for dozens of different types of jobs.

Q. Is all training in public schools?

A. Not necessarily. Institutional-type training is done in ma ny settings, and in addition there are specific provisions for on-the-job training, in cooperation with public and private agencies, employers, trade unions and other industrial and community groups. Such paid on-th-job training may be supplemented by classroom-type insturction.

Q. Can persons selected for training earn money on the side?

A. Yes, up to 20 hours work a week.

Q. What about costs of moving to places where jobs are?

A. This is a new experimental feature of the Act, and costs from now until June 30, 1965, are limited to 2% of the total spent under the Act. Grants of up to half of all costs in moving families and household effects and loans of up to the total cost may be made if there is a bona-fide offer of a permanent job at the new location. Only "involuntarily unemployed" persons who can't find work in their own communities and who are competent to perform the job elsewhere can be so aided.

Q. Who are the best persons to contact for more information?

A. The nearest office of the State Employment Service and the State vocational educational authorities.



VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963 -- PL 88-210

Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

Purpose: This historic new Act authorizes Federal grants to States for improving existing vocational education programs, to develop mew programs, and to provide part-time employment for youths who need income to continue their vocational training on a full-time basis. The Act also authorizes training and retraining for persons of all ages, including those with special educational handicaps, suited to their needs, interests, job opportunities, and abilities.

Funds: The following amounts are authorized to be appropriated for grants to States: Fiscal year 1964 -- $60 million; 1965 -- $118½ million; 1966 -- $177½ million; 1967 and each fiscal year thereafter -- $225 million. Availability of funds depends upon annual appropriations. After 1964 they will be on a matching basis.

State Eligibility: In order to receive its share of the funds under Section 3 (a) of the Act, a State must submit through its vocational education board a State plan for administering the funds which meet certain criteria prescribed in the Act.

Uses of Funds: A State's allotment under Section 3 (a) may be used for:

1. Vocational education for persons attending high school.

2. Vocational education for persons who have completed or left high school (drop-outs) and who are available for full-time study in preparation for jobs.

3. Vocational education for persons (other than those receiving training allowances under the Manpower Development and Training Act, ARA, and the Trade Expansion Act) who have entered the labor market but need training or retraining to achieve job stability or advancement.

4. Vocational education for persons who have academic, socio-economic, or other handicaps which prevent them from succeeding in regular vocational education programs.

5. Construction of area vocational education school facilities, including the department or division of junior colleges, community colleges, and universities providing vocational education in no less than five fields not leading to baccalaureate degrees.

6. Teacher training and supervision, program evaluation, special demonstrations and experimental programs, development of instructional materials, State administration and leadership.

In addition, 10 percent of grants under Section 2 shall be made to colleges, universities, State boards and other agencies for research and training programs, and experimental or pilot projects to meet special vocational education needs of youth--particularly those in depressed communities who have handicaps preventing them from succeeding in other vocational education programs.

Amendments to Smith-Hughes and George-Barden Vocational Education Acts

The following applies to the vocational education program under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, the George-Barden Act of 1946 as amended, and supplementary vocational education acts notwithstanding anything in those Acts to the contrary:

1. Any portion of any allotment under the Smith-Hughs Act, the George-Barden Act amended, or supplementary vocational education acts may be transferred to or combined with (a) other allotments under the above-mentioned Acts or (b) the allotment under Section 3 of the Vocational Education Act of 1963.

2. Funds for agricultural education maybe used for vocational education in any occupation involving knowledge and skills in agricultural subjects, whether or not such occupation involves work of the farm or of the farm home, and such education may be provided without directed or supervised practice on a farm.

3. Funds for home economics education may be used for vocational education to fit individuals for gainful employment in any occupation involving knowledge and skills in home economcis subjects; and at least 10 percent of home economics allotments for fiscal year 1966 and thereafter must be used only for vocational education to fit persons for gainful employment in occupations involving knowledge and skills in home economics, or transferred to another allotment under Section 10 (a), or both.

4. Funds for distributive education may be used to prepare for gainful employment any person over 14 years of age who has entered upon or is preparing to enter upon such occupations. Such education need not be provided in part-time or evening schools. This now permits pre-employment training. Heretofore, distributive education Federal funds for use at the high school level have been available only for cooperative programs. At the adult level, they have been available only for extension courses.

5. Funds for trade and industrial education may be used for pre-employment schools and classes organized to fit for gainful employment persons over 14 years of age who are in school. Such schools and classes may be operated for less than 9 months per year and less than 30 hours per week, and without the requirement that a minimum of 50 percent of the time be given to practical work on a useful or productive basis if the pre-employment training is for single-skilled or semi-skilled occupations which do not require training or work of such duration or nature. Moreover, it is no longer necessary that one-third of any amounts allotted for trade and industrial education be applied to part-time schools or classes for workers who have entered upon employment.

See the following fact sheet for information on Residential Schools and the Work-Study Program provided by the new Act.



RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS AND THE WORK-STUDY PROGRAM AUTHORIZED BY THE NEW VOCATIONAL EDUCATION ACT OF 1963 -- PL 88-210

Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

(This fact sheet is a supplement to fact sheet No. 15 entitled The Vocational Education Act of 1963. It provides detailed information on two significant aspects of the new Act.)

Work-Study Programs

Purpose: The Vocational Education Act of 1963 authorizes special funds for four years, beginning on July 1, 1965, to conduct experimental work-study programs for students. The purpose is to provide part-time employment to full-time students in vocational education programs who would be unable to continue their full-time schooling without a source of income. Funds appropriated for work-study programs are to be used to pay salaries of vocational education students employed in public agencies.

Use of Work-Study Funds: The Act prescribes that authorized work-study programs shall:

1. Be administered by the local educational agency and made reasonably available (to the extent of available funds) to all youth in the area served by the agency who can meet the requirements of the next paragraph.

2. Provide that employment under such work-study programs shall be furnished only to a student who (a) is or has been accepted for enrollment as a full-time student in a vocational education program which meets standards prescribed by the State board and the local educational agency for vocational education programs, (b) is in need of the earnings from such employment to commence or continue his vocational education program, and (c) is at least 15 years and less than 21 years of age at the beginning of his employment under the work-study program.

3. Provide that no student shall (a) be employed under such work-study programs for more than 15 hours in any week in which his classes are in session, (b) or for compensation exceeding $45 per month in any month or $350 in any academic year or its equivalent unless: The student is attending a school which is not within reasonable commuting distance from his home, in which case his compensation may not exceed $60 in any month or $500 for any academic year or its equivalent.

4. Provide that employment under such work-study programs shall be for the local educational agency or some other public agency or institution.

5. Provide that, in each fiscal year during which such programs remain in effect, such agency shall expend (from sources other than Federal funds under this section) for the employment of its students (whether or not in employment eligible for assistance under this section) an amount that is not less than its average annual expenditure for work-study programs of a similar character during the three fiscal years preceding the fiscal year in which its work-study program under this section is approved.

Residential Vocational Schools

Purpose: Funds are authorized for four years beginning July 1, 1965, to make grants for the consturction and operation of residential vocation schools which would provide room, board, vocational training, and paid employment to strate the feasibility and desirability of residential vocational education schools for certain youth of high school age.

Grants may be made to State boards for vocational education, to colleges and universities, or, with the approval of State boards, to local public schools or school agencies. In making such grants, the United States Commissioner of Education shall give special consideration to the needs of large urban areas having substantial numbers of youths who have dropped out of school or are unemployed.

State Eligibility: In order to qualify for funds, a State must submit through its vocational educztion board a State plan for administering the funds which meet certain criteria prescribed in the Act.

Funds Authorized: The following amounts have been authorized, but not yet appropriated, for work-study programs and residential schools for four fiscal years beginning July 1, 1965:

Fiscal year 1965 -- $30,000,000
Fiscal year 1966 -- $50,000,000
Fiscal year 1967 -- $35,000,000
Fiscal year 1968 -- $35,000,000

For More Information -- contact your local school authorities, State board of education or State board of vocational education, or the Vocational Education Division, Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C.

[1964]

PROPOSAL FOR RESEARCH DEPARTMENT IN THE SOUTHERN
REGIONAL OFFICE OF CORE
Submitted by Southern Staff

CORE's projected expansion in Southern states and the development of a viable and sophisticated movement in the South requires extensive research and investigation if they are to be at all effective. The brunt of the burden must be taken by an office with a paid full-time staff with the specialized training required, located in a community that has access to college libraries, federal offices, etc. We therefore recommend that a Research Department be added immediately to the Southern Regional Office, staffed by at least three or four trained persons. The location is ideal in terms of facilities available.

The Research Department must, first of all, keep abreast of current studies being made by a variety of research agencies--e.g. Southern Regional Council, S.N.C.C. Research Department, National CORE Office research. The relevant portion of this material should be made available to Southern staff.

Where this information is not already available, primary research is needed immediately for each of the states in which CORE has staff, in the following areas:

1. Economic structure of state as a whole as well as of each county or parish.
   a. Industries
   b. Crops
   c. Economic leaders
   d. Labor unions, leaders, etc.
   e. Welfare, etc.
2. Political structure of state and county or parish.
   a. Governmental structure and public officials (data on each)
   b. Power structure
   c. Anatomy of local extremist groups
   d. Democratic Party structure, officials, and policies (relation to national party, etc.)
3. Federal programs and assistance available.

a. Agriculture
b. Employment
c. Public Health
d. Education (especially adult education)

In some form the Department information should be distributed to field workers in all areas on a regular basis (through newsletters, etc.). Every staff meeting ought to include a briefing from the Department. The Department also ought to work closely with workers developing training sessions for staff workers and local leaders.

Besides full-time staff, however, indigenous resources can be utilized. The Research Department should tap the agriculture, law, political science, sociology and medical schools of Southern colleges, especially the Negro colleges. There are both faculty and students at these colleges who would give their time and skills to supply the staff's need for information in the areas listed above.

Overall direction and coordination of this department should come from one staff director. We suggest that the CORE SEDF provide a full-time director for this project.

BUDGET
FOR FIRST SOUTHERN CORE WORKSHOP, Jan. 23-25, [1965]

It is likely that some of the listed expenses may not amount to as much as estimated. There is the possibility of some free housing and free rental of conference facilities. In any event, an accurate record of receipts and disbursements will be kept, and submitted to the national office at the conclusion of the conference.

Housing for eighty people @ $4.00 per da.	$320.00/	3 days	960.00
Travel expense(see below) round-trip			513.50
Food 2 meals daily @ 75¢/meal.	120.00/	3 days	360.00
Rental of conference facilities @ 25.00/da,			75.00
Information kit @ 60¢/person			48.00
Incidentals and emergencies			75.00
		Estimated Total	$2031.50

Note: Travel expense is computed on a mileage rate of 5¢/mile for one car each from North Carolina, South Carolina, Jackson, Miss. and Alexandria, Louisiana; two cars each from Florida, Baton Rouge and Monroe, Louisiana; three cars each from Canton and Meridian, Mississippi.

[1965, ca. Feb 25]

MEMO

FROM: SOUTHERN OFFICE

TO: SOUTHERN PROJECTS

Re: Miscellaneous Items

This office has received letters from the CORE Southern Education Project listing the following items as available:

400	Hootenanny Records
1	Radio
1	Electric Phonograph
about-20 0	assorted classical, popular and folksong records

The Ethical Culture Society of Long Island has written that the group has some 10,000 books. These are high school and grade school text books plus a number of school library books. Most text books may be obtained in quantity. Please indicate which of these items you wish or need. Since some are limited, it is best that you let us know whether you wish to add the second radio, for example, or whether you have none at all. Naturally the priority will be given to that project which has no equipment.

As you probably know, once these materials have been collected at some northern point, the collecting agency is anxious to get them shipped down to the south. Please answer right away so that this matter can be disposed of.

Just a reminder that the office expects project reports on or about February 25th.

Richard Haley
CORE Southern Director
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70113

REPORT NO. 1 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH DR. ELIZABETH LAIZNER AND MEMBERS OF THE CORE CHAPTER OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE: March 1, 1965

Dr. Laizner described the CORE project, which is called "Operation Dialogue". She is chairman of the project. It is over a year old and has covered 2 neighborhoods and will soon be starting a third. The following is a description of the project.

The CORE members select a run-down neighborhood which has not been designated for redevelopment. They canvas the neighborhood throughly in 2's in an attempt to discover what the community feels it needs. They often return to the same house more than once and they attempt to speak to everyone in the selected neighborhood. They also look for potential neighborhood leadership. After each interview, the CORE members fill out a CORE Neighborhood Survey, which evaluates each interview, indicating what each person wants for the neighborhood, and opinion on their potential leadership qualities.

The two neighborhoods that the project already entered are the Bingham Street Neighborhood and the Reid Street Neighborhood.

In the Bingham Street neighborhood, the main problems indicated by the community were (1) street lights and (2) street paving. After canvasing was completed, the potential leaders that were indicated on the surveys were called together for a meeting. They formed a Neighborhood Improvement Organization, which elected officers, obtained publicity for their complaints, and contacted city officials which have been meeting with the group. They have now obtained the street lights they requested, and have prepared a petition for getting the streets paved, which is being circulated by a committee from the leadership group which came from the community. The city is very cooperative, and all the problems seem to come from the landlords. Since most of the people in the all-Negro community rent their homes, the landlords need to sign the petition for street paving, and they are hesitant since it will cost them money. However, the City Manager has indicated that this can be overcome. Housing is a problem in this area. Only 10 to 15% of the people own their home, and many do not keep them up properly. Conditions are very poor and run-down, rents are very high, and landlords are uncooperative. The neighborhood organization called in housing inspectors and some improvements were made. They also called in the Sanitation Department which took some action and there were definate results. They circulated leaflets with suggestions for sanitation and clean-up, and the neighborhood is responding with signs of cleaning up yards, etc. Another problem is that the homes are infested with roaches and other insects, so the neighborhood committee has contacted exterminating companies for special rates for having the whole neighborhood use their services cooperatively. They are having very good response here and will be able to get regular extermination service for the entire neighborgood at very reasonable prices. I suggested that they obtain other services cooperatively in their home improvement campaign, such as painting, carpentry, etc. -- In this neighborhood registration is low, but this is due more to lack of interest by the people than to difficulty at the courthouse, which doesn't seem to be a problem.

Reid Street Neighborhood - here the neighborhood seems willing to rally around a traffic light at a crucial corner and a playground. They expect to find some landlord violations here, also. Canvasing has just been completed in this area, and they have names of nearly a dozen potential leaders and a good church contact. This neighborhood has no strong leadership at all - not even from the church. The group is now trying to obtain a vacant lot for the playground. The city has indicated that it is ready to spend money on the playground.

The group also has welfare activities - districuting food, clothing & toys. This is done by the community. Though the Welfare Dept. won't give out information on the neediest families, district nurses have helped to select families. Average families have 6 to 7 children, in depressed homes.

Urban renewal is beginning in Greensboro, and the city is not doing much about finding housing for displaced families.

Group receives good support from all news media (2 articles attached).

CORE group expects to begin "Operation Dialogue" in new neighborhood - very depressed Negro community - in about 2 weeks. They will begin by canvasing and using survey forms to indicate community problems and potential leadership.

Main problems seem to be poor housing conditions, getting people to complain, lack of cooperation from landlords.

A small group of CORE members stand by for each community, while the large group goes on to a new neighborhood. The programs are started by CORE, but carried out by the neighborhood organization.

Greensboro city officials are comparable good and will respond to pressure.

Group To Hire Exterminator

Employment of an exterminator will be discussed by Eastside Park Association, formerly the Bingham Street Community Council, at a meeting tomorrow at 8 p.m. at Mt. Zion Baptist Church on Bingham Street.

The group proposes to retain an exterminator, with each family paying a portion of the fee, as one of the projects in a neighborhood improvement program now under way.

Also to be discussed will be a request for installation of a traffic light at Gillespie and East Market Streets. Alternative steps which might be taken in an effort to get streets in the area paved will be discussed. Petitions for the paving are insufficient. Much of the properrty in the area is rental.

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Experiment In Eastside Park

Neighborhood Dilemma: Big Problems, Little Help

BY DOROTHY BENJAMIN
Record Staff Writer

Members of the Eastside Park Community have learned that if the Lord helps those who help themselves it is not always true of men.

Residents of the community which is bounded by Peachtree, Bingham, Spencer and Gillespie Streets and includes Hillsboro, York, Gant, Hassall and Perkins Streets, are trying to improve their neighborhood but have found many roadblocks in their path.

Landlords who don't want to make repairs or sign paving petitions lead the list, according to Mrs. Joanna Thomas, secretary of the organization. She hastily added that her own landlord said he supported the movement and would do what he could to help but others have stated flatly they would not cooperate.

"Most of them are not so willing and one woman even asked us if we were just trying to stir up trouble. Some of the people are willing to paint their homes if the landlords furnish the paint but others are not able to do it. We have a lot of older people in the neighborhood," Mrs. Thomas said.

Most of the families live in rented apartments, duplexes and houses but some own their homes. Except for Gillespie and the streets are un- Water often stands in ditches and yards, sometimes running over doorsills, and many of the buildings show the need of repairs, even if only a coat of paint.

Last June the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality suggested to residents of the area that they do something to improve their community and offered help in getting the project under way.

THE BINGHAM Street Neighborhood Organization was founded. The name was changed later since streets other than Bingham were included. There were about 11 persons on the organizing committee headed by Mrs. Georgia C. Byrd with Roosevelt Chambers as cochairman, Mrs. Thomas as secretary and Miss Delois Harvey, assistant secretary.

In the beginning the CORE people visited the homes to discuss the purposes of the project and sent out the notices for the two organizational meetings. Now the committee meets every second Monday in the month and the entire group meets the Thursday before the first Sunday.

The committee members went from door to door getting the names of the tenants or homeowners and other information about the condition of the property, complaints, suggestions and a list of needs was made.

On the list were paved streets, street lights, a traffic light at the intersection of Gillespie and Market Streets, streetside trash containers, caution and stop signs.

The complaints to the landlords said that about three-fourths of the apartments have only one door; that water stands in the yards and under the houses and comes in the doors; that the population of roaches and other bugs and rats is very high; and that there is no yard area to hang wash.

Personal letters were sent to the landlords but the response was not exactly overwhelming.

"One landlord said he was willing to pay the paving petition if the tenants would pay higher rents. But they can't pay higher rents," Mrs. Thomas said.

The rents range from about $11.50 a week for three rooms and bath to $15 or $16 a week for the newer houses, according to Mrs. Thomas.

City officials were invited, and attended, meetings of the organization and several meetings were held with City Manager George Aull in his office. Archie Andrews, city building inspector; Wayne Nall, assistant superintendent of sanitation; Charles Fairley, director of projects for the Greensboro Redevelopment Commission, and Robert Barkley, executive director of the commission, were among those who took an interest in the project.

However, to date the only accomplishment has been street lights.

The houses were inspected, but Mrs. Thomas described the inspection of her own apartment as "cursory."

Notices were to be sent to the landlords to exterminate but she does not know if they were. If any event, no exterminating has been done and the members are studying the possibility of joining together and employing an exterminating company themselves.

The committee distributed leaflets from the city on the necessity of tenants or homeowners having and using garbage cans with tight lids and as dog-proof as possible.

"Often the garbage cans are turned over and the garbage clogs the ditch where water is standing and it stinks!", said a tenant.

Some of the people have gotten garbage cans or replaced old ones but others have not.

A MEETING with a Guilford County sanitarian is being planned.

"We've gone about as far as we can with the street petition. I got 11 out of 23 signatures on Bingham Street and I think that's much more than anyone else did. You have to have 51 per cent of the property owners to sign to get the street paved. We haven't been able to get the traffic light and we can't find any land for a park for the children to play in," Mrs. Thomas said.

City Traffic Engineer Gene McCombs said his department did a complete survey of the Gillespie and Market intersection and found it was not feasible to put a light there.

"It is jammed in next to the ramp from O. Henry Boulevard. Also our survey showed there is not enough traffic to justify a light and you can increase rather than decrease accidents if you put a light where it isn't justified," McCombs said.

However, McCombs said his department would investigate to find a proper and safer route for the children who must cross Market Street in that area on their way to Jonesboro School. City school officials also have indicated an interest in the matter. There is a school crossing guard at Raleigh Street several blocks away.

Mrs. Thomas pointed out that in addition to the children many of the women in the community cross the street several times each day for the bus to and from work.

The future of the Eastside Park Community is not clear at this point. Mrs. Thomas and her family are moving to the country.

QUESTIONNAIRE
CORE Neighborhood Survey

1) Name _____
Address _____
2) Number of persons in family _____

2) Ownership of Dwelling:
a) Private House _____
b) Rents: House ___ Multiple Dwelling ___ Apartment ___
c) Name of Landlord, if any _____
d) Rent: per month _____ per week: _____

3) Description of House and/or Apartment
a) Frame ___ Brick ___ other ___
b) Condition: New ___ Good ___ Fair ___ Rundown ___ Very Rundown ___
c) Number of: Bedrooms ___ Livingroom ___ Kitchen ___ Bathroom ___
d) Size of Rooms: Large ___ Medium ___ Small ___
e) Electricity: Yes ___ No ___
f) Remarks _____
_____

4) Complaints against Landlords, if any
a) Rent too high _____
b) Prompt payment of rent strictly enforced _____
c) Repairs: Refuses to make repairs ___ Slowmaking repairs ___
d) Heating and plumbing _____
e) Other _____
_____

5) Condition of Streets, etc.
a) Paved ✓ Gravel ___ Dirt ___ Other ___
b) Sidewalks: Yes ___ No ✓
c) Streetlights: Yes ___ No: ___ one, maybe
d) Playground: Yes ✓ No ___ Do you want one? ___
e) Remarks _____

6) Approves of neighborhood organization: Yes ___ No ___
Why? _____
(To be filled out by interviewer only) Do you consider the person interviewed a potential neighborhood leader Yes ___ No ___
Why _____

7) Does the person interviewed approve of demonstrations or picketing for better employment opportunities, if necessary? Yes ___ No ___
Why? _____

8) Remarks about employment conditions at the place of work of the person interviewed _____
_____
_____

Interviewers: _____ _____ Date: _____

REPORT NO. 2 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF CHAPIL HILL CORE, CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE: March 2, 1965

Chapel Hill is the most integrated city in North Carolina, and most of the public accomodations were integrated before the Civil Rights Act.

A main program of this chapter is a tutoring program. College students, most of them white, tutor elementary school children in academic subjects in preparation for school integration. They go to the students homes and work with them on a one to one basis. Most of their tutoring involves reading, and they have ordered reading kits which they use for the 9 or 10 kids that are already participating in the second week of the program. Most of the students come from a depressed area where the housing is poor, lacks plumbing,etc. They have enough reading kits for 25 students. There are now 4 Negro and 8 white tutors. The program could be expanded if they had more money. So far they have had little response or interest from parents, who seem suspicious. Library facilities are available in this community, but are far from adequet. The area does have a community center. They indicated that there is a need to tutor the students in other subjects that they lack whihh the white schools have, such as foreighn languages. They feel that a day care center for pre-school children is needed in this area. I suggested that they may be able to obtain funds from the Office of Economic Opportunity if they could draw up a program including all these things, determine a source of 10% in cash or services of the amount they will ask, form a Community Action Group, etc. They seem interested in this project and will look into it. However, the main problem is that this group, largly white, has few contacts in the Negro community and does not see good possibilities for forming a community action group. Their main problem is communication with the [illegible] community. Apparantly there is hostility towards CORE due to past unplesant experiences.

The other project deals with the North Carolina Memorial Hospital in Chapel Hill, which receives Hill-Burton funds and is still segregated. I recommended that they write to the Public Health Service of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, with a copy to the hospital, describing the problem and asking for the complaint procedure. I told them to do that immediatly, and in the meantime to document any information they can find to support their charge. Rev. Cox suggested that the NAACP will handle the suit if that is necessary.

A low-rent public housing project is planned for the city, but is being held up to do dispute between Negro and white leaders as to the location of the project. CORE has been asked, by Negro leaders in the dispute, not to become involved.

Landlord violations are frequent and though the laws on housing codes,etc. are good, they are not enforced.

The city is going to have one school system in the high schools next year, combining Negro and white schools into one school, thus having complete integration of students. However, they have indicated that only 2 of the teachers from the Negro school (Negroes) will be hired in the new school. Therefore, the Negro officials and teachers are opposed to combining the schools. Problem here is integration of teachers rather than students. Rev. Cox suggested that the chapter call a meeting of the Negro teachers and attempt to get them jobs in the new school.

They described an incident in a newly desegregated school, which is known to be hostle towards integration, where a 13 year old girl was expelled for chewing gum in school. She is accused of being psychologically disturbed, and will not be re=admitted until she receives a statement from a psychiatrist. A priest we visited after the meeting, who is new in Chapel Hill and has shown interest in CORE, said that the girl comes from a family who is indifferent about the situation, and would not protest. He said the school was aware of this at the time they took the action. The girl has been out of school for more than 4 weeks. The priest is taking some kind of action on this, and the chapter will make complaints to the Office of Education of HEW on this and other incidents of discrimination at this school.

The main problem of the chapter seems to be lack of communication with the community. Most of their work, it seems, has been independent of the local Negores, and they are not sure how to organize them for a large program.

REPORT NO. 3 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH REV. LORENZO A. LYNCH OF GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA, NEGRO MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF A MIDDLE INCOME HOUSING PROJECT IN GREENSBORO, A REDEVELOPMENT AREA.

DATE: March 3, 1965

The following information came from Rev. Lorenzo, in his description of the project in Greensboro.

The purpose of the project is to provide middle-income housing for families being displaced by urban renewal. The original cash can be obtained from any civic organization, church, fraternity, etc. The Greensboro group borrowed the money from the Redevelopment Commission. It is a non-profit project - all rent money, after expenses, goes to the federal government. The Board of Directors receives no pay. A rental agent is hired and is responsible for rent, maintanance, etc. The rents in the middle-income project are from $60. to $77.50 per month. The federal government determines the rents from the cost of the original construction. An architect must be found who is willing to gamble with plans and get money later. Non-profit middle-income housing is distinct from public housing. The down payment is smaller in a redevelopment area. People being displaced by urban renewal can purchase single family homes for not much more than $300. down. The need within urban renewal areas is more single family dwellings for Negroes. These dwellings should be within the urban renewal area. Usually they are pushed into segregated areas outside of the redevelopment area. Emphasis must be on placing Negro families in single private dwellings in integrated areas. Each city is responsible for providing sufficient low-rent housing through their housing authority. Complaints of displacement go to HHFA. The Redevelopment Commission is not responsible for getting housing for displaced families. The responsibility is with the housing authority, which is appointed by the City Council in Greensboro.

REPORT NO. 4 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH MR. MCKISSICK AND MISS CAROL SILVER OF THE CORE CHAPTER IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA & Mr. Robert Foust, Acting Director of local CAP + Director of Community Planning Council

DATE: MARCH 3, 1965

The main concern here is the local Community Action Program, called "Operation Breakthrough" which has had its program approved by the Office of Economic Opportunity for $180,714.00.

After discussing the matter briefly with the CORE representatives, I visited the office of Mr. Robert Foust, Acting Executive Director of "Operation Breakthrough" to discuss the program.

When the original funds were requested to begin the program, CORE had them held up until the Board of Directors was integrated. At present, there are thirteen (13) Negroes on the Board of 38 members. Of these five (5) Negroes are militant and were selected by CORE or the NAACP. The program will be carried out in three areas - one partially mixed but primarily white, and 2 Negro. The programs will be Neighborhood Center, Adult Education, Day Care, Home Management, Tutorial Centers, Employment and Job Development, Housing, Health Education and Nursing Program. I obtained a copy of the program, as submitted to the OEO. They have begun to hire their staff and it seems to be integrated on all levels. Though they voted to keep salery information confidential, Mr. Foust agreed to call a meeting of the Board of Directors to get permission to send me the salery (beginning and top) for each position. He indicated that plans are being made to create integrated programs as much as possible within the segregated community (in other words, where races are separated by the communities they live in.) Miss Silver indicated that she will study the program carefully and propose any ideas to the Board of Directors that CORE thinks will make the program more integrated. Mr. Foust seems very anxious to please CORE, takes our requests very seriously as a result of (1) having the funds stopped once before at the beginning of the project and (2) he thinks that I was sent from the National office just to look into his project, and feels he is being closely watched by CORE - which he is. He indicated that attmepts are being amde to involve the poor in the program, though they have only begun on this. He also gave me specific information about the jobs now held by Negroes, the jobs that are open, etc. He also indicated that all agencies with which the CAP will work, are integrated. There seems to be a very serious attempt being made to keep this entire program throughly integrated under the watchful eye of CORE, in order to protect their government funds.

The program was begun by the North Carolina Fund, which is providing the needed 10% in cash.

Mr. Foust suggested that his office participate in out convention in June in Durham, by describing their CAP.

Mr. McKissick is also concerned about a bill pending in the state legislature to abolish capitol punishment in all charges except rape. The local newspaper explained this exception as needed in case Negro men rape white women. He feels that workers are needed to pressure this bill to be passed without this discriminatory exception.

They would like me to spend some time in North Carolina and visit other offices such as Mr. Foust to urge non-discriminatory programs.

REPORT NO. 5 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH WINSTON-SALEM CHAPTER OF CORE

DATE: MARCH 3, 1965

This chapter has activities in many areas. The following is the programs they described.

VOTER REGISTRATION: Winston-Salem is in Forsyth County, which is 49.0% Negro. There are no problems with registrars here - applicant need only sign their name. The big problem here is getting people to go out to register. The chapter did a great deal of work on this before the last election, with the help of funds they obtained from the Southern Regional Council. They added more than 5,000 voters to the rolls, and most of them came out on election day. There are Negro registrars, two of which are very liberal and even helped with the canvasing. The group canvassed for weeks, and talked to the people about the importance of voting, etc. On election day they provided cars to transport the people in the fringe areas to the polls in white precincts where they had to vote. CORE received TV coverage on this. CORE did not tell the people which candidates to vote for. The preferred candidate lost by about 2,000 votes, and it was discovered during the election that there were some confusing irregularities in the voting machines that caused people to vote for federal candidates only, and to neglect local elections. Republican poll watchers prevented confused people from obtaing assistance with their voting. When this was discovered, CORE set up charts outside of the polls explaining the procedure, but it was too late. Again, the main problem the group has faced in voter registration is getting the people to register.

HOUSING: The low-rent public housing in this area was integrated without pressure or publicity. CORE tested with very satisfactory results.

EDUCATION: One junior high school has been throughly integrated - both students and teachers. System now stands that students will be sent to school nearest their homes. In many cases, this will send Negro children to white schools, and vice-versa. The present school issue is over land that is being allotted for new schools; lots for white schools seem to be larger than lots for Negro schools.

HOSPITALS: A completely segregated white hospital (located in the Negro community) received Hill-Burton funds, and completely integrated. Present dispute over location of new hospital.

EMPLOYMENT: This was indicated as the main problem area by the group. They are finding it difficult to get evidence of discriminatory hiring practices where they feel it exists. They constantly run up against the excuse that the Negro applicant was not qualified, but the city provides no training programs, nor do the industries. They seem unable to document specific complaints.

PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS: Many facilities of a private segregated recreation area have been closed down for being public.

ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM: The CAP of Forsyth County is called the Self-Relience and Anti-Poverty Program of Forsyth Counhy. The program, which includes adult education, job training, improvement of living conditions program, etc., is now being supported by the North Carolina Fund, xxx is presently applying for funds to the OEO. The Director is very good, and has been working cooperatively with CORE. The Board of Directors has six Negores, twelve whites. There are two paid Negfo workers at present, and 5 applicants. The program will function in two Negro areas and two whites. The problem here is that the neighborhoods are sox completely isolated from each other that it is almost x impossible to have integrated programs. CORE has revhiwed the proposal, given their suggestions, and are now completely satisfied with the program as it has been submitted to the OEO. The city, it seems, is going to provide the needed 10%.

The Mayor of Winston-Salem is reasonably cooperative. Mrs. Wilson, the chapter advisor, is on the city-wide Human Relations Committee. She is VERY militant.

This group also, said that they would like me to visit some of the local leaders in business, etc. to indicate that CORE is very aware of their activities.

REPORT NO. 6 - SOUTHERN REGION TOUR - JUDI NUSBAUM

SUBJECT: DISCUSSION WITH REV. COX ABOUT THE CORE CHAPTER IN HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE: March 4, 1965

High Point is a city with very few problems in public accomodations. CORE opened up almost 100% of the segregated facilities long before the Civil Rights Act of 1965. The city has a permenant Human Relations Commission, with a full time office and secretary.

VOTER REGISTRATION: CORE, working with the NAACP and Voters League, has yearly voter registration drives. Here, getting people registered is no problem.

EDUCATION: The city-wide Education Committee, of whihh Rev. Cox is Co-chairman, has placed more than 100 Negro students into white schools. The chapter also works indirectly with an adult education class which has requested funds from the OEO. Public school teachers have volunteered their time to this. There were 137 adults, most of them illiterate, involved by the end of the last year of the program.

HOUSING: CORE has integrated 4 neighborhoods in the last 2 years.

EMPLOYMENT: Several accomplishments have been made here. Negroes have been placed on the police force - 9 patrolmen and 2 detectives, due to request of CORE. They are now attempting to obtain integrated assignments of the police. They have placed 17 Negro sales clerks in the down town area, 2 bank tellers, 2 bank clerks, 5 milk men with 5 different milk companies,etc. CORE opened up and desegregated the employment office long before the Civil Rights Act. High Point has a very high rate of employment - only 1% unemployed - and the main problem is finding Negroes to fill the newly opened job opportunities.

PUBLIC ACCOMODATIONS: Most were opened by CORE before the Civil Rights Act. Last month CORE removed segregated signs from the rest rooms, drinking fountains, etc. of 67 furniture companies. They are now attempting to integrate tax-supported and private cemetaries, and have slowed down progress on a new cemetary which is planned for all Negroes. They are also working on integration of the jails.

MEMO FROM: Judith Nusbaum

DATE: April, 1965

SUBJECT: Proposed plans for summer 1965, Research/Federal Programs

I. Federal Programs

Since federal programs covers such a great number of things, and is fairly new to staff, I think it is important to break it down to a few areas of emphasis for the summer program. There are hundreds of different federal programs, and probably each of them could benefit the Negro communities of the South in one way or another. However, the staff does not have the time, size, or intention to go through massive information on all these programs, to select the few that would be most useful in their particular community. Also, some of the programs are more difficult than others to work with, and it is important to consider realistically the limitations of staff in the new area of federal programs.

There are two primary ways of dealing with federal programs. One is to try to bring new programs into the communities, and the other is to try to work with the existing programs, to remove discrimination and improve effectiveness. I think that the first involves more time, energy and attention than our staff will be able to give this summer. To bring in a new program, such as an Anti-poverty Program, would take the full-time efforts of many more people than we will be able to spare, particularly with the many other programs being planned for the summer. A Community Action Program (CAP) under the Economic Opportunity Act demands a great deal of initiative from the community to be served. I think we will be in a better position to deal with this program after the summer, when independent new community organizations have been developed to work with.
Of course, we should keep careful checks on CAPs that are being developed by others.

(con't)

Therefore, in general I think that we should work with the existing programs, with exceptions in areas where particular interest is shown in beginning a particular progran (such as a Community Action Program in Sumter, South Carolina; a Farmers Cooperative in St. Francisville, Louisiana; a Food Stamp Program in Monroe, Louisiana; etc.). Perhaps the summer will develop more experience and interest in federal programs, and the permenant staff which remains in the fall will be better able to think in terms of initiating new programs.

The areas that I propose for emphasis this summer are Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Executive Order 10925, and Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS). The following are brief descriptions of possible activities in these areas:

(A). Title VI of the Civil Rights Act: This title covers non-discrimination in any federally assisted program. I would like to see emphasis particularly in compliance of hospitals, local welfare agencies, and schools - for these institutions, more than any others, effect the lives of the people with whom we will be working. They all come under the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. I would like to see each project make a survey of these institutions in their area, listing the ones that discriminate, and making complaints. By summer, I hope to have complete lists of all institutions which receive federal assistance, but in the meantime, it is safe to assume that all such agencies do. Staff should make complaints to the proper authorities, and follow them up. I will try to pressure the agencies, congressmen, press, etc. to demand immediate action on non-compliance. HEW does not provide for fast enough action on these violations, and we should demand quicker withdrawal of funds. I have sent staff some information on the procedure for making original complaints (see Information Letter No. 9), and will prepare the information in a kit for summer workers.

(con't)

Complaints under Title VI should also be made to other agencies, such as the Department of Agriculture (Farmers Home Administration loans, County Extension Agents, etc.) and the Department of Labor (State Employment Services, etc.).

(B). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act: This title makes equal employment opportunity cumpulsory for all employers, labor unions and employment agencies with one-hundred or more employees. I have accumulated some lists of manufacturers by number of employees for Mississippi and Louisiana, and have informed all staff of how to obtain such information (see Information Letter No. 7). I plan to give them information for making complaints to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, before July 2nd when the title goes into effect. Here, I will encourage staff not only to make complaints, but to contact elegible employers and offer to assist them with compliance.

(C). Executive Order 10925: This order makes it illigal to discriminate in employment in any business which holds a government contract. Complaints on violations should be made to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, with demands for investigation and action. The problem here is finding out which businesses hold contracts. I will continue to give staff this information via my Federal Fund Reports, and will instruct them as to how to obtain the information themselves for specific businesses. Staff should be encouraged to communicate with these contractors, and to try to help them to comply by making Negro employees available to them. If there is a problem of "not enough skilled Negroes", perhaps staff can work with the employers to set up training programs.

(D). Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS): Once a year the farmers of each parish hold an election to choose a three-man ASCS County Committee, which plays an important role in the agricultural community. In order to be effective

(con't)

in integrating the August ASCS elections in Louisiana, it is necessary for staff to begin organizing farmers leagues at once. I will provide material and information on ASCS, but here the organizing is the main thing. I would like to hold workshops to see that the staff and the local farmers clearly understand the procedure of the ASCS elections. I would also like to work with staff to devise some "test" methods, by which we could detect some discrimination in the ASCS programs locally before summer, so that complaints can be made and perhaps some of the problems worked-out before the August elections. I feel that workshops on ASCS should begin at once in Louisiana.

II. Research

In research, I will continue to provide statistical information on such things as voter registration, voter potential, employment, education, income, housing, farming, etc., when staff indicates the need for such information in specific areas.

I am now working on a Handbook of Governmental and Political Structure of Louisiana, and plan to do one for South Carolina. This should be used in a state-wide workshop, and distributed to all staff and volunteers.

I also plan to do a handbook on community organizing to help workers to organize around community interests. It will contain such information as what to do if the community wants its streets paved, a playground, mail delivery, garbage service, street lights, a traffic light, etc.

III. Additional Workers in Research/Federal Programs Department

I would like, if possible, to add two additional workers to this department for the summer. I would like one full-time person to do typing, stencils, correspondence, and routine research (such as using census reports, library, etc.). This would give me more free time to go into the field for workshops, etc.

(con't)

I would also like a worker, not necessarily full-time, but preferably not working on anything else, to do extensive research on the racial murders. This would involve checking old newspapers, perhaps some interviewing, and checking all possible sources of information on these killings, so that a really comprehensive and effective report can be done on the problem of southern racial violence, to be eventually used in a campaign to demand corrective legislation. Perhaps a law student would be good for this, who could also look into the possibilities for such legislation.

* * * * *

SUPPLEMENT TO MEMO:

After some discussion, it has been decided to change the suggestion that Community Action Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act not be included in the summer activities. Instead, we should try to set up such programs in as many of the depressed communities as we can. We can do this by making use of the government assistance that is available from the Office of Economic Opportunity, which supposedly will send someone down to work with our groups to develop and establish a CAP. Particular emphasis will be made in areas that have been designated as eligible for 100% federal financing for their programs, rather than the usual 90%. These areas include East and West Feliciana, Louisiana and several counties in the Fourth Congressional District of Mississippi.

CORE Southern Education Project
38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y.
COrtlandt 7-6270, Ext. #33

June 1, 1965

The CORE Southern Education Project has joined the campaign just launched by National CORE to help raise funds to carry on our Southern Summer Programs in Mississippi, Louisiana and other deep South states. In the past we have asked you to contribute books, typewriters, mimeographs and phonographs. We thank you again for helping us equip 11 CORE community centers and 36 freedom schools. Now we ask for your cooperation and support of our citywide campaign to raise $25,000. The citywide drive is part of a national drive to raise $250,000.

The continuation of CORE's dynamic Southern program, as well as our Northern action programs depend heavily upon this fund drive. We urge or members and friends to support this campaign in one of several ways:

1) Pick up cannisters from the CORE National Office and circulate them among your friends, neighbors, co-workers;

2) Organize a fund-raising party for CORE in your home, office or shop;

3) Arrange with your union, church, synogogue or fraternal group to have a fund-raising party for CORE, or finally,

4) Pick up cannisters at National CORE and participate in a door to door, indoor or street solicitation.

When your fund-raising plans are made fill out the enclosed card and let us know. Use the enclosed business reply envelope to send in your fund collection.

We are counting on your cooperation and support, so please let us hear from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin A. Brown, Chairman
CORE Southern Education Project

Committee Member

Robert Daniels, Vice-Chairman, Ashley King, Vice-Chairman, Mary Brown, Secretary-Treasurer. Committee members: Pamela Day, Marily Einhorn, Carol Goslin, Virginia Talarico, Virginia Hood, Samuel Akesson, Laraine Fox, David Holderidge, Mary Battle, Carol Hammond, Norman Goodwin, Rose Gordon, Rhoda Pauley, Priscilla Alexander, Delores Fleet, Alex and Nina Perkins, Nancy Strawbridge, Mary Jo Moore, Vivian Lamont, Gertrude Morris, Hinda Schuman, John and Anne Patterson.

Federal Funds Report #1

NOTE TO SOUTHERN STAFF: I've been continuously receiving requests from the field for information about federal funds, for enforcement of Titles VI and VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As I mentioned in Information Letter No. 6, this information is not easy to obtain. I can only obtain small portions at a time, and it will be quite a while before I have a complete list. In the meantime, however, I want to give you as much of this information as possible. Therefore, I will send you these FEDERAL FUND REPORTS whenever I receive new lists.

THIS LIST INCLUDES ALL RESEARCH GRANTS AWARDED IN 1964 BY THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE OF THE U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE. THEREFORE, ALL THE INSTITUTIONS LISTED ARE COVERED BY TITLE VI OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964.

The list includes all grants made to Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Texas. Upon request, I will furnish the purpose of the grant and the amount of money.

ARKANSAS

Clarksville - College of the Ozarks
Conway - Arkansas Children's Colony
Fayetteville - University of Arkansas
Little Rock - Arkansas State Hospital
University of Arkansas
Searcy - Harding College

LOUISIANA

Baton Rouge - Louisiana State Department of Hospitals
Louisiana State University
Southern University
Carville - Public Health Service Hospital
Hammond - Southeastern Louisiana College
Jackson - East Louisiana State Hospital
Lafayette - University of Southwestern Louisiana
Mandeville - Southeast Louisiana Hospital
Natchitoches - Northwestern State College
New Orleans - Alton Ochsner Medical Foundation
Cherity Hospital of Louisiana at New Orleans
Louisiana state Department of Health
Louisiana State University
Touro Research Institute
Tulane University
Shreveport - Confederate Memorial Medical Center

FLORIDA

Boca Raton - Florida Atlantic University
Coral Gables - University of Miami
Gainesville - University of Florida
Jacksonville - Baptist Memorial Hospital
Florida State Board of Health
St. Vincent's Hospital
Kissimmee - Animal Disease Diagonostic Laboratory
Lakeland - Florida Southern College
Miami - Berry College
Communication Research Institute of St. Thomas
Florida State Board of Health
Institute of Dream Research
University of Miami
National Children's Cardiac Hosp.
Papanicolaou Research Institute
Variety Children's Hospital
Variety Children's Research Foun.
Miami Beach - Mount Sinai Hospital
Okeechobee - Florida School for Boys at Okeechobee
Orange Park - Yerkes Labortories of Primate Bioloty, Inc.
Orlando - Sunland Training Center at Orlando
St. Petersburg - Presbyterian College
Tallahassee - Florida State University
Tampa - Germfree Life Research Center
Hillsborough County Board of Public Insturction

(CON'T)

FLORIDA (CON'T)

Tampa (con't) - University of South Florida
Tampa General Hospital
Vero Beach - Florida State Board of Health
West Palm Beach - Ruth M. Stewart Memorial Research Laboratory

MISSISSIPPI

Ellisville - Ellisville State School
Jackson - University of Mississippi
State College - Mississippi State University
University - University of Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

Butner - Murdoch School
Chapel Hill - University of North Carolina
Charlotte - Charlotte Memorial Hospital
Davidson - Davidson College
Durham - Duke University
Intersociety Committee for Research Potential in Pathology, Inc.
North Carolina College
Goldsboro - O'Berry Center
Greensboro - Agricultural and Technical College of No. Carlina
Raleigh - Biophysical Society
North Carolina Foundation for Mental Health Research, Inc.
North Carolina Prison Department
North Carolina State of the Univ. of North Carolina
North Carolina State Department of Mental Health
Wilmington - Babies Hospital Research Center
James Walker Memorial Hospital
Winston-Salem - Forsyth County Health Dept.
Wake Forest College
Bowman Gray School of Medicine

SOUTH CAROLINA

Charleston - South Carolina, Medical College of
Clemson - Clemson University
Columbia - Friendship Center
South Carolina State Mental Health Commission
University of South Carolina

OKLAHOMA

Enid - Enid State School - Oklahoma Dept. of Mental Health and Mental Retardation
Norman - Oklahoma, University of
Oklahoma City - Mercy Hospital - Okla. City General Hosp.
Oklahoma City University
Okla. Medical Research Institute
Oklahoma State Dental Assoc.
University of Oklahoma
Stillwater - Oklahoma State University of Agriculture and Applied Science
Vinita - Eastern State Hospital

TEXAS

Abilene - Abilene Christian College
McMurry College
Arlington - Arlington State College
Austin - Austin Community Guidence Center
Texas State Department of Health
University of Texas
Canyon - West Texas State University
College Station - Texas Agricultural and Mechanical University
Dallas - Baylor University
Dallas County Hospital District
J.K. & S.L. Wasley Research Institute & Blood Center
Southern Methodist University
University of Texas
Grad. Research Center of the Southwest
Denton - Denton State School
North Texas State University
Texas Woman's University
Fort Worth - Fort Worth Independent School District
Harris Hospital
Texas Christian University
Galveston - University of Texas
Georgetown - Southwestern University
Houston - Baylor University
Community Council of Houston and Harris County
Houston Speech and Hearing Center
Houston State Psychiatric Inst. for Research Training

TEXAS (CON'T)

Houston (con't) - University of Houston
University of St. Thomas
Texas Children's Hospital
Texas Medical Center, Inc.
Texas Southern University
University of Texas
William Marsh Rice University
Huntsville - Sam Houston State Teachers College
Lubbock - Lubbock City-County Health Dept.
Texas Technological College
Plainview - Wayland Baptist College
Prarie View - Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College
San Antonio - Incarnate Work College
Our Lady of the Lake College
Southwest Foundation for Research & Education
Wesley Community Centers
Seguin - Texas Lutheran College
Temple - Scott and White Memorial Hospital - Scott, Sherwood & Brindley Foun.
Tyler - Texas College
Wace - Baylor University

NEW OFFICE
2209 DAUPHINE ST.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

Judi Nusbaum
Feb. 1965

Federal Funds Report #2

This list includes all research and demonstration projects that have received funds in 1964 from the VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, in Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina and Texas.

The specific purpose of individual grants is available upon request.

ARKANSAS

Merrilton - Merrilton Public Schools
Training Center for the Mentally Retarded
Little Rock - Arkansas Rehabilitation Service
Southwest Rehabilitation Center for the Blind
Ark. Enterprises for the blind, Inc.
Pulaski County Chapter of Ark. Assn. for the Crippled
Arkansas Vocational Rehab. Service
Ark. Legislative Council

FLORIDA

Avon Park - Florida Alcoholic Rehab. Pro.
Clearwater - Abilities Inc. of Florida
Coral Gables - Univ. of Miami
Fort Myers - Lee County Assn. for Retarded Children
Gainesville - Univ. of Florida
Jacksonville - Mental Health Assn. of Duval County
Duval County Society for Crippled Children
Lake Worth - Palm Beach County Assn. for Retarded Children
Miami - Chronic Illness Project, Inc.
Jewish Vocational Service
Tallahassee - State Div. of Vocational Rehab.
Tampa - MacDonald Training Center Fund
Tampa General Hospital

LOUISIANA

New Orleans - Louisiana Assn. for Mental Health
Tulane University School of Medicine
Shreveport - Caddo-Bossier Assoc. for Mentally Retarded Children

MISSISSIPPI

Gulfport - Harrison County Assn. for Retarded Children
Hattiesburg - Mississippi Southern College
Jackson - Hinds County Assn. for Retarded Children
Miss. Division of Rehabilitation for the Blind
Univ. of Miss. Medical Center

NORTH CAROLINA

Chapel Hill - Univ. of No. Carolina
Charlotte - Mecklenburg County Assn. for the Blind
Durham - Duke Univ. School of Medicine
Duke University
Duke University Medical Center
Greensboro - Greensboro Community Council
Raleigh - N.C. Commission for the Blind

OKLAHOMA

Norman - University of Okla. Research
Oklahoma City - Vocational Rehab. Div.
Univ. of Okla. Medical Center
Okla. State Legislative Council
Stillwater - Oklahoma State University

SOUTH CAROLINA

Clinton - Whitten Village
Columbia - Jr. League Speech & Hearing Ctr.

TEXAS

Austin - University of Texas
Board for Texas State Hospitals and Special Schools
Div. of Vocational Rehabilitation
Dallas - Southern Methodist University
University of Texas Southwestern Medical School
Dallas Tehabilitation Institute
Caruth Memorial Rehabilitation Center
Edinburg - The Rio Grande Assn. for the Mentally Retarded
El Paso - Goodwill Industries of El Paso
Fort Worth - Goodwill Industries of Fort Worth
Galveston - University of Texas
Houston - Baylor Univ. College of Medicine
Houston Speech and Hearing Center
University of Texas, Grad. School of Biomedical Sciences
Texas Institute for Rehabilitiation and Research
University of Houston
Vocational Guidance Service
Lubbock - Texas Technological College
San Antonio - Mental Health Assn. of Bexas County
San Antonio Council for Retarded Children
Waco - Baylor University

Judi Nusbaum
CORE Southern Office/Research
2209 Dryades Street
New Orleans, La.

Federal Funds Report #3

This list includes all Work-Study grants to colleges and universities to help students of limited means finance their college education. This program is created under Title I part C of the Economic Opportunity Act, and is carried out by the Office of Education of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare.

ARKANSAS

Pine Bluff - Agricultural, Mechanical & Normal College
Russellville - Arkansas Polytechnic College
Arkadelphia - Henderson State Teachers College
Little Rock - Little Rock University, Philander Smith College
Magnolia - Southern State College

FLORIDA

Miami - Barry College
Embry-Riddle Aeronautical Inst.
Daytona Beach - Bethune-Cookman College
Ocala - Central Fla. Jr. College
Tallahassee - Fla. A & M University
St. Petersburg - Fla. Presbyterian Coll.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans - Dillard University
St. Mary's Dominican Coll.
Tulane University
Xavier University
Lake Charles - McNease State College
Baton Rouge - Southern University
Lafayette - U. of SW La.

MISSISSIPPI

Cleveland - Delta State College
State College - Miss. State University
Tougaloo - Tougaloo Southern Christian College
University - U. of Mississippi

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro - Agricultural & Technical College of N.C.
Bennett College
U. of North Carolina
Charlotte - Charlotte College
Johnson C. Smith Univ.
Durham - Duke University
Greenville - East Carolina College
Fayetteville - Fayetteville State College
Raleigh - Shaw University
St. Augustine's College

OKLAHOMA

Lawton - Cameron State Agricultural College
Edmund - Central State College
Warner - Connors State Agricultural College
Ada - East Central State College
Langston - Langston University
Tahlequah - Northeastern State College
Stillwater - Oklahoma State University

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia - Benedict College
Central - Central Wesleyan College
Orangeburg - Claflin College
Columbia - University of S. C.
Denmark - Vorhees School & Jr. College

TEXAS

Dallas - Bishop College
Cisco - Cisco Jr. College
Corpus Christi - Del Mar College
Athens - Henderson County Jr. College
Austin - Huston-Tillotson College
U. of Texas
San Antonio - Incarnate Work College
Our Lady of the Lake Coll.
San Antonio College
College Station - Texas A & M Univ.
Kingsville - Texas College of Arts & Indus.
Houston - Texas Southern University
Fort Worth - Texas Wesleyan
Wharton - Wharton County Jr. College

Texas (CON'T)
Baytown - Lee College
Belton - Mary Hardin-Baylor College
Corsicana - Navarro Jr. College
Edinburg - Pan Amer. College
Prarie View - Prairie View A & M Coll.
San Angelo - San Angelo College
Levelland - South Plains College
San Marcos - Southwest Texas State Coll.
Alpine - Sul Ross State College
Brownsville - Texas Southmost College
Canyon - West Texas State University

Weekend Travel Report #3

CORE SOUTHERN OFFICE
2209 DRYADES ST.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70113

Federal Fund Report #4

CORE Southern Office/Research ** 2209 Dryades St. New Orleans, La. ** 523-7204 ** 3/65

Here is another list of organizations which have recently received federal funds. The names are followed by the federal agencies which awarded the contract, and the aprox. date.

ARKANSAS:

Searcy - Benton Cabinet and Supple Co., 711 North Maple St. (Dept. of Defense, 2/23/65)
Ashdown - B & F Mfg. Co., P.O. Box 428 (Dept. of Defense, 2/24/65)

FLORIDA:

Miami - Nat Harrison Associates, Inc. 513 N.E. 2nd Ave. (U.S. Navy - 2/15/65)
St. Petersberg - Honeywell, Inc. Aeronautical (National Aeronautics & Space Admin, 2/15)
Jacksonville - Rawls Brothers Contractors, Inc., P.O. Box 2347 (U.S. Navy - 2/15/65)
Plant City - Plant Industries, Inc. P.O. Box 1550 (Dept. of Defense - 2/16/65)
Plymouth - Plymouth Citrus Products Cooperative (Dept. of Defense - 2/16/65)
Orlando - Precisioneering, Inc., P.O. Box 6974 (U.S. Navy - 2/16/65)
Jacksonville - General Engineering Co., 339 Park St. (U.S. Navy - 2/19/65)
St. Petersburg - Electronic Communications, Inc. 1501 72nd St. North (Air Force 2/23/65)
Tampa - Azzarelli Construction Co. P.O. Box 9097 (Air Force 2/23)
Clearwater - Sperry Rand Corp. Sperry Microwave Electronic Co. (U.S. Army - 2/23/65)
Miami - Miami Serpentarium Lab., Inc. 12655 Dixie Highway (HEW - 3/24/65)
Hialeah - Jet Avion Corp. 950 S.E. 8th St. (Air Force - 2/24/65)
Eau Gallie - D. Brown Associates, Inc. , P.O. Box1197 (Army - 2/24/65)
Fort Lauderdale - J.B. Fraser & Sons Inc. 1515 S.W. 20th St. (Army - ~~X~~ 2/24/65)
Clearwater - Sperry Rand Corp.
Cape Kennedy - Brown Engineering Co., Inc. P.O. Drawer W (Army - 2/24/65)
Winter Park - Harper, Inc., Mechanical Contractors, 1155 S. Orlando Ave. (Army - 2/24/65)
Melbourne - Space Systems Laboratory, 526 Fee Avenue, P.O. Box 163 (Air Force - 2/24/65)
Orlando - Martin-Marietta Corp. (Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs - 2/24/65)

LOUISIANA:

New Orleans - Fraering Brokerage Co., Inc. 4906 Jefferson Highway (Air Force - 2/15/65)
Baton Rouge - Dravo Corp. P.O. Box 1030 (Army - 2/23/65)
New Orleans - Jahncke Service, Inc. 814 Howard Ave. (Army - 2/23/65)
New Orleans - William-McWilliams Industries, Inc. 3308 Tulane Ave. (Army - 2/23/65)
Rustin - Atlas Construction Co, Inc. PO Box 370 (Army 2/23/65)

NORTH CAROLINA:

Greensboro - DeSota Chemical Coatings, Inc. Carolina div. 1025 Howard St. (Army - 2/15)
Greensboro - Loewenstein-Atkinson, Architects (General Services Admin. - 2/16/65)
Asheville - Mills Manufacturing Corp. (Army - 2/23/65)
Ashville - Taylor Instrument Co, P.O. Box 2116 (Dept. of Defense - 2/23/65)
Robbinsville - The Applachian Contracting Co. P.O. Drawer 604 (Army - 2/24/65)
Jacksonville - Grady's Moving & Storage, Inc. P.O. Box 53 (Defense - 2/24)
High Point - Morakis Painting Contractors, P.O. Box 733 (Defense - 2/24)
Fayetteville - Snell Engineering and Construction Co. P.O. Box 805 (Defense 2/24)
Burlington - Western Electric Co. ~~M~~ (Army - 2/24)

OKLAHOMA:

Tulsa - Westinghouse Electric Corp. 703 Enterprise Building (Dept. of Interior - 2/16/65)
Enid - George E. Failing Co., 2215 So. Van Buren St. (Army 2/16)

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson - IRBY Construction C. (Dept. of Interior - 2/15/65)
Greenville - McMillan Welding & Machine Works, Inc. 242 Walnut St. (Army - 2/16/65)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia - Stone Manufacturing Co. 3452 Main St. (Dept. of Defense - 2/23/65)

TEXAS

Waco - Jace Automotive Supply, 1906 E. Crest Dr. (Air Force 2/15/65)
Del Rio - Harold Kelley, Mechanical Contractor, 607 E. Gibbs St. (Air Force, 2/15/65)
Sugar Land - Imperial Sugar Co. P.O. Box 25 (Dept. of Defense 2/16/65)
Amarillo - U.S. Dept. of the Interior Bureau of Mines Helium Activity, P.O. Box 911 (2/16)
Dallas - Texas Instruments, Inc. Apparatus Div. Box 6015 (Air Force 2/19/65)
Abilene - T. S. Lankford and Sons, Inc. 101 Walnut St. (Dept. of Defense - 2/23/65)
Duncanville, Texas - M.H. Equipment Co., Inc. 822 Duncanville Rd. (Gen. Services Admin.2/23)
Houston - Stauffer Chemical Co., Consolidated Chemical Div. 6910 Fannin St. (TVA 2/23)
Houston - Texas Welding and Press Co., Inc. Box 9391 (GSA - 2/23)
Fort Worth - Howell Instruments, Inc. 3479 West Vickery Blvd. (Army - 2/23)
Fort Worth - Mell Helicopter Co, Div. of Bell Aerospace Corp. P.O. Box 482 (Army 2/23)
Dallas - Texas Instruments, Inc. 13500 N. Central Expressway (Navy 2/23)
Greenville - Ling-Tempo-Vought, Inc. Temco Aerosystems Div. P.O. Box 1056 (Air Force 2/23)
Austin - University of Texas, Office of Govt. Sponsored Research, P.O. Box 7982 (Army 2/23)
Houston - Kakos Nursery Inc. 1000 Conrad Sauer Road (Army 2/23)
Houston - Fisher Construction Co. P.O. Box 2249 (Army 2/23)
San Antonio - The Jarbet Co, 903 Basse Road (Army 2/23)
Richardson - Chaney & James Construction Co., Inc. P.O. Box 510 (Army 2/23)
Dallas - Holfield Construction Co. 2415 Inwood Road (Air Force 2/24)
Fort Worth - Don E. Hansen, 2312 Decatur St. (Air Force 2/24)
Dallas - Space Corp. (NASA 2/24)
Fort Worth - Texas Central Electronics, Inc. 3006 Cullen St. (Air Force 2/24)
Port Lavace - Bauer Dredging Co, Inc. P.O, Box BB (Army 2/24)
Dallas - General Electric Co. 8101 Stemmons Freeway (Air Force 2/24)
Dallas - Airmotive Engineering Corp. 5035 Sharp St. (Air Force 2/24)
Fort Worth - Westinghouse Electric Corp. 918 Firth National Bldg. (Air Force 2/24)
Fort Worth - General Dynamics Corp. GD/Fort Worth (Air Force 2/24)
Austin - Univ. of Texas, Office of Govt. SponsoredResearch, Box 7982 (Army 2/24)
Dallas - Texas Instrument Inc. P.O. Box 5012 (Air Force)2/24
Temple - Goolsby Engineering, Inc. (Navy 2/24)
Fort Worth - Parker Electric Co. 3100 North Main St. (Defense 2/24)
Abilene - Boone and Pope Architects and Engineers, 262 Leggett Drive (GSA 2/24)

Federal Funds Report #5

CORE Southern Office/Research ** 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, La. ** 523-7204 ** April, 65

The following organizations have recently received federal funds or contracts. They are followed by the name of the agency from which they received the funds. The dates and initials following the listings identify them to me, in case you request more information on specific items.

I have not received any indication that the information in these Federal Fund Reports is being used by anyone. Please let me know if this information is useful to you so I can determine whether or not to continue to send them. I am not including Texas, Oklahoma or Arkansas in this report. If staff in those areas wish to be included in future reports, and will use the information, please let me know.

FLORIDA

Bradenton - Manatee Junior College (HEW) phs
Cocoa Beach - Day and Zimmerman, Inc. 3466 So. Atlantic Ave. (Army) 3/15 cbd
Dade City.- Withlacoochee River Electric Cooperative, Inc. (USDA) 2/16 pr
DeFuniak Springs - Choctawhatchee Electric Cooperative (USDA) 2/16 pr
Florida State Board of Health (HEW) phs
Fort Lauderdale - Systems Engineering Laboratories, Inc. 4066 NE 5th Ave. (NASA) 3/15 cbd
Fort Lauderdale - E & I Inc. 3000 W. State Road 84 (3/15 cbd)
Fort Myers - Edison Jr. College (HEW) 32 pr oe
Fort Walton Beach - Metric Systems Corp. 738 N. Beale St. (Navy) 3/15 cbd
Gainseville - Sperry Electronic Tube Div., Sperry Rand Corp. (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Lakeland - South-Eastern Bible College (HEW) 3/2 pr oe
Miami - Dade County Dept. of Public Health (HEW) phs
Miami - Miami-Dade Jr. College (HEW) 3/2 pr oe
Miami - Avent Construction Co., Inc. 360 NW 27th Avenue (GSA) 3/15 cbd
Miami - Harris Paving & Construction Co., 4275 SW 73rd Ave. (Army) 3/15 cbd
Pensacola - Management Services Inc. PO Box 8057 (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Jacksonville - Jacksonville Hospitals Educational Program, Inc. (HEW) phs
St. Petersburg - Honeywell, Inc., Aeronautics (NASA) 3/15 cbd
Tallahassee - Sunland Training Centers, Florida Division (HEW) phs
Tallhassee - Florida State University (HEW) 3/2 pr oe
Tampa - Hillsborough County Health Department (HEW) phs
Tampa - Harry A. MacEwen, A.I.A. Architect, 1408 Swann Ave., (3/15 cbd)
West Palm Beach - Palm Beach County Health Department (HEW) phs

SOUTH CAROLINA

Abbeville - West Carolina Rural Telephone Cooperative (USDA) 2/16 pr
Charleston - International Aerospace Service Inc., Charleston Air Force Base (3/15 cbd)
Columbia - Governor's Interagency Study Council on Mental Retardation (HEW) phs
Columbia - S. C. State Board of Health (HEW) phs
Greenville - Textile Chemicals, Inc. PO Box 368 (GSA) 3/16 cbd
Isle of Palms - Construction Service Co., Inc. Drawer F (3/18 cbd)
South Carolina State Dept. of Mental Health (HEW) phs
South Carolina Water Pollution Control Authority (HEW) phs
Sumter - Boyle Construction Co., A Division of W. B. Boyle Co., 28 E. Liberty St. (Navy) 3/18 cbd

(CON'T)

LOUISIANA

Alexandria - Cotton Bros. Baking Co. (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Baton Touge - Ethyl Corp. PO Box 53091, Istrouma Station (Air Force) 3/15 cbd
Delta - Fordice Construction Co., PO Box 37 (Army) 3/15 cbd
Harvey - Avondale Shipyards, Inc. PO Box 116 (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Louisiana Steam Control Commission (HEW) phs
New Orleans - Psychoanalytic Institute (HEW) phs
New Orleans - Oshsner Foundation Hospital (HEW) phs
New Orleans - Touro Infirmary (HEW) phs
New Orleans - Louisiana State Univ. (HEW) 3/2 oe
New Orleans - Louisiana Air Control Commission (HEW) phs 3/2
New Orleans - Gurtler, Mebert & Co., Inc. PO Box 8066 (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Pineville - Central Louisiana State Hospital (HEW) phs
Pineville - Pinecrest State School Hospital (HEW) phs
Ponchatoula - Tangipahoa Migrant Committee, Health Subcommittee (HEW) phs
Port Barre - Grimmett, Janes and Traylor, Inc. PO Box 308 (army) 3/18 cbd
Ruston - Louisiana Children's House (HEW) phs
Shreveport - Wolf's Inc. (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd

MISSISSIPPI

Columbus - Mississippi State College for Women (HEW) 3/2 oe
Hancock County - M.S.F.C. - Mississippi Test Facility (3/15 cbd)
Jackson - Mississippi State Board of Health (HEW) phs
Jackson - Jackson State College (HEW) 3/2 oe

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville - Mille Mfgr. Corp. PO Box 8100 (Air Force) 3/18 cbd
Belmont - Belmont Abbey College (HEW) 3/2 oe
Charlotte - Mercy Hospital (HEW) phs
Charlotte - Presbyterian Hospital (HEW) phs
Charlotte - Baker Equipment Engineering Co., Inc. 2401 N. Graham St. (Dept. of Defense) 3/16 cbd
Charlotte - Queens College (HEW) pr oe
Chapel Hill - North Carolina District Health Dept. (HEW) phs
Concord - Cabarrus Memorial Hospital (HEW) phs
Durham - North Caroliha College (HEW) 3/2 oe
Elizabeth City - District Health Dept. (HEW) phs
Elizabeth City - College of the Albemarle (HEW) phs
Fayetteville - Methodist College (HEW) 3/2 oe
Greensboro - Womsn's College of the U. of N.C. (HEW) phs
Greensboro - Guilford County Chronic Illness & Rehabilitation Foundation, Inc. (HEW) phs
Greensboro - King-Hunter, Inc. 1421 Westover Terr., (Dept of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Greensboro - Dependable Machine Co., Inc. PO Box 839 (Dept. of Defense) 3/15 cbd
Hendersonville - Migrant Council of Henderson County Inc. (HEW) phs
Misenheiier - Pfeiffer College (HEW) oe pr
Morehead City - Carteret County Migrant Committee (HEW) phs
Pembroke - Pembroke State College (HEW) oe 3/2
Raleigh - North Carolian State College (HEW) 3/2 oe
Raleigh - N.C. Academy of General Practice (HEW) phs
Raleigh - N.C. State Board of Health (HEW) phs
Salisbury - Rowan County Health Dept. (HEW) 3/2 phs

Judi Nusbaum
Research/Federal Programs

Federal Funds Report #6

CORE Southern Office/Research ** 2209 Dryades St., New Orleans, La. ** 523-7204 ** 4/15/65

Complaints on employment discrimination on any of the following government contractors should be made to the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D. C. Send copies of complaints to the Civil Rights Commission and to me. Request an investigation, and a follow-up report.

ARKANSAS

Little Rock - Riverside Nursery, 1325 Rebsamen Pk. Road 3/18
North Little Rock - K C Foods, 3401 E. Broadway 3/8
West Memphis - W. K. Ingram Construction Co., PO Box 369, W. Memphis 3/2
Stuttgart - The Arkansas Rice Growers Cooperative Assoc. 3/8
Benton - Carter Construction Co, Inc., P.O. Box 89 3/2

FLORIDA

Melbourne - Geo. Space Corp., Div. of Western Equities, Inc., 7725 New Haven Ave. 3/1
Deland - Roehr Products Co., Inc, Subsidiary of Brunswick Corp, P.O. Box 960 3/1
Orlando - Dynationics, Inc., 3/1
Isamorada - Alonzo Cothron, Inc., Box 7 3/2
Tampa - Cone Brothers Contracting Co., P.O. Box 1259 3/2
Cocoa - Strode Construction Co., P.O. Box 294 3/3
Pensacola - Greenhut Construction Co., Inc., 23 S. A Street 3/3
Cape Kennedy - TRW Space Technology Laboratories, Fla., Div. 7001 No. Atlantic Ave. 3/5
Sattelite Beach - Engineering Corp. of Fla., 225 So. Patric Drive, P.O. Box 2188 3/5
Miami Beach - Fryd Construction Corp., 523 Michigan Ave. 3/5
Jacksonville - McMullen Construction Co., Inc., 1705 E. Adams St. 3/8

LOUISIANA

New Orleans - Williams-McWilliams Industries, Inc. 3303 Tulane Ave 3/1
New Orleans - Standard Dredging Corp., P.O. Box 8092, Gentilly Station 3/3
New Orleans - Supreme Sugar Refinery Div., J. Aron & Co., Inc. 336 Magazine St. 3/8

NORTH CAROLINA

King's Mountain - Mauney Hosiery Mills, Inc., Box 628, Pine St. 3/2
Hickory - Ellis Hosiery Mills, Inc., Old Lenoir Highway, Post Office Drawer 1088 3/2

OKLAHOMA

Norman - F. D. Price Construction Co., 402 W. Main St. 3/17
Oklahoma City - General Baking Co., 5 North East 12th St.. 3/15
Bessie - Keil & Schmidt Construction Co., Inc., Box 128 3/2
Clinton - Richardson Construction Co., 1416 Avant 3/2
Tulsa - Avco Corp., Tulsa Division, 10700 E. Independence, Drawer N. Admiral Station 3/5
Tulsa - Dorsett Electronics, Inc., 1143 S. 71st East Ave. 3/2

(OVER)

SOUTH CAROLINA

Columbia - Baker Construction Co. 3/1
Wando - Murphy Marine Railway & Repair Works 3/8
Mount Pleasant - Detyens Shipyards, Inc., P.O. Box 38, 3/8
Charleston Heights - Sandblasters, Inc. P.O. Box 4795, 3/8
Hollywood - Metal Trakes, Inc., P.O. Box 127, 3/8

TEXAS

Dallas - Chance Vought Corp., Division Ling-Temco-Vought, Inc., Range Systems Div., 1057 Pacific Ave. 3/15
Dallas - Vilbig Construction Co., P.O. Box 5926, 3/15
Dallas - Collins Radio Co., Dallas Division 3/1
Dallas - Anderson, Clayton & Company Foods Division, 500 Gibralter Life Bldg., P.O. Box 35 3/8
Dallas - Binyon-O'Keefe Warehouse Co., 2155 Oak Lake Ave. 3/8
Dallas - National Geophysical Co., Inc., 2345 West Mockingbird Lane, 3/1
San Antonio - Skyline Construction Co., P.O. Box 6448
San Antonio - Holland and Little, Inc. and Delta Electric Construction Co, Inc. P.O. Box 6086
San Antonio - Southwest Research Institute
San Antonio - Keogelein Provision Co., P.O. Box 1687
San Antonio - Scobey Moving and Storage Co.
League City - Snowcan, Inc. and T. A. Kolgord & Co., P.O. Box 917
Lone Star - General Dynamics Corporation, Convair/Daingerfield Division
Terrell - Garland Body Co., 409 E. Moore St.
Fort Worth - Standard Meat Co., P.O. Box 4177.
Fort Worth - Vandervoort's Dairy, 900 S. Main
Fort Worth - Douglas A. Lott, 4209 Blackhaw
Fort Worth - General Dynamics Corp. Fort Worth Div., P.O. Box 748
Carrollton - Spencer Construction Co., Inc. P.O. Box 338
Waco - Downing Bros., Inc. Rt. 3, Box 173J
Turkey - W. E. Davis & Lyles Construction Co., Box 367
Witchita Falls - American Bakeries, Co., Taystee Div., 1517-19 Smarsh St.
Orange - Ramsey-Kantz, Inc., P.O. Box 1328
Orange - Levingston Shopbuilding Co.
Houston - Cross Construction Co., P.O. Box 12512
Houston - Cameron Iron Works, Inc., P.O. Box 1212
Houston - Industrial Gas & Electric Co.,
Houston - Universal Pole Bracket Corp. P.O. Box 8454
Houston - Warrior Constructors, Inc. P.O. Box 127
Houston - Comet Rice Mills, Inc. 4601 Clinton Drive
Pampa - Cabot Corp., Machine Div., P.O. Box 1101
El Paso - S & H Construction Co., 4716 Atlas
El Paso - H. Carroll Lee Construction Co., 6999 Commerce
Big Spring - Olen L. Puckett
Port Lavaca - King Fisher Marine Service, Inc. P.O. Box 186
Grand Prairie - Texstar Plastics, 1170 109th Street
Austin - Defense Research Laboratory, U. of Texas
Austin - LaCoste & Romberg, Inc. 6606 North Lamar
Corisciana - Arnett Construction Co., P.O. Box 1157
Richardson - Collins Radio Co., 820 East Arapaho Road

Judi Nusbaum
Research/Federal Pro.

Federal Funds Report #7

CORE Southern Office/Research ** 2209 Dryades Street, New Orleans, La. ** 523-7625 ** 4/24

Complaints to President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, Washington, D.C.

ARKANSAS

Blytheville	S. J. Cohen Co.
Little Rock	Baldwin Electronics, Inc.
Little Rock	Souter Construction Co., Inc., P. O. Box 4345, Asher Station
Fort Smith	Griffin, Srygley and Smith, 2100 Towson Avenue
Fort Smith	Adams, Drimmel Associates, 2101 South H Street
Forrest City	Yale and Towne, Inc.
Benton	Carter Construction Company, Inc., P. O. Box 89

FLORIDA

Gainesville	Sperry Electronic Tube Division, Sperry Rand Corp.
Pensacola	Crown Laundry and Dry Cleaners, Inc., 2900 N. Alcaniz St.
St. Petersburg	Electronic Communications, Inc., 1501 72nd St. N.
Miami Beach	Norman M. Giller & Associates, 975 Arthur Godfrey Rd.
West Palm Beach	United Aircraft Corp. Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Division, P. O. Box 2691
Melbourne	Gee Space Corp., Western Equities, Inc. 7725 New Haven Ave.
Melbourne	Radiation, Inc.
Orlando	Martin--Marietta Corp. Aero Space Division
Orlando	Anderson Electronics, A Division of Anderson Electric Corp.
Plymouth	Plymouth Citrus Products Cooperative
Highlands City	Lakelands Highlands Canning Co.
Crestview	Park-Mar, Inc., P. O. Box 966
Jacksonville	Rawls Brothers Contractors, Inc., P. O. Box 2347
Hialeah	Jet Avion Corp., 950 S. E. 8th Street
Bradenton	Miller Trailers, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue

LOUISIANA

New Orleans	Burke and Associates , Inc., 4176 Canal Street
New Orleans	Rausch Naval Stores, Co., P.O.Box 4085, 823 Jefferson Highway
New Orleans	Great Lakes Dredte & Dock Co., 2400 Canal St.
New Orleans	Godchaux Sugar Refining C.O. P.O. BOX 50488
New Orleans	International Lubricant, P. O. Box 51118
New Orleans	Dibert, Bancroft and Ross Co., Ltd., 3400 Tulane Ave.
Shreveport	Woody's Motor Supply Inc., 1553 Wilkinson St.
Shreveport	Navalee Corp., P.O. Box 1543
Ruston	James & Co., Inc., P.O. Box 370
Avondale	Avondale Shipyards, Inc. P. O. Box 116
Baton Rouge	Continental Engineers, Inc. P. O. Box 3863 Ryan Airport
Harvey	Ingram Contractors, Inc.
Chalmette	Coastline, Inc.
Slidell	Southern Shipbuilding Corp., P. O. Box 1089

Delta Petroleum Company, Inc. P. O. Box 10397 (New Orleans)

NORTH CAROLINA

LaGrange - Hardy and Newsom, Inc.
Southern Pines - LeLand M. Daniels, Jr. P. O. Box 824
Burlington- Western Electric Co, Inc., 204 Graham-Hopedale Road
Greensboro--H. L. Cable Construction Co., 415 North Edgeworth St.
Greensboro -Barker-Cochran Construction Co., Inc.
Greensboro--DeSoto Chemical Coatings, Inc., Carolina Division, 1025 Howard St
High Point- Phillips Davis Inc., 300 S. Main St.
Sylvia William B. Dillard Construction Co., Inc.
Charlotte - Atomatic Sprinkler Co., 2414 N. Brevard St.
Fayetteville - Shell Engineering and Construction Co., P. O. Box 805
Rockingham - Leak Poultry Co., W. C. Leak, 1014 Ann Street
Fairmont - H. S. Lewis & Sons, Inc., 602 Floyd Street
Durham--Research Triangle Institute, Research Triangle Park. P.O.Box 490
Hickory- Clement Brothers, Co., P. O. Box 1628
Thomasville - Rex Plastics, Inc.

MISSISSIPPI

Jackson - Overstreet, Ware, Ware and Lewis
Ocean Sprints - Ferson Optics of Delaware, Inc., 2006 Government St.
Greenville - McMillan Welding & Machine Works, Inc., 242 S. Walnut St.
Starkville - FCA Construction Services, Inc. P. O. Box 693
Olive Branch - Polar Kraft Mfg. Co.
Flora - M-R-S Mfg. Co., P. O. Box 199

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma City-- R. M. Wolfe Mechanical Contractors, 9501 M. McArthur
Midwest City - Jim Cooley Construction Co.
Tulsa -- Century Electronics and Instruments, Inc., 6540 East Apache
Tulsa - Westinghouse Electric Corp. 703 Enterprise Bldg.
Tulsa - Midwestern Instruments, Inc.
Tulsa - Douglas Aircraft. Co., Inc. 2000 North Memorial Dn
Shawnee --Harp's Green Colley Farms, 309 N. Oklahoma St.
Commerce -- Gleen Berry Mfg. Inc. 126 N. River St.
Bessie - Keil & Schmidt
Lawton - Chapman Construction Inc.
Muskagee-- Curry Engineering Co., 1116 Walmut St.
Clinton-- Bills Baking Co.
Poteau - Poteau Trucking Co., P.O. Box 348
Oklahoma City - Townsco Constracting Co., 1115 Cravens Bldg.
Oklahoma City - Industrial Gasket and Packing Co., 801 South Walker
Enid - Smith-Day Architects

SOUTH CAROLINA

Orangeburg-- Palmetto Baking Co., 1037 Broughton, S. C.
Columbia -- Reid Hearn & Associates, 600 Beltline Blvd.
Columbia - Republic-Contracting Corp. P. O. Box 5264
Charleston Heights - Palmetto Construction Co., 1728 Spruill Avenue
Little River - E. L. McLamb & Sons Construction Co., P.O. Box 225
Newberry - Eagle Construction Co., P. O. Box 132

TEXAS

San Antonio - Noonan & Krocker & Rogers
San Antonio -- Frank M. Valdez
San Antonio - Southwest Research Institute, 8500 Culebra Road
San Antonio - McKenzie Construction Co., P.O. Box 806
San Antonio - Skyline Construction Co., P. O. Box 6448
Houston - Wyatt C. Hedrick Engineering Corp.
Mission - Mission Paving Co., P. O. Box 591
Waco --Baylor University
Dallas - Allan Construction Co., Inc., and F. S. Funk Co., Meadows Bldg.

Dallas-- Graduate Research Center of the Southwest, P. O. Box 30365
Dallas--Texas Meat Packers, Inc., P.O. Box 5236
Dallas - Van Waters & Rogers, Inc. 10216 Denton Dr.
Dallas - Collins Company
Dallas - Griller Tool Corp.9109 Carpenter Freeway
Dallas - L. T. Industries, Inc. P. O. Box 6327
Dallas - Foremost Dairies, Inc., 8033 Ambassador Row
Waxahachie - Westboyd Chemical Co., Inc., P. O. Box 402
Bridgeport - Henderson, Henderson and Thompson, Box 514
Sherman - Shellenberger, Inc. P.O. Box 880
Fort Worth - Stratoflex, Inc. 220 Roberts Cut- Off Road
Westronics,-Inc. 3605 McCart St. Fort Worth
Fort Worth - Herman DeHart, General Contractor, P. O. Box 9222
Fort Worth-- Bell Helicopter Co., Divl of Bell Aerospace Corp. P. O. Box 482
Fort Worth--Standard Meat Co., P. O. Box 4177
Fort Worth - Swift & Co. P. O. Box 549
Fort Worth -- Howell Instruments, Inc., 3479 W. Vickery Blvd.
El Paso --Electro Mechanical Research, Inc. 8888 Dyer St.
Houston -- Evans Construction Company, 5837 Northdale St.
Houston -- York Construction, Inc., P. O. Box 12216
Houston - Gulf Aerospace Corp. P. O. Box 1536
Houston -- Welton Becket , F. A. I. A., Architect, 802 Lovett Blvd.
Houston - Cameron Iron Works, Inc., P. O. Box 1212
Big Spring Automotive Supply, 214 W. Third
Corpus Christi -- The Falls Co., Inc., P. O. Box 5084
Kilgore- Griffin & Dickson, P. O. Box 1204
Greenville - STV Electrosystems, Inc. P. O. Box 1056
Houston --Armco Steel Corp., Steel Div. Industrial Road
Houston -- Vector Cable Co., 5616 Lawndale Avenue
Houston - McGinnes Bros., Inc. P.O. Box 52248
Corsicana - Jack P. McKinney, 307 First National Bank Bldg.
Corpus Christi - Anchor Constructors, Inc., P. O. Box 2064
Denton --Foremost Mobile Homes Mfg. Corp.
Sherman -- Everett Mitchell Construction Co., Box 59
Fort Worth - Hardee Construction Co., Inc. P. O. Box 373
El Paso - Braddock, Dunn & McDonald, 1405 1st National Bldg.
San Angelo - Gandy's Inc. Box 922

Nat'l CORE

CORE SOUTHERN WORKSHOPS 1965

The CORE Southern Program is a broad undertaking which attempts to touch the lives of southerners at many points. Each of our workers is concerned with one or several such points, but few have the opportunity to see our full program in depth. This workshop is the first of three scheduled to be held before summer, 1965: Jan. 21-23, March 25-27 and May 27-29.

The subject matter of the three conferances will not vary appreciably. There are three general topics: program, CORE organization and procedures, and non-CORE services (legal aid, etc.). Sessions will be set up in small-group workshops. For the most part, resident staff-people will serve as discussion leaders, but some non-CORE resource persons play an essential role in explaining their special activities.

Either in part or in toto, the conference may handily consider these basic questions:

1. To what human need(s) is this program (or project) addressed?
2. Can you state a goal for it?
3. What methods or activities are presently employed to carry out the program?
4. Can you evaluate the effectiveness of these methods?
5. What programmatic changes and/or additions are necessary?
6. How does your project fit into the total program?

There are presently sixty-five field secretaries and Task Force workers on the CORE staff, plus fifteen or so volunteers. We plan for at least five additional resource people, a number that had best be considered as ten. This adds up to an approximate total number of ninety people, of whom eighty will be from out-of-town. A budget is appended, together with an agenda for the workshop.

There will be three "Special Sessions" on non-CORE services: Legal Services, Community Health and Medical Care, and the National Council of Churches. Discussions on these topics will center around:

1. Resources available through this service
2. Objectives and methods of operation presently practiced
3. Proposed changes to improve program content and co-ordination.

A Brief Description of Each Element of the CORE Southern Program
To Be Included in the January Workshop (1965)

Community Organization. This is not really a programmatic item, but a technique to be used in all the CORE programs. The technique centers around our efforts to determine:

1. What socio-economic problems are most important to members of the Negro community? (*)
2. How can we adapt CORE's ideas and resources to those needs?

(*) For instance, CORE southern staff tends to regard public accommodations campaigns as superficial compared to such fundamental concerns as job-training. But it is recognized that success in the latter may only be achieved by using public accommodations as a means of establishing solid rapport with the people.

Food and Welfare Program. Many Negroes have lost jobs, customers or local credit because of their participation in the civil rights struggle. Others, already unfortunate, have been dropped from subsistence programs or relief rolls. The CORE Food and Welfare Program attempts to provide sufficient subsistence that these people will not be obliged to give in to segregationist pressure to "Come back in and be a good boy." Resources for this program are obtained from donations and from such federal agencies as the Food-stamp Program. Solicitation, transportation, storage and distribution of these goods are all problems.

✓ Community Center. This may house any number of programs: library, game-rooms, freedom school, nursery, adult literacy program, etc. Its function varies according to needs, available resources and imagination.

✓ Freedom Schools. This institution usually works on a four-point program: basic literacy, communication and mathematics; Negro history; human relations in the immediate community and in American life generally; popular subjects not included in the current curriculum of local Negro schools. In most instances the Freedom School draws exclusively from the teen-age group.

Political Education. There are three areas of inquiry: procedures of voter registration, study of local and state government and local organization for most effective use of the ballot.

Federal Programs. Up to now, most of our concern has been in those programs designed to help rural people. Still to be explored are federal assistance in housing, job-training, community welfare and all the elements of the Economic Opportunities Act.

CORE Policy and Procedures. There are not many CORE chapters in the South. In Mississippi, COFO is a more familiar organization than CORE. The "Project" (Canton, Meridian, etc.) has developed its own modus operandi. Thus it is necessary to acquaint the staff members with many particulars of the organization of CORE.

CORE SOUTHERN WORKSHOP
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA
January 21-23, 1965

AGENDA

The topics previously described will be discussed in the workshops as scheduled below. All topics will be treated during each period. The total attendance will thus be able to divide into small groups so as to achieve maximum participation. Participants will divide into three groups for the special service sessions--Legal Services, Community Health and Medical Care, and the National Council of Churches. These are included in the following schedule.

THURSDAY, Jan. 21

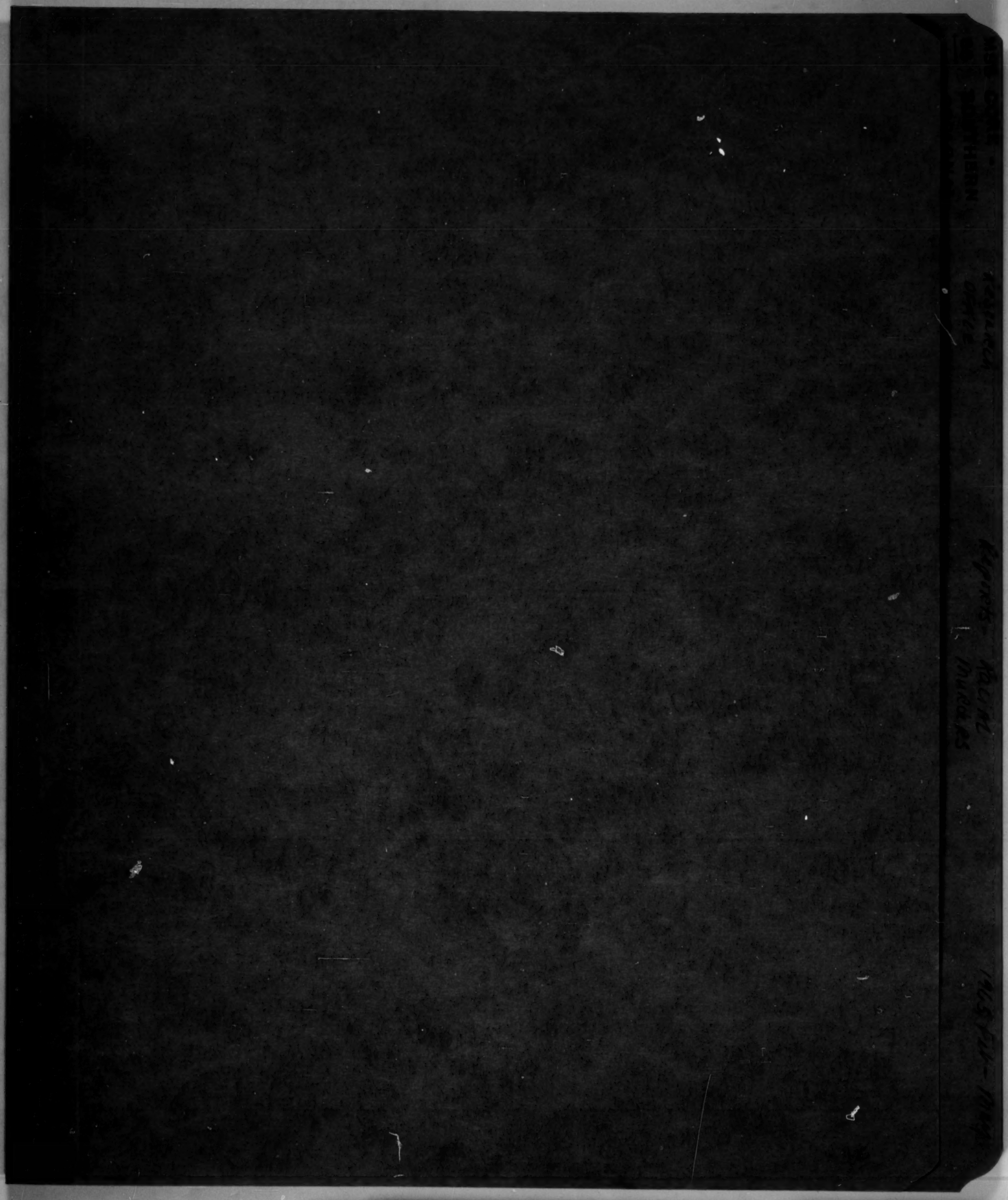
	12 noon	Lunch
	1 p.m.	General Session
1.	2 p.m.	Workshop
2.	4 p.m.	Workshop
	6 p.m.	Dinner
3.	7:30 P.m.	Workshop

FRIDAY, Jan. 22

4.	10 a.m.	Workshop
	12 noon	Lunch
	1 p.m.	Special Services Workshop
	2:40 p.m.	Special Services Workshop
	4:20 p.m.	Special Services Workshop
	6 p.m.	Dinner
	7:30 p.m.	Anti-Poverty Program

SATURDAY, JAN. 23

5.	10 a.m.	Workshop
	12 noon	Lunch
	1 p.m.	Unscheduled
6.	2 p.m.	Workshop
7.	4 p.m.	Workshop
	6 p.m.	Dinner
	7:30 p.m.	General Session



Willie Henry Lee

Born Feb. 15, 1940. Worked at Storkline Corp. Jackson,Miss. since Monday Feb. 22, 1965. Was clean up man in Finish Mill dept. Wage-$1.30 an hour. Work time: 3 to 11:30pm.

He said he didn't like his job and would finish the weekend then quit. His family feels the reasons are: he couldn't go anyplace while on this job, couldn't see his girlfriends and had to commute long distances to work.
/A Friend, Sam Stewart,
~~He~~ said that Negroes were tackled by white men who tried to run them down after work.

Lee previously worked at a factory in Canton,Miss. for the last one to two years.

Lee's family said they didn't know of his attending civil rights meetings, but COFO workers said that he attended some meetings in Rankin County and he may have given some money to the movement. He was not involved in demonstrations or testing.

He has never been arrested for other than minor charges and he reportedly did not drink or carouse. He attended church regularly.

He attended Coahoma Junior College for two years at Clarksdale.

He had no known enemies and reported no threats to his family, or friends.

DISCOVERY AND CONDITION OF BODY.

TIME: About 1:40 pm Thursday,February 25,1965 the body was discovered
a
PLACE: The body was about six feet from the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio rr. tracks,about 100 to 200 yeards from a field road worked by a Negro farmer R.D.Williams, and owned by a white woman. The tracks were between Goshen Springs and ~~xxxx~~ New Fannin on track mile 58.

POSITION OF BODY: Face down,right arm outstretched,right hand clutched some grass.Left arm was under body,across chest and legswere crossed.

CONDITION OF BODY AND CLOTHING: No visible signs of injury,except for slight amount of blood on lower lip. Left cheek bore slight marks from lying on grass. Clothes were dry and unwrinkled.Shoes clean,not muddy and unskuffed although ground was wet because of recent rain.

POSSESSIONS INCLOTHING. Money and car keys still ~~in~~ his pockets and wrist-watch on wrist. It stoppped at 12:30,evidently from running down, since it was not damaged. . An automobile type flashlight,identical to one owned by victim was found about one fourth of a mile away from the body near the tracks. It was not damaged .The victim's flashlight , normally in the car, was not found there.

BODY DISCOVERED BY: John Lee, the victim's father,Frank Davis,Jackson, Sam Stewart,Goshen Springs,Howard Lee,victim's ~~xxxxxx~~ uncle, and

Mr.M.W.Bailey,white foreman. All were working on a motor car riding along the tracks of the GM&O rr.

CHRONOLOGY

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY,24,1965

11:30 pm. Victim left his work at the Storkline Corp. onLivingston rd. He presumably entered his car and began driving to his home inGoshen Springs,Rankin County.

THRUSDAY, FEBRUARY,FeB,25,1965

2:20 am Rain and snow stopped,according to Weather bureau.
6:40am Victim's father,with a work crw, passed Mile 58 of the GM&O tracks and did not notice a body.
1:40pm Victim's body discovered six feet from the tracks at mile 58.
4pm Frank Davis drove on Old Canton rd. and did not see victim's car.
5:30pm Funderal agent went to the home of victim's father.

FRIDAY,FEBRUARY, FEB.26,1965

6:00am Frakk Davis spotted victim's car onOld Canton rd.

1:00pm Victim's father recovered car.

LEES AUTOMOBILE

1963 red Chevrolet Impala. A 1964 maroon Chevy Impala is owned and has been used forthe past few weeks by a white C.O.FO. female and other COFO workers in Rankin County.

Time of discovery: About 6:00 am. Friday,February 26.

Place: On Old Canton rd, near the Catholic Church,about one mile insdie the Jackson city limits.

Discover: Frank Davis, one of men who discovered body. Davis drove home over the road ataboout 4pm the day before and reported the car had not been there.

Conxdition of car: No gas in tank and the ignigxtion switch was on "lock." This switch could easily be turned to that position by using a coin or similar object. The fan belt was broken and was on the front seat. The victim's father reports that the battery was also low. The doors of the car were closed, and a window (or windows) was rolled halfway down.

CAUSE OF DEATH

A doctor for the University hospital in Jackson did an autopsy on Friday,February,26. Cause of death listed as strangulation,probably by gas. He reported no cuts or bruises and no evidence of freezing or heart attack.

REPORT ON THE DEATH OF WILLIE HENRY LEE
FEBRUARY, 25, 1965

Willie Henry Lee, 25, was found dead about six feet from the Gulf, Mobile and Ohio railrodd tracks between New Fannin and Goshen Springs, Miss., about 1:40pm, Thursday, February 25. Within six hours the body had been embalmed without the knowledge or consent of Lee's father. The Rankin county coroner saw no need to conduct an autopsy, despite the circumstances. He said that there was nothing to be learned from one.

No law officer has questioned the victim's family or any other Negroes in the community to ascertain the cause of death until Sunday. At Mr. Lee's request a doctor performed an autopsy Friday which showed that death was cause by strangulation probably by the inhalation of gasoline. No marks of violence appeared on the body. The victim's clothes were clean and his shoes were unscuffed or muddy despite rainfall earlier in the day.

FBI agents claim they see no civil rights violations in the death.

Lee was well liked, quiet, with few close friends. He had never been in trouble with the law, did not drink and was generally well liked by both Negroes and whites. He had a girl friend whom he planned to marry this summer. He attended a few civil rights meetings but never participated in demonstrations or testing. His automobile is similar in make and body style to one driven by a white female civil fights worker in nearby Madison county.

4

OTHERS PERSONS INVOLVED INCASE

Tom McCrary, age about 35, of Goshen Springs/Rankin county, son of Angelo McCrary, said that Lee didn't drink. He was said to suggest to Lee's father that an autopsy be performed on the body. He was a witness at the coroner's inquest.

Angelo McCreay, said at inquest(he was also a witness) that he never knew of any results coming from an autopsy and supported the coroner's claim to the same effect.

Rankin County Coroner came to scene with deputy sheriff. Inquesttook 15 minutes. Death caused by unknown causes.

Dr.William P.Featherston resident at University of Miss. hospital. He performed autopsy at Mapps funeral home, Forest,Miss. His best guess of cause of death was gas strangulation. He said that he could have performed a better job on autopsy if the body had not been embalmed.

It is to be noted that :

1) the corornor did not order an autopsy as is usually customary in cases of death when foul play is suspected.

2)the coroner and Angelo McCrary attempted to discourage the victim's father from permitting an autopsy.

3)the body was embalmed about six hours after it had been discovered.

4)the investigating deputy asked no questions of anyone at the scene of discovery except for purposes of identifying the body.

5) as of March 5,1965, no law officer has visited the home of the victim's father, and the victim's father has received no written report from the coroner and

6) there is no indication that any law enforcement official has visited any Negro connected with the case.

who ordered the embalming?

who did the embalming?

what did he observe?

were blood tests done?

is blood available for testing?

what did sheriff, deputy, or coroner say before or after embalming?

(Charles Horowitz)

Council Of Federated Organizations

1017 LYNCH STREET,

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

3/2



Dear Judy,

Below is a copy of a press release dated Feb.26,1965,Canton,Miss.:

COFO spokesmen today asked the FBI to investigate the mysterious death of a Negro whose body was uncovered by his father on some railroad tracks in rural Rankin County. The victim, William Henry Lee,31, attended civil rights meetings in that county on several occasions.

Lee's father, John Lee, said that the sheriff's office told him an inquest was held buth did not explain what was the cause of death.

The elder Lee, a railroad worker, found his son between Fannin and Goshen Springs, lying face down clutching a patch of grass. One withess told COFO worker Miss Pat Packard that there were fresh scars on the victim's face. Mrs. Ruby Evans,of Sandhill, said that Lee wanted to help the Movement "in any way he could." Miss Packard said that since Jan.4, when Negroes returned from the opening day of Congress in Washington, the number of death threats against Negroes has increased.

Lee,who lives with his parents in Goshen Springs, worked in a Jackson factory, His car was recovered by his father on old Canton Road one mile within the city limits. It was out of gas and the fan belt was on the front seat.

A few days later this more up to date report was filed:

Lee was found dead about six feet from the Gulf,Mobile and Ohio railroad tracks between Fannin and Goshen Springs. Time about 1:40 pm Thursday,Feb. 25. Within six hours, the body had been embalmed without the knowledge or consent of Lee's father. The Rankin county coroner saw no need to conduct an autopsy despite the circumstances. He said that there was nothing to be learned from one.

No law officer questioned the victim's family or any other Negroes in the community to ascertain the cause of death until Sunday. At Mr.Lee's request a doctor performed an autopsy Tuesday, Mar. showed that death was caused by strangulation probably by the inhalation of gasoline.

No marks of violence appeared on the body. The victim's clothes were clean and his shoes were unscuffed or muddy despite rainfall earlier.

FBI [illegible] civil rights violations in the death. Lee was well liked, quiet, with few close friends. He had never been in trouble with the law, did not drink and was generally well liked by both Negroes and whites. He had a girl friend whom he planned to marry this summer. He attended a few civil rights meetings but never participated in demonstrations or testing. His automobile is similar in make and body style to one driven by a white female civil rights worker in nearby Madison county.

Murder number two: Donald Rasberry, about 19, of Okolona, Miss. was sho t and killed by his employer last February. The victim was in charge of his plantation boss's kennels and had the run of the house for about two years. The boss, (?) Anderson is one of the largest plantation owners in the area. He was freed of possible charges when a coroner's jury ruled the death was "justifiable homicide." Anderson claimed that Rasberry broke through a rear screen door and he thought he was a burglar. Another Negro youth who was working at the time claimed that he didn't see anyone try to break though the rear screen door. Anderson reportedly has killed his wife and another man--a Negro -- in the past.

P.S. Sorry for the sketchy details on the Rasberry case. Some of our office files have been removed to Holly Springs as you probably know and we are still in the process of moving. The almost unreadable first part of this letter was done by kerosene light. The electricity hasn't been turned on yet. If I can locate the rest of our files soon i'll send them along to you.

Freedom Now,
Charley

Court Bans Mass March In Jackson

JACKSON, Miss. (NPI) -- Demands for the suspension of five deputies, involved in the slaying of an 18-year-old Negro youth in a cell block of the Hinds County jail, continued here this week despite a court ban on mass protest demonstrations.

The victim, Oliver V. Shelby, of nearby Flora, had been arrested on charges of making "indecent gestures" towards a white women, and was sentenced to six months in jail.

Charles Evers, Mississippi NAACP field secretary, said a mass courthouse demonstration was called after attorneys advised compliance with a four-judge injunction banning the protest march.

However, Evers said the injunction would be appealed and that efforts to have the five deputies suspended, pending a complete investigation of the boy's murder," would be continued.

Evers also announced plans for a stepped-up voter registration drive and a renewed national boycott of Mississippi products.

Deputy E. O. Sanderford is accused of actually shooting young Shelby, who was being transferred from the city prison to county jail.

Sanderford claims he fired into the air and then shot the youth in the head after the prisoner attacked another deputy in an apparent escape attempt.

Evers called the slaying "outright murder" and indicated that Negroes in Jackson would no longer tolerate this type of action from law enforcement officers.

Evers said this was the third fatal shooting, under similar circumstances, of Negro prisoners in the past year.

Young Shelby was in Jackson looking for work when he was arrested, given a quick trial and sentenced to six months in jail.

The boy's mother, Mrs. Dora Shelby Pierce, 33, who resides in Chicago, came to Jackson after receiving word of her son's death.

The youth's father, Hiram Shelby, 45, a farmer, resides in Flora.

The Shelby slaying recalls two other Mississippi lynchings a few years ago.

Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Chicago boy, was slain and his body thrown into a river near Money, Miss., after he allegedly whistled at a white woman.

Mack Charles Parker, who was accused of assaulting a white woman, was abducted from a jail in Poplarville, Miss. His mutilated body was found later in the Pearl River.

D. O. 2/6/65
The Louisiana Weekly



JACKSON, MISS. -- Hiram Shelby weeps (1/28) and is comforted by his wife, the stepmother of Ollie Shelby, 18, who was shot and killed in the county jail here. -- (UPI Telephoto)

N.O. 2/6/65 The Louisiana Weekly

Victim In Prison Cell Death Was War Hero

Marshall Scott, Jr., 42, of 3408 Feliciana Street, whose death Jan. 23 in the Orleans Parish Prison is causing wide protest, was a hero of World War II and an honorably discharged Purple Heart Navy veteran.

An interview with his parents, Marshall Scott, Sr., and Mrs. Mary Henderson Scott, brought the information that he had an outstanding record of service and had survived battles of Marshall Islands, Guadalcanal, Floria Islands and Bougainville. Also, he was on one ship which was torpedoed, and suffered wounds in the back and leg which led to his receiving the Purple Heart.

Records show Scott was born in New Orleans on May 11, 1922 and served in the U. S. Navy from Sept. 18, 1942 until Oct. 17, 1944. He was a Shipfitter, Third Class in the U. S. Navy when he received a discharge in accordance with an approved recommendation of the Board of Medical Survey.

Records in possession of Scott's parents show he was married Jan. 3, 1946 to Vera T. Johnson, now residing in



Oakland, Calif.

However, Mrs. Euralee Holmes Scott, 3606 Abundance Street, Apt. A, told the Louisiana Weekly that she and Scott were married April 6, 194[illegible] at McCray, La., (now Bachelor, La.) in Pointe Cou[illegible]

VICTIM . . .

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

Parish.

Mrs. Scott told the Louisiana Weekly that she and her husband were the parents of five sons ranging in age from six to 14 years old. They are Tyrone, Joseph, David, Glenn and Dennis Scott.

She said her husband had been receiving a disability check from the government and was not working regularly. At the time of his death Scott was serving a prison term for non-payment of alimony, she said.

Mrs. Scott said her husbans's occupation was truck driver and automobile mechanic.

She said that on one other occasion when Scott had been arrested for drunken driving, he was brutally beaten while in jail here and was treated at the Charity Hospital for a ruptured spleen. She said the injury was caused by the beating, but could not remember the exact dates of the incidents.

Funeral services for Scott were held Jan. 24 from the Louisiana Undertaking Company, with the Rev. W. Washington officiating at rites conducted in the mortuary parlor. Interment was in the Ross Chapel Cemetery.